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DEMOSTHENES

OLYNTHIACS, PHILIPPICS, LEPTINES, ETC.

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DEMOSTHENES

OLYNTHIACS PHILIPPICS
MINOR PUBLIC SPEECHES
SPEECH AGAINST LEPTINES

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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PREFACE

THE Greek text is that of Dindorf's third edition (Lipsiae, 1881). All deviations are recorded in the notes, except where the reading of S, rejected by Dindorf, has been restored. In the matter of elision and the spelling of certain words, more modern editors have been followed.

J. H. V.

CONTENTS

PAGE
GENERAL INTRODUCTION xi
Bibliography xix
INTRODUCTION TO THE OLYNTHIAC ORATIONS . 2
I. THE FIRST OLYNTHIAC 4
II. THE SECOND OLYNTHIAC . . . 22
III. THE THIRD OLYNTHIAC 42

IV. THE FIRST PHILIPPIC—

Introduction 67
Text and Translation . . . 68

V. ON THE PEACE—

Introduction 102
Text and Translation . . . 104

VI. THE SECOND PHILIPPIC—

Introduction 123
Text and Translation . . . 124

VII. ON HALONNESUS—

Introduction 148
Text and Translation . . . 150

PAGE

VIII. On the Chersonese—

Introduction 176
Text and Translation . . . 178

IX. The Third Philippic—

Introduction 222
Text and Translation . . . 224

X. The Fourth Philippic—

Introduction 268
Text and Translation . . . 270

XI. Answer to Philip's Letter—

Introduction 316
Text and Translation . . . 318

XII. Philip's Letter—

Text and Translation . . . 334

XIII. On Organization—

Introduction 352
Text and Translation . . . 354

XIV. On the Navy-boards—

Introduction 380
Text and Translation . . . 382

XV. For the Liberty of the Rhodians—

Introduction 411
Text and Translation . . . 412

CONTENTS

XVI. For the People of Megalopolis—

PAGE
Introduction 437
Text and Translation . . . 440

XVII. On the Treaty with Alexander—

Introduction 463
Text and Translation . . . 464

XX. Against Leptines—

Introduction 487
Text and Translation . . . 492
Index of Names 604

INTRODUCTION

OUTLINES OF THE LIFE OF DEMOSTHENES

Demosthenes was born in or about the year 384 B.C. His father, of the Paeanian deme, east of Hymettus, was a man of some wealth, the owner of two workshops where he employed slaves on the manufacture of swords [a] and of furniture. His maternal grandfather, Gylon, who was banished from Athens and settled in the Crimea, is said to have married a woman of Scythian descent. When his son was seven, the father died, leaving him a fortune of about 14 talents (about £3400). His guardians, Aphobus and two others, so mismanaged his property that, when he came of age, he received only about one-tenth of the capital. As a child he was delicate and unable to profit by the usual athletic education. In order to fit himself for the prosecution of his guardians, he studied rhetoric under Isaeus, who was an authority on cases of inheritance. His enthusiasm for the art of oratory is said to have been awakened by hearing the successful defence of Callistratus, the general who was accused of delivering Oropus to the Thebans in 366. In 363, in his twentieth year, he brought his action against Aphobus. He gained the verdict, but further litigation was necessary before he recovered what was left of his patrimony. The three speeches against Aphobus and two against Onetor are the record of these lawsuits.

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[a] Juvenal's description is ludicrous enough: "pater ardentis massae fuligine lippus" (x. 130).

We may think of Demosthenes as entering manhood with physical disabilities, which he is said to have taken extraordinary pains to remedy, and with a temper morose and soured by injustice; not a genial, sociable man—a "water-drinker," as his enemies labelled him. The rancour, however, with which he assailed his opponents was common to him with other orators; there was no room for chivalry in Athenian political life.

He now commenced practice as a writer of speeches for litigants. Most of his private orations that have come down to us were probably composed between 363 and 354, when he made his first public speech in the Assembly. But there is also an intermediate class of speech. Owing chiefly to indictment for breach of the constitution (γραφὴ παρανόμων), every Athenian statesman spent almost as much time in the law-courts as in the Pnyx, and many political questions came to be decided by juries. To this class of semi-public speeches belong that against *Androtion* (355), written by Demosthenes for one Diodorus. Here, in the peroration, the writer already strikes that note which recurs constantly in his political harangues, that Athens by her past history was committed to a policy of honour and high ideals. The same dispute comes up two years later, when another speech was composed for the same Diodorus, this time against *Timocrates*. In 354 Demosthenes speaks in his own person, and with more studied moderation, against the law of *Leptines* on immunities, but the same ideals are put forward. The fourth of these speeches was written in 352 for Euthycles, who had indicted *Aristocrates* for his proposal to honour the reckless adventurer Charidemus. Another speech which deals largely with public questions is that against *Midias*, a friend of Eubulus and a supporter of the Euboean expedition of 350. It was published, but never delivered, for Demosthenes compromised the action for assault which he had commenced.

In 354, at the age of thirty, Demosthenes entered on his public career with his speech on the *Navy-boards*. The position of Greek affairs at this moment was one of unstable equilibrium. By the death of Epaminondas at the battle of Mantinea (362), Thebes almost instantly lost the lead which his genius had given her. Sparta, hampered by hostile neighbours in Arcadia and Messenia, still kept some of her old reputation, and none realized that her power for good or evil was ended. Athens, after Mantinea, nearly succeeded in regaining the hegemony. By 357 she had swept the Thebans out of Euboea, she controlled the Thracian Chersonese, so important for the safety of her food-supply, and her new confederacy seemed firmly established. But no sooner had she reached this height of prosperity than the decline began. The Social War, largely due to the intrigues of Mausolus, robbed her in two years of her chief dependencies, leaving her only Euboea, some islands of the North Aegean, and a few towns on the Thracian coast. This failure damped the imperialism of the Athenians, and the able finance-minister, Eubulus, now comes to the front with his policy of "peace, retrenchment, and reform." The Persian empire, though its essential weakness had been exposed by the campaigns of Cyrus the younger and of Agesilaus, and by the revolt of the satraps, was still to be reckoned with. In an age of mercenary soldiers Persian gold was a factor in Greek politics. Meanwhile a new power was rising, a little cloud out of the north, like a man's hand.

Our knowledge of subsequent events must not lead us to underrate the sagacity of Athenian statesmen. The danger from Macedonia was scarcely apparent in 355.[a] Philip, who had been four years on the throne, was still on terms of nominal friendship with Athens, and had only robbed her so far of Amphipolis, Pydna, and Potidaea. The Macedonians, though their princes had Hellenic blood in their veins, were regarded as outside the Greek world. Hence the policy that first appealed to Demosthenes was the balance of power among Greek states. It was only by degrees that he came to realize the menace of Philip. Athens, like other cities, relied for defence on an amateur militia or on mercenaries, who proved as untrustworthy as the city-states of Italy found them centuries after; in Macedonia Philip was building up a permanent, organized, professional army. Demosthenes, though he was no soldier, seems to have had some inkling of the value of Philip's invention, but he never saw, as we can see, how incapable the cities were of a successful resistance with the means at their disposal. And yet, in criticizing Demosthenes, we must not forget how near he came to success. Nor must we forget that the Greeks probably expected that Philip's power would crumble at his death, as the power of Jason of

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[a] Philip is not even mentioned in the speech on the *Navy-boards.*

Pherae had crumbled. The unlooked-for event was that Philip could hand on his power to a successor of nobler aims and of abilities little inferior to his own. The growing power of Philip caused Demosthenes to embrace the policy of a united defence of the free institutions of the city-states against a military autocracy; and from this policy he never swerved. How completely he dominates the stage may be judged from the fact that, for ordinary readers, the interest of Greek history ceases at his death, for the triumph of Macedonia was as fatal to the Greek spirit as the grip of Spain was to the life of Italy from the sixteenth century till the day of her redemption. Henceforward the life of Demosthenes is the history of Greece, and it will be enough here to tabulate the course of events and the dates of his speeches.

354 First public speech, on the *Navy-boards.* Philip takes Methone.

353 Philip fighting in Thessaly. Arcadians and Spartans send embassies to Athens. Speeches for the *Megalopolitans* and against *Timocrates.*

352 Philip gets control of the Pagasaean Gulf. Athenians send force to close Thermopylae against Philip, who turns his attention to Thrace, and also intrigues in Euboea.

351 *First Philippic* (early in the year). Exiled Rhodian democrats appeal to Athens. Speech for *Liberty of the Rhodians.*

350 Athenian expedition under Phocion to help Plutarchus in Euboea. At the Great Dionysia (March) Midias assaults Demosthenes, who had opposed the expedition. Philip besieges Olynthus.

349 Olynthians appeal to Athens. *First Olynthiac.* Athenian force sent under Chares. *Second Olynthiac.* Chares superseded by Charidemus. The War-party call for appropriation of Theoric Fund. *Third Olynthiac.*

348 Fall of Olynthus (autumn). Athenians send Aristodemus to sound Philip, and dispatch embassies to other Greek states.

347 Aristodemus returns with friendly assurances from Philip. Speech against *Midias* written, but not delivered.

346 First Athenian embassy to propose terms of peace with Philip. Peace of Philocrates agreed to by Athens (April). Second embassy sent to administer oaths to Philip: they return in July. Philip at Thermopylae. Phalaecus surrenders to him and the Phocian War collapses. Philip punishes Phocians and is rewarded with their two votes in the Amphictyonic Council. He presides at Pythian Games (Sept.). Speech on the *Peace.*

344 Philip subdues Illyrians and settles government of Thessaly. He intrigues in the Peloponnese, whither Demosthenes is sent to counteract his influence. Philip sends envoys to Athens to protest against charges of bad faith. Demosthenes replies with *Second Philippic.*

343 Pytho comes from Philip to discuss Athenian claims to Halonnesus. Philip again intrigues in Euboea, where he supports tyrants of Eretria and Oreus. Speech *De falsa legatione*; Aeschines acquitted. In the winter Philip invades Epirus and threatens Ambracia and Acarnania.

342 Philip sets up tetrarchs in Thessaly and writes letter to Athenians on dispute about Halonnesus. Hegesippus (?) delivers speech on *Halonnesus*. Philip busy in Thracian Chersonese, whither Diopithes is sent to guard Athenian interests.

341 Demosthenes' speech on the *Chersonese*, in reply to Philip's protests. *Third Philippic* soon afterwards. Demosthenes is sent to make alliance between Athens and Byzantium. Athenian expedition to Euboea expels tyrants.

340 Demosthenes crowned at Great Dionysia for liberation of Euboea. Philip besieges Perinthus unsuccessfully; turns his arms against Byzantium, making declaration of war against Athens. Athenian fleet compels him to raise siege of Byzantium. He invades Thracian Chersonese. In the winter he invades Scythia, where he is wounded by the Triballi.

339 Speech of Aeschines at Delphi provokes Amphissian War. Philip, chosen general by Amphictyons, passes Thermopylae and seizes Elatea. Demosthenes gains alliance of Thebes.

338 Philip, after destroying Amphissa, defeats allies at Chaeronea. Peace of Demades. Demosthenes chosen to pronounce funeral oration over the slain.

336 Aeschines brings *γραφὴ παρανόμων* against Ctesiphon, who proposes crown for Demosthenes. Philip assassinated; Alexander succeeds.

335 Thebes rebels and is destroyed by Alexander, who demands surrender of Demosthenes and other orators.

334 Alexander invades Asia.
331 Alexander's victory at Arbela.
330 Trial of Ctesiphon ; Demosthenes *de Corona*.
324 Demosthenes pronounced by the Court of Areopagus guilty of receiving 20 talents of the money deposited at Athens by Harpalus. He is tried and condemned to a fine of 50 talents, and goes into exile.
323 Death of Alexander. Demosthenes recalled. Lamian War.
322 Battle of Crannon. Death of Demosthenes at Calauria (Oct. 12).

Note.—The question of Demosthenes' guilt in the affair of Harpalus is too intricate to discuss here. The fairest judges incline to the view that he took the money, but for public purposes, in view of the coming war. The story of his death is best read in Plutarch (*Dem.* 29).

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A, *Augustanus*, Munich (formerly Augsburg), 11th century. Of a different class from S and L, but now regarded as only second to them in value.

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THE OLYNTHIAC ORATIONS

INTRODUCTION TO THE OLYNTHIAC ORATIONS

THE order of these has been disputed. It is certain that Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*circa* 25 B.C.) placed them in the order II., III., I. Thirlwall accepted this, and Grote argued for II., I., III.; but most modern critics hold to the traditional order of the MSS. The chief reasons for placing I. later than the others are that in I. Demosthenes lays more stress on the need for haste, that in II. little reference is made to Olynthus and its danger, and that in II. there is no allusion to the Theoric Fund, the raiding of which is suggested in I. and openly advocated in III. Following the usual order, we may assume that I. was delivered early in 349, soon after the appeal of the Olynthians for alliance. The alliance was made, but the funds raised were inadequate. The Athenian general Chares was obliged to support himself by plundering friends as well as foes. In the summer II. was delivered in reply to the renewed efforts of the peace-at-any-price party, who argued that Philip was too strong. Demosthenes tries to show the essential weakness of Philip's position. Meanwhile Chares was recalled, and Charidemus was sent with a large mercenary force but failed to act with vigour. The war-party called for the appropriation of the Theoric Fund, which Demosthenes had hinted at in I. The proposal was quashed as unconstitutional, and then Demosthenes in III., perhaps delivered in the autumn of the same year, urges that the law which forbade any tampering with the fund should be repealed. Whether this was done we cannot say. It is certain that a considerable force was dispatched—too late, and Olynthus fell in the autumn of 348.

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

I. ΟΛΥΝΘΙΑΚΟΣ Α

1 Ἀντὶ πολλῶν ἄν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, χρημάτων ὑμᾶς ἑλέσθαι νομίζω, εἰ φανερὸν γένοιτο τὸ μέλλον συνοίσειν τῇ πόλει περὶ ὧν νυνὶ σκοπεῖτε. ὅτε τοίνυν τοῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, προσήκει προθύμως ἐθέλειν ἀκούειν τῶν βουλομένων συμβουλεύειν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον εἴ τι χρήσιμον ἐσκεμμένος ἥκει τις, τοῦτ' ἂν ἀκούσαντες λάβοιτε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας τύχης ὑπολαμβάνω πολλὰ τῶν δεόντων ἐκ τοῦ παραχρῆμ' ἐνίοις ἂν ἐπελθεῖν εἰπεῖν, ὥστ' ἐξ ἁπάντων ῥᾳδίαν τὴν τοῦ συμφέροντος ὑμῖν αἵρεσιν γενέσθαι.

2 Ὁ μὲν οὖν παρὼν καιρός, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
μόνον οὐχὶ λέγει φωνὴν ἀφιεὶς ὅτι τῶν πραγμάτων
ὑμῖν ἐκείνων αὐτοῖς ἀντιληπτέον ἐστίν, εἴπερ ὑπὲρ
σωτηρίας αὐτῶν φροντίζετε· ἡμεῖς δ' οὐκ οἶδ'
ὅντινά μοι δοκοῦμεν ἔχειν τρόπον πρὸς αὐτά.
ἔστι δὴ τά γ' ἐμοὶ δοκοῦντα, ψηφίσασθαι μὲν ἤδη
τὴν βοήθειαν, καὶ παρασκευάσασθαι τὴν ταχίστην
ὅπως ἐνθένδε βοηθήσετε (καὶ μὴ πάθητε ταὐτὸν
ὅπερ καὶ πρότερον), πρεσβείαν δὲ πέμπειν, ἥτις
3 ταῦτ' ἐρεῖ καὶ παρέσται τοῖς πράγμασιν· ὡς ἔστι
[10] μάλιστα τοῦτο δέος, μὴ πανοῦργος ὢν καὶ δεινὸς

DEMOSTHENES

I. FIRST OLYNTHIAC

You would, I expect, men of Athens, accept it as the equivalent of a large amount of money, if it could be made clear to you what will prove our best policy in the matters now under discussion. This then being so, you are bound to give an eager hearing to all who offer advice. For not only if someone comes forward with a well-considered plan, could you hear and accept it, but also I count it part of your good fortune that more than one speaker may be inspired with suitable suggestions on the spur of the moment, so that out of the multitude of proposals the choice of the best should not be difficult.

The present crisis, Athenians, calls on you, almost with an audible voice, to take into your own hands the control of your interests in the North, if you are really anxious to safeguard them. But, I confess, our attitude puzzles me. My own idea would be to vote an expedition at once, to make instant preparation for its dispatch, thus avoiding our previous blunder, and to send ambassadors to state our intentions and watch events. Our chief ground for alarm is that this man, so unscrupulous, so quick to seize

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ἄνθρωπος πράγμασι χρῆσθαι, τὰ μὲν εἴκων, ἡνίκ’
ἂν τύχῃ, τὰ δ’ ἀπειλῶν (ἀξιόπιστος δ’ ἂν εἰκότως
φαίνοιτο), τὰ δ’ ἡμᾶς διαβάλλων καὶ τὴν ἀπουσίαν
τὴν ἡμετέραν, τρέψηται[1] καὶ παρασπάσηταί τι
4 τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ’ ἐπιεικῶς,
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦθ’ ὃ δυσμαχώτατόν ἐστι
τῶν Φιλίππου πραγμάτων, καὶ βέλτιστον ὑμῖν· τὸ
γὰρ εἶναι πάντων ἐκεῖνον ἕν’ ὄντα κύριον καὶ
ῥητῶν καὶ ἀπορρήτων καὶ ἅμα στρατηγὸν καὶ
δεσπότην καὶ ταμίαν, καὶ πανταχοῦ αὐτὸν παρεῖναι
τῷ στρατεύματι, πρὸς μὲν τὸ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου ταχὺ
καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν πράττεσθαι πολλῷ προέχει, πρὸς
δὲ τὰς καταλλαγάς, ἃς ἂν ἐκεῖνος ποιήσαιτ’
5 ἄσμενος πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους, ἐναντίως ἔχει. δῆλον
γάρ ἐστι τοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις ὅτι νῦν οὐ περὶ δόξης οὐδ’
ὑπὲρ μέρους χώρας πολεμοῦσιν, ἀλλ’ ἀναστάσεως
καὶ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ τῆς πατρίδος, καὶ ἴσασιν ἅ τ’
Ἀμφιπολιτῶν ἐποίησε τοὺς παραδόντας αὐτῷ τὴν
πόλιν καὶ Πυδναίων τοὺς ὑποδεξαμένους· καὶ
ὅλως ἄπιστον, οἶμαι, ταῖς πολιτείαις ἡ τυραννίς,
6 ἄλλως τε κἂν ὅμορον χώραν ἔχωσι. ταῦτ’ οὖν
ἐγνωκότας ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τἄλλ’
ἃ προσήκει πάντ’ ἐνθυμουμένους φημὶ δεῖν ἐθελῆσαι
καὶ παροξυνθῆναι καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ προσέχειν
εἴπερ ποτὲ καὶ νῦν, χρήματ’ εἰσφέροντας προθύμως
καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξιόντας καὶ μηδὲν ἐλλείποντας.
οὐδὲ γὰρ λόγος οὐδὲ σκῆψις ἔθ’ ὑμῖν τοῦ μὴ τὰ
7 δέοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν ὑπολείπεται. νυνὶ γάρ, ὃ
πάντες ἐθρύλουν τέως, Ὀλυνθίους ἐκπολεμῶσαι[2]
[11] δεῖν Φιλίππῳ, γέγον’ αὐτόματον, καὶ ταῦθ’ ὡς

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[1] τρέψῃ τε Dindorf (Wolf's conjecture), the middle not being found elsewhere in the required sense.

his opportunity, now yielding a point when it suits his purpose, now threatening—and his threats may well carry conviction—now misrepresenting us and our failure to intervene, may divert to his own purpose and wrest from us something of vital importance. And yet, men of Athens, it is reasonable to suggest that the very thing which makes Philip's position most redoubtable is also most encouraging for you. For the swift and opportune movements of war he has an immense advantage over us in the fact that he is the sole director of his own policy, open or secret, that he unites the functions of a general, a ruler and a treasurer, and that he is always at the head of his army; but when it comes to a composition such as he would gladly make with Olynthus, the tables are turned. The eyes of the Olynthians are opened to the fact that they are now fighting not for glory, not for a strip of territory, but to avert the overthrow and enslavement of their fatherland. They know how he treated those Amphipolitans who betrayed their city and those Pydnaeans who opened their gates to him. And a despotism, I take it, is as a rule mistrusted by free constitutions, especially when they are near neighbours. I bid you grasp these facts, men of Athens, and weigh well all the important considerations. Make up your minds; rouse your spirits; put your heart into the war, now or never. Pay your contributions cheerfully; serve in person; leave nothing to chance. You have no longer the shadow of an excuse for shirking your duty. It was long the common talk that the Olynthians must be made to fight Philip; and now it has come about in the natural course, and that too in a way that

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[2] ἐκπολεμῆσαι Dindorf with S.

ἂν ὑμῖν μάλιστα συμφέροι. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑφ' ὑμῶν
πεισθέντες ἀνείλοντο τὸν πόλεμον, σφαλεροὶ σύμ-
μαχοι καὶ μέχρι του ταῦτ' ἂν ἐγνωκότες ἦσαν
ἴσως· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐκ τῶν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐγκλημάτων
μισοῦσι, βεβαίαν εἰκὸς τὴν ἔχθραν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ
8 ὧν φοβοῦνται καὶ πεπόνθασιν ἔχειν. οὐ δεῖ δὴ
τοιοῦτον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παραπεπτωκότα
καιρὸν ἀφεῖναι, οὐδὲ παθεῖν ταὐτὸν ὅπερ ἤδη
πολλάκις πρότερον πεπόνθατε. εἰ γάρ, ὅθ' ἥκομεν
Εὐβοεῦσιν βεβοηθηκότες καὶ παρῆσαν Ἀμφι-
πολιτῶν Ἱέραξ καὶ Στρατοκλῆς ἐπὶ τουτὶ τὸ βῆμα,
κελεύοντες ἡμᾶς πλεῖν καὶ παραλαμβάνειν τὴν
πόλιν, τὴν αὐτὴν παρειχόμεθ' ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν
αὐτῶν προθυμίαν ἥνπερ ὑπὲρ τῆς Εὐβοέων σω-
τηρίας, εἴχετ' ἂν Ἀμφίπολιν τότε καὶ πάντων τῶν
9 μετὰ ταῦτ' ἂν ἦτ' ἀπηλλαγμένοι πραγμάτων. καὶ
πάλιν ἡνίκα Πύδνα, Ποτείδαια, Μεθώνη, Παγασαί,
τἆλλα, ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἕκαστα λέγων διατρίβω, πολι-
ορκούμεν' ἀπηγγέλλετο, εἰ τότε τούτων ἑνὶ τῷ
πρώτῳ προθύμως καὶ ὡς προσῆκεν ἐβοηθήσαμεν
αὐτοί, ῥᾴονι καὶ πολὺ ταπεινοτέρῳ νῦν ἂν ἐχρώ-
μεθα τῷ Φιλίππῳ. νῦν δὲ τὸ μὲν παρὸν ἀεὶ
προϊέμενοι, τὰ δὲ μέλλοντ' αὐτόματ' οἰόμενοι
σχήσειν καλῶς, ηὐξήσαμεν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
Φίλιππον ἡμεῖς καὶ κατεστήσαμεν τηλικοῦτον
ἡλίκος οὐδείς πω βασιλεὺς γέγονε Μακεδονίας.
νυνὶ δὴ καιρὸς ἥκει τις, οὗτος ὁ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων,
αὐτόματος τῇ πόλει, ὃς οὐδενός ἐστιν ἐλάττων
τῶν προτέρων ἐκείνων.

10 Καὶ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ τις ἄν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,

suits you admirably. For if they had plunged into war in reliance on your advice, they would perhaps have proved uncertain allies and only half-hearted in their resolve; but now that their hatred of Philip is the outcome of their own grievances, it is natural that their hostility should have a firm base in their apprehensions and their experiences. Men of Athens, you must not let slip the opportunity that offers, nor make the blunder you have so often made before. When we returned from the Euboean expedition [a] and Hierax and Stratocles, the envoys of Amphipolis, mounted this platform and bade you sail and take over their city, if we had shown the same earnestness in our own cause as in defence of the safety of Euboea, Amphipolis would have been yours at once and you would have been relieved of all your subsequent difficulties. Once again, when news came of the siege of Pydna, of Potidaea, of Methone, of Pagasae,[b] and of the rest of them—not to weary you with a complete catalogue—if we had at that time shown the required zeal in marching to the help of the first that appealed, we should have found Philip to-day much more humble and accommodating. Unfortunately we always neglect the present chance and imagine that the future will right itself, and so, men of Athens, Philip has to thank us for his prosperity. We have raised him to a greater height than ever king of Macedonia reached before. To-day this opportunity comes to us from the Olynthians unsought, a fairer opportunity than we have ever had before.

Men of Athens, let anyone fairly reckon up the

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[a] The Athenians took Euboea from the Thebans in 357.

[b] In 357, 356, 354, and 352 respectively.

[12] δίκαιος λογιστὴς τῶν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἡμῖν ὑπηργμένων
καταστάς, καίπερ οὐκ ἐχόντων ὡς δεῖ
πολλῶν, ὅμως μεγάλην ἂν ἔχειν αὐτοῖς χάριν,
εἰκότως· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πόλλ' ἀπολωλεκέναι κατὰ
τὸν πόλεμον τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀμελείας ἄν τις θείη
δικαίως, τὸ δὲ μήτε πάλαι τοῦτο πεπονθέναι
πεφηνέναι τέ τιν' ἡμῖν συμμαχίαν τούτων ἀντίρροπον,
ἂν βουλώμεθα χρῆσθαι, τῆς παρ' ἐκείνων
11 εὐνοίας εὐεργέτημ' ἂν ἔγωγε θείην. ἀλλ', οἶμαι,
παρόμοιόν ἐστιν ὅπερ καὶ περὶ τῆς τῶν χρημάτων
κτήσεως· ἂν μὲν γάρ, ὅσ' ἄν τις λάβῃ, καὶ σώσῃ,
μεγάλην ἔχει τῇ τύχῃ τὴν χάριν, ἂν δ' ἀναλώσας
λάθῃ, συνανήλωσε καὶ τὸ μεμνῆσθαι τὴν χάριν.
καὶ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων οὕτως οἱ μὴ χρησάμενοι
τοῖς καιροῖς ὀρθῶς, οὐδ' εἰ συνέβη τι παρὰ τῶν
θεῶν χρηστὸν μνημονεύουσι· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ τελευταῖον
ἐκβὰν ἕκαστον τῶν πρὶν ὑπαρξάντων[1]
κρίνεται. διὸ καὶ σφόδρα δεῖ τῶν λοιπῶν ὑμᾶς,
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φροντίσαι, ἵνα ταῦτ' ἐπανορθωσάμενοι
τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ἀδοξίαν
12 ἀποτριψώμεθα. εἰ δὲ προησόμεθ', ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τούτους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, εἶτ'
Ὄλυνθον ἐκεῖνος καταστρέψεται, φρασάτω τις
ἐμοί τί τὸ κωλῦον ἔτ' αὐτὸν ἔσται βαδίζειν ὅποι
βούλεται. ἆρα λογίζεταί τις ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ θεωρεῖ τὸν τρόπον δι' ὃν μέγας
γέγονεν ἀσθενὴς ὢν τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς Φίλιππος; τὸ
πρῶτον Ἀμφίπολιν λαβών, μετὰ ταῦτα Πύδναν,
πάλιν Ποτείδαιαν, Μεθώνην αὖθις, εἶτα Θετταλίας
13 ἐπέβη· μετὰ ταῦτα Φεράς, Παγασάς, Μαγνησίαν,
[13] πάνθ' ὃν ἐβούλετ' εὐτρεπίσας τρόπον ᾤχετ' εἰς
Θρᾴκην· εἶτ' ἐκεῖ τοὺς μὲν ἐκβαλὼν τοὺς δὲ κατα-

blessings we have received of the gods, and though much is amiss, none the less his gratitude will be great—and rightly so: for our many losses in the war [a] may be justly imputed to our own supineness; that we did not suffer these losses long ago and that this opportunity of alliance affords us some compensation, if we choose to accept it, this I for my part should put down as a signal instance of the favour of the gods. I suppose it is with national as with private wealth. If a man keeps what he gains, he is duly grateful to fortune; if he loses it by his own imprudence, he loses along with it the sense of gratitude. So in national affairs, those who fail to use their opportunities aright, fail also to acknowledge the good that the gods have given; for every advantage in the past is judged in the light of the final issue. It is therefore our duty, men of Athens, to keep a careful eye on the future, that by restoring our prosperity we may efface the discredit of the past. But if we leave these men too in the lurch, Athenians, and then Olynthus is crushed by Philip, tell me what is to prevent him from marching henceforward just where he pleases. I wonder if any one of you in this audience watches and notes the steps by which Philip, weak at first, has grown so powerful. First he seized Amphipolis, next Pydna, then Potidaea, after that Methone, lastly he invaded Thessaly. Then having settled Pherae, Pagasae, Magnesia, and the rest of that country to suit his purposes, off he went to Thrace, and there, after evicting some of the chiefs and installing others, he

[a] *i.e.* the war about the possession of Amphipolis.

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[1] *πρὶν ὑπ.* S : *προϋπαρξάντων* vulg. Dindorf.

στήσας τῶν βασιλέων ἠσθένησε· πάλιν ῥάσας οὐκ
ἐπὶ τὸ ῥᾳθυμεῖν ἀπέκλινεν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς Ὀλυνθίοις
ἐπεχείρησεν. τὰς δ' ἐπ' Ἰλλυριοὺς καὶ Παίονας
αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς Ἀρύββαν καὶ ὅποι τις ἂν εἴποι
παραλείπω στρατείας.

14 "Τί οὖν," ἄν τις εἴποι, "ταῦτα λέγεις ἡμῖν
νῦν;" ἵνα γνῶτ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ
αἴσθησθ' ἀμφότερα, καὶ τὸ προΐεσθαι καθ' ἕκαστον
ἀεί τι τῶν πραγμάτων ὡς ἀλυσιτελές, καὶ τὴν
φιλοπραγμοσύνην ᾗ χρῆται καὶ συζῇ Φίλιππος,
ὑφ' ἧς οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως ἀγαπήσας τοῖς πεπραγμένοις
ἡσυχίαν σχήσει. εἰ δ' ὁ μὲν ὡς ἀεί τι μεῖζον τῶν
ὑπαρχόντων δεῖ πράττειν ἐγνωκὼς ἔσται, ἡμεῖς
δ' ὡς οὐδενὸς ἀντιληπτέον ἐρρωμένως τῶν πραγ-
μάτων, σκοπεῖσθ' εἰς τί ποτ' ἐλπὶς ταῦτα τελευτῆσαι.
15 πρὸς θεῶν, τίς οὕτως εὐήθης ἐστὶν ὑμῶν
ὅστις ἀγνοεῖ τὸν ἐκεῖθεν πόλεμον δεῦρ' ἥξοντα,
ἂν ἀμελήσωμεν; ἀλλὰ μήν, εἰ τοῦτο γενήσεται,
δέδοικ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον
ὥσπερ οἱ δανειζόμενοι ῥᾳδίως ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγάλοις
τόκοις[1] μικρὸν εὐπορήσαντες χρόνον ὕστερον καὶ
τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀπέστησαν, οὕτω καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ
πολλῷ φανῶμεν ἐρρᾳθυμηκότες, καὶ ἅπαντα πρὸς
ἡδονὴν ζητοῦντες πολλὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ ὧν οὐκ
ἠβουλόμεθ' ὕστερον εἰς ἀνάγκην ἔλθωμεν ποιεῖν,
καὶ κινδυνεύσωμεν περὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ.

16 Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπιτιμᾶν ἴσως φήσαι τις ἂν ῥᾴδιον
καὶ παντὸς εἶναι, τὸ δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων ὅ τι
δεῖ πράττειν ἀποφαίνεσθαι, τοῦτ' εἶναι συμβούλου.
ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ ἀγνοῶ μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦθ',

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[1] Dindorf keeps τόκοις, which is in all MSS. but is omitted

fell sick. On his recovery, he did not relapse into inactivity, but instantly assailed Olynthus. His campaigns against Illyrians and Paeonians and King Arybbas and any others that might be mentioned, I pass over in silence.

"Well," some of you may say, "why tell us this now?" Because, men of Athens, I want you to know and realize two things: first, what an expensive game it is to squander your interests one by one; and secondly, the restless activity which is ingrained in Philip's nature, and which makes it impossible for him ever to rest on his laurels. But if Philip adopts the principle that he ought always to be improving his position, and you the principle of never facing your difficulties resolutely, just reflect what is likely to be the end of it all. Seriously, is anyone here so foolish as not to see that our negligence will transfer the war from Chalcidice to Attica? Yet if that comes to pass, I am afraid, men of Athens, that just as men who borrow money recklessly at high interest enjoy a temporary accommodation only to forfeit their estates in the end, so we may find that we have paid a heavy price for our indolence, and because we consult our own pleasure in everything, may hereafter come to be forced to do many of the difficult things for which we had no liking, and may finally endanger our possessions here in Attica itself.

Now someone may tell me that to find fault is easy and in any one's power, but that it needs a statesman to expound the policy demanded by our circumstances. But I am not unaware, men of Athens, that if anything goes wrong, you often

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by Priscian. Probably we should read with Weil ἐπὶ τόκοις μεγάλοις.

[14] ὅτι πολλάκις ὑμεῖς οὐ τοὺς αἰτίους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς
ὑστάτους περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰπόντας ἐν ὀργῇ
ποιεῖσθε, ἄν τι μὴ κατὰ γνώμην ἐκβῇ· οὐ μὴν
οἶμαι δεῖν τὴν ἰδίαν ἀσφάλειαν σκοποῦνθ' ὑποστείλασθαι
17 περὶ ὧν ὑμῖν συμφέρειν ἡγοῦμαι. φημὶ
δὴ διχῇ βοηθητέον εἶναι τοῖς πράγμασιν ὑμῖν, τῷ
τε τὰς πόλεις τοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις σῴζειν καὶ τοὺς
τοῦτο ποιήσοντας στρατιώτας ἐκπέμπειν, καὶ τῷ
τὴν ἐκείνου χώραν κακῶς ποιεῖν καὶ τριήρεσι καὶ
στρατιώταις ἑτέροις· εἰ δὲ θατέρου τούτων ὀλιγωρήσετε,
ὀκνῶ μὴ μάταιος ἡμῖν ἡ στρατεία γένηται.
18 εἴτε γὰρ ὑμῶν τὴν ἐκείνου κακῶς ποιούντων,
ὑπομείνας τοῦτ' Ὄλυνθον παραστήσεται, ῥᾳδίως
ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ἐλθὼν ἀμυνεῖται· εἴτε βοηθησάντων
μόνον ὑμῶν εἰς Ὄλυνθον, ἀκινδύνως ὁρῶν ἔχοντα
τὰ οἴκοι προσκαθεδεῖται καὶ προσεδρεύσει τοῖς
πράγμασι, περιέσται τῷ χρόνῳ τῶν πολιορκουμένων.
δεῖ δὴ πολλὴν καὶ διχῇ τὴν βοήθειαν
εἶναι.

19 Καὶ περὶ μὲν τῆς βοηθείας ταῦτα γιγνώσκω·
περὶ δὲ χρημάτων πόρου, ἔστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
χρήμαθ' ὑμῖν, ἔστιν ὅσ' οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων
στρατιωτικά· ταῦτα δ' ὑμεῖς οὕτως ὡς
βούλεσθε λαμβάνετε. εἰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα τοῖς
στρατευομένοις ἀποδώσετε, οὐδενὸς ὑμῖν προσδεῖ
πόρου, εἰ δὲ μή, προσδεῖ, μᾶλλον δ' ἅπαντος ἐνδεῖ
τοῦ πόρου. “τί οὖν;” ἄν τις εἴποι, “σὺ γράφεις
ταῦτ' εἶναι στρατιωτικά;” μὰ Δί' οὐκ
20 ἔγωγε. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι στρατιώτας δεῖν
κατασκευασθῆναι [καὶ ταῦτ' εἶναι στρατιωτικά][1]
καὶ μίαν σύνταξιν εἶναι τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ τε λαμβάνειν
καὶ τοῦ ποιεῖν τὰ δέοντα, ὑμεῖς δ' οὕτω πως ἄνευ

vent your disappointment, not on the responsible agents, but on those who happen to have addressed you last. I shall not, however, consult my own safety by keeping back what I believe to be for your true interests. I suggest then that the case calls for two distinct expeditions; one military force must be dispatched to rescue their cities for the Olynthians, and a second force, both naval and military, to ravage Philip's territory. If you neglect either of them, I am afraid your campaign will prove abortive. For if you send a marauding expedition, he will stand on the defensive until he has made himself master of Olynthus, and then he will easily march to the relief of his own territory; or if you confine yourselves to helping Olynthus, he will know that his base is secure and will give close and undivided attention to his operations, until at last he overcomes the resistance of the besieged. Our expedition, you see, must be on a large scale and twofold.

Such are my views on the expeditionary force. With regard to the supply of money, you *have* money, men of Athens; you have more than any other nation has for military purposes. But you appropriate it yourselves, in such a form as you please. Now if you will spend it on the campaign, you have no need of a further supply; if not, you have—or rather, you have no supply at all. "What!" someone will cry, "do you actually move to use this money for military purposes?" Of course I do not. Only it is my opinion that we must provide soldiers and that there must be one uniform system of pay in return for service. Your opinion, how-

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[1] These words, in all MSS., are omitted by Dindorf and most edd. since Dobree.

πραγμάτων λαμβάνειν εἰς τὰς ἑορτάς. ἔστι δὴ
[15] λοιπόν, οἶμαι, πάντας εἰσφέρειν, ἂν πολλῶν δέῃ,
πολλά, ἂν ὀλίγων, ὀλίγα. δεῖ δὲ χρημάτων, καὶ
ἄνευ τούτων οὐδὲν ἔστι γενέσθαι τῶν δεόντων.
λέγουσι δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἄλλοι πόρους, ὧν
ἕλεσθ' ὅστις ὑμῖν συμφέρειν δοκεῖ· καὶ ἕως ἐστὶ
καιρός, ἀντιλάβεσθε τῶν πραγμάτων.

21 Ἄξιον δ' ἐνθυμηθῆναι καὶ λογίσασθαι τὰ πράγματ'
ἐν ᾧ καθέστηκε νυνὶ τὰ Φιλίππου. οὔτε
γάρ, ὡς δοκεῖ καὶ φήσειέ τις ἂν μὴ σκοπῶν ἀκριβῶς,
εὐτρεπῶς οὐδ' ὡς ἂν κάλλιστ' αὐτῷ τὰ παρόντ'
ἔχει, οὔτ' ἂν ἐξήνεγκε τὸν πόλεμόν ποτε τοῦτον
ἐκεῖνος, εἰ πολεμεῖν ᾠήθη δεήσειν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ὡς
ἐπιὼν ἅπαντα τότ' ἤλπιζε τὰ πράγματ' ἀναιρήσεσθαι,
κᾆτα διέψευσται. τοῦτο δὴ πρῶτον αὐτὸν
ταράττει παρὰ γνώμην γεγονὸς καὶ πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν
22 αὐτῷ παρέχει, εἶτα τὰ τῶν Θετταλῶν. ταῦτα
γὰρ ἄπιστα μὲν ἦν δήπου φύσει καὶ ἀεὶ πᾶσιν
ἀνθρώποις, κομιδῇ δ', ὥσπερ ἦν, καὶ ἔστι νῦν
τούτῳ. καὶ γὰρ Παγασὰς ἀπαιτεῖν αὐτόν εἰσιν
ἐψηφισμένοι, καὶ Μαγνησίαν κεκωλύκασι τειχίζειν.
ἤκουον δ' ἔγωγέ τινων, ὡς οὐδὲ τοὺς λιμένας καὶ
τὰς ἀγορὰς ἔτι δώσοιεν αὐτῷ καρποῦσθαι· τὰ γὰρ

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[a] The Theoric Fund had been instituted by Pericles, nominally to enable the poorer citizens to attend the public festivals. It would seem that definite sums were allotted to the various departments of State expenditure, and the surplus was at the disposal of the democracy for special military or other objects. Somewhere about 354 Eubulus, who was one of the board which controlled the Theoric Fund, carried a law appropriating to it the *whole* of the surplus revenue. He does not seem to have starved the defensive services, but he left no provision for a war, except

ever, is that you should, without any trouble, just appropriate the money for your festivals.[a] Then the only alternative is a war-tax, heavy or light, as circumstances demand. Only money we must have, and without money nothing can be done that ought to be done. There are other proposals before you for raising supplies; choose whichever of them you think expedient, and, while there is yet time, grapple with the problem.

It is worth while, however, to observe and consider how Philip stands to-day. His present prospects are not so bright or satisfactory as they seem and as a superficial observer might pronounce them; nor would he ever have provoked this war had he thought that he would be bound to fight himself. He hoped that on his first entry he would carry all before him, and he finds himself completely mistaken. This unforeseen result confounds and discourages him; and besides there is the question of Thessaly. The Thessalians were always, of course, born traitors, and Philip finds them to-day just what everyone has found them in the past. They have formally resolved to demand the restitution of Pagasae and have hindered him from fortifying Magnesia. I have also been informed that they will no longer hand over to him the profits of their harbours and markets, on the ground that this sum ought to be applied to the

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by means of an extraordinary levy or *εἰσφορά*. Either in 350, or perhaps in 349 before the delivery of the third Olynthiac, an attempt to revert to the earlier arrangement was followed by the usual *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, and Eubulus is alleged to have confirmed the bad system by making it a capital offence even to propose a diversion of the fund. Demosthenes approaches the subject with a studied show of embarrassment.

κοινὰ τὰ Θετταλῶν ἀπὸ τούτων δέοι διοικεῖν, οὐ
Φίλιππον λαμβάνειν. εἰ δὲ τούτων ἀποστερήσεται
τῶν χρημάτων, εἰς στενὸν κομιδῇ τὰ τῆς τροφῆς
23 τοῖς ξένοις αὐτῷ καταστήσεται. ἀλλὰ μὴν τόν
γε Παίονα καὶ τὸν Ἰλλυριὸν καὶ ἁπλῶς τούτους
ἅπαντας ἡγεῖσθαι χρὴ αὐτονόμους ἥδιον ἂν καὶ
ἐλευθέρους ἢ δούλους εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ ἀήθεις τοῦ
κατακούειν τινός εἰσι, καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὑβριστής,
ὥς φασιν. καὶ μὰ Δί' οὐδὲν ἄπιστον ἴσως· τὸ
[16] γὰρ εὖ πράττειν παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἀφορμὴ τοῦ κακῶς
φρονεῖν τοῖς ἀνοήτοις γίγνεται| διόπερ πολλάκις
δοκεῖ τὸ φυλάξαι τἀγαθὰ τοῦ κτήσασθαι χαλεπώτερον
24 εἶναι. δεῖ τοίνυν ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
τὴν ἀκαιρίαν τὴν ἐκείνου καιρὸν ὑμέτερον νομίσαντας
ἑτοίμως συνάρασθαι τὰ πράγματα, καὶ
πρεσβευομένους ἐφ' ἃ δεῖ, καὶ στρατευομένους
αὐτοὺς καὶ παροξύνοντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας,
λογιζομένους, εἰ Φίλιππος λάβοι καθ' ἡμῶν
τοιοῦτον καιρὸν καὶ πόλεμος γένοιτο πρὸς τῇ
χώρᾳ, πῶς ἂν αὐτὸν οἴεσθ' ἑτοίμως ἐφ' ὑμᾶς
ἐλθεῖν; εἶτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε, εἰ μηδ' ἃ πάθοιτ'
ἄν, εἰ δύναιτ' ἐκεῖνος, ταῦτα ποιῆσαι καιρὸν
ἔχοντες οὐ τολμήσετε;

25 Ἔτι τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μηδὲ τοῦθ'
ὑμᾶς λανθανέτω, ὅτι νῦν αἵρεσίς ἐστιν ὑμῖν πότερ'
ὑμᾶς ἐκεῖ χρὴ πολεμεῖν ἢ παρ' ὑμῖν ἐκεῖνον. ἐὰν
μὲν γὰρ ἀντέχῃ τὰ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων, ὑμεῖς ἐκεῖ
πολεμήσετε καὶ τὴν ἐκείνου κακῶς ποιήσετε, τὴν
ὑπάρχουσαν καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν ταύτην ἀδεῶς καρπούμενοι·
ἂν δ' ἐκεῖνα Φίλιππος λάβῃ, τίς αὐτὸν
26 κωλύσει δεῦρο βαδίζειν; Θηβαῖοι; μὴ λίαν πικρὸν
εἰπεῖν ᾖ, καὶ συνεισβαλοῦσιν ἑτοίμως. ἀλλὰ

government of Thessaly and not find its way into Philip's coffers. Now if he is deprived of this source of revenue, he will be hard put to it to pay for the maintenance of his mercenaries. But surely we must assume that your Paeonian or Illyrian or any other of these tribes would prefer freedom and independence to slavery. They are not accustomed to acknowledge a master, and Philip is by all accounts a particularly harsh one. And indeed that is not surprising. Undeserved success engenders folly in unbalanced minds, and therefore it often proves harder to keep than to win prosperity. Look then, Athenians, upon his difficulties as your opportunity. Be prompt to take up the challenge. Send embassies when necessary. Take the field in person. Rouse all the other states. Reflect how eagerly Philip would march against you, if he had such a chance as we have, and if the war were on our frontiers. Are you not ashamed if, having the opportunity, you lack the courage to do to him what he would certainly do to you if he could?

One point more, men of Athens. Do not forget that you can to-day choose whether you must fight there or Philip must fight here. If Olynthus holds out, you will fight there, to the detriment of his territory, while you enjoy in security the land that is your home. But if Philip takes Olynthus, who is to prevent his marching hither? The Thebans? It may be an unduly harsh thing to say, but they will join heartily in the invasion. The Phocians

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Φωκεῖς; οἳ τὴν οἰκείαν οὐχ οἷοί τ' ὄντες φυλάττειν,
ἐὰν μὴ βοηθήσηθ' ὑμεῖς. ἢ ἄλλος τις; "ἀλλ', ὦ
τᾶν, οὐχὶ βουλήσεται." τῶν ἀτοπωτάτων μέντἂν
εἴη, εἰ ἃ νῦν ἄνοιαν ὀφλισκάνων ὅμως ἐκλαλεῖ,
27 ταῦτα δυνηθεὶς μὴ πράξει. ἀλλὰ μὴν ἡλίκα γ'
ἐστὶν τὰ διάφορ' ἐνθάδ' ἢ ἐκεῖ πολεμεῖν, οὐδὲ
λόγου προσδεῖν ἡγοῦμαι. εἰ γὰρ ὑμᾶς δεήσειεν
αὐτοὺς τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας μόνας ἔξω γενέσθαι, καὶ
ὅσ' ἀνάγκη στρατοπέδῳ χρωμένους τῶν ἐκ τῆς
[17] χώρας λαμβάνειν, μηδενὸς ὄντος ἐν αὐτῇ πολεμίου
λέγω, πλείον'[1] ἂν οἶμαι ζημιωθῆναι τοὺς γεωργοῦντας
ὑμῶν ἢ ὅσ' εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν πρὸ τοῦ πόλεμον
δεδαπάνησθε. εἰ δὲ δὴ πόλεμός τις ἥξει, πόσα
χρὴ νομίσαι ζημιώσεσθαι; καὶ πρόσεσθ' ἡ ὕβρις
καὶ ἔθ' ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνη, οὐδεμιᾶς
ἐλάττων ζημία τοῖς γε σώφροσιν.

28 Πάντα δὴ ταῦτα δεῖ συνιδόντας ἅπαντας βοηθεῖν καὶ ἀπωθεῖν ἐκεῖσε τὸν πόλεμον, τοὺς μὲν εὐπόρους, ἵν' ὑπὲρ τῶν πολλῶν ὧν καλῶς ποιοῦντες ἔχουσι μίκρ' ἀναλίσκοντες τὰ λοιπὰ καρπῶνται ἀδεῶς, τοὺς δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ, ἵνα τὴν τοῦ πολεμεῖν ἐμπειρίαν ἐν τῇ Φιλίππου χώρᾳ κτησάμενοι φοβεροὶ φύλακες τῆς οἰκείας ἀκεραίου γένωνται, τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας, ἵν' αἱ τῶν πεπολιτευμένων αὐτοῖς εὔθυναι ῥᾴδιαι γένωνται, ὡς ὁποῖ' ἄττ' ἂν ὑμᾶς περιστῇ τὰ πράγματα, τοιοῦτοι κριταὶ καὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτοῖς ἔσεσθε. χρηστὰ δ' εἴη παντὸς εἵνεκα.

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[1] πλείον' Blass : πλέον Dindorf with mss.

then? What! the men who cannot protect their own country without your help? Any others? "But, my friend," cries someone, "he will not wish to attack us." Nay, it would be a crowning absurdity if, having the power, he should lack the will to carry out the threat which to-day he utters at the risk of his reputation for sanity. But indeed I think you want no speech to prove how vast is the difference between a war here and a war yonder. Why, if you were obliged to take the field yourselves for a bare month, drawing from Attica the necessary supplies—I am assuming that there is no enemy in this country—I suppose your farmers would lose more than the sum spent upon the whole of the previous war.[a] But if war comes within our borders, at what figure must we assess our losses? And you must add the insolence of the enemy and the ignominy of our position, greater than any loss in a wise man's estimation.

It is the duty of all of you to grasp the significance of these facts, and to send out an expedition that shall thrust back the war into Macedonia: it is the duty of the well-to-do, that spending but a fraction of the wealth they so happily possess, they may enjoy the residue in security; of our fighters, that gaining experience of war on Philip's soil, they may prove the formidable guardians of an inviolate fatherland; of the statesmen, that they may give a ready account of their stewardship, for as is the issue of these events, so will be your judgement of their policy. On every ground may that issue be prosperous!

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[a] The war about Amphipolis. Demosthenes reckons its cost at 1500 talents (*Ol.* ii. 28).

II. ΟΛΥΝΘΙΑΚΟΣ Β

[18] Ἐπὶ πολλῶν μὲν ἄν τις ἰδεῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δοκεῖ μοι τὴν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὔνοιαν φανερὰν γιγνομένην τῇ πόλει, οὐχ ἥκιστα δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασι· τὸ γὰρ τοὺς πολεμήσοντας Φιλίππῳ γεγενῆσθαι καὶ χώραν ὅμορον καὶ δύναμίν τινα κεκτημένους, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον ἁπάντων, τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολέμου γνώμην τοιαύτην ἔχοντας, ὥστε τὰς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον διαλλαγὰς πρῶτον μὲν ἀπίστους, εἶτα τῆς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδος νομίζειν ἀνάστασιν, δαιμονίᾳ τινὶ καὶ θείᾳ παντάπασιν ἔοικεν εὐεργεσίᾳ.
2 δεῖ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτ᾽ ἤδη σκοπεῖν αὐτούς, ὅπως μὴ χείρους περὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς εἶναι δόξομεν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων, ὡς ἔστι τῶν αἰσχρῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν αἰσχίστων, μὴ μόνον πόλεων καὶ τόπων ὧν ἦμέν ποτε κύριοι φαίνεσθαι προϊεμένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης παρασκευασθέντων συμμάχων καὶ καιρῶν.

3 Τὸ μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν Φιλίππου ῥώμην διεξιέναι καὶ διὰ τούτων τῶν λόγων προτρέπειν τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς, οὐχὶ καλῶς ἔχειν ἡγοῦμαι. διὰ τί; ὅτι μοι δοκεῖ πάνθ᾽ ὅσ᾽ ἂν εἴποι τις ὑπὲρ τούτων, ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἔχειν φιλοτιμίαν, ἡμῖν δ᾽ οὐχὶ καλῶς πεπρᾶχθαι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὅσῳ πλείον᾽ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν πεποίηκε τὴν αὑτοῦ,

II. SECOND OLYNTHIAC

On many occasions, men of Athens, one may, I think, recognize the manifest favour of heaven towards our city, and not least at the present crisis. That Philip has found men willing to fight him, situated on his frontiers and possessed of considerable power, above all so determined that they regard any accommodation with him as both delusive and fatal to their own country—this has all the appearance of a superhuman, a divine beneficence. So the time has come, men of Athens, to look to it that we do not prove more unfriendly to ourselves than circumstances have been, for we shall show ourselves the meanest of mankind, if we abandon not only the cities and the places which we once called our own, but the very allies that fortune has raised up for us and the chances she throws in our way.

Now I do not choose, Athenians, to enumerate the resources of Philip and by such arguments to call on you to rise to the occasion. Do you ask why? Because it seems to me that any dissertation on that topic is a tribute to his enterprise, but a record of our failure. For the higher he has raised himself above his proper level, the more he wins the admira-

τοσούτῳ θαυμαστότερος παρὰ πᾶσι νομίζεται·
ὑμεῖς δ' ὅσῳ χεῖρον ἢ προσῆκε κέχρησθε τοῖς
πράγμασι, τοσούτῳ πλείον' αἰσχύνην ὠφλήκατε.
4 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν παραλείψω. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μετ'
[19] ἀληθείας τις, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, σκοποῖτο,
ἐνθένδ' ἂν αὐτὸν ἴδοι μέγαν γεγενημένον, οὐχὶ
παρ' αὐτοῦ. ὧν οὖν ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὀφείλει τοῖς
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πεπολιτευμένοις χάριν, ὑμῖν δὲ δίκην
προσήκει λαβεῖν, τούτων οὐχὶ νῦν ὁρῶ τὸν καιρὸν
τοῦ λέγειν· ἃ δὲ καὶ χωρὶς τούτων ἔνι, καὶ βέλτιόν
ἐστιν ἀκηκοέναι πάντας ὑμᾶς, καὶ μεγάλ', ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατ' ἐκείνου φαίνοιτ' ἂν
ὀνείδη βουλομένοις ὀρθῶς δοκιμάζειν, ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν
πειράσομαι.

5 Τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐπίορκον καὶ ἄπιστον καλεῖν ἄνευ
τοῦ τὰ πεπραγμένα δεικνύναι λοιδορίαν εἶναί τις
ἂν φήσειε κενὴν δικαίως· τὸ δὲ πάνθ' ὅσα πώποτ'
ἔπραξε διεξιόντ' ἐφ' ἅπασι τούτοις ἐλέγχειν, καὶ
βραχέος λόγου συμβαίνει δεῖσθαι, καὶ δυοῖν ἕνεχ'
ἡγοῦμαι συμφέρειν εἰρῆσθαι, τοῦ τ' ἐκεῖνον, ὅπερ
καὶ ἀληθὲς ὑπάρχει, φαῦλον φαίνεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς
ὑπερεκπεπληγμένους ὡς ἄμαχόν τινα τὸν Φίλιππον
ἰδεῖν ὅτι πάντα διεξελήλυθεν οἷς πρότερον παρακρουόμενος
μέγας ηὐξήθη, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἥκει
6 τὴν τελευτὴν τὰ πράγματ' αὐτῷ. ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, σφόδρ' ἂν ἡγούμην καὶ αὐτὸς
φοβερὸν τὸν Φίλιππον καὶ θαυμαστόν, εἰ τὰ
δίκαια πράττονθ' ἑώρων ηὐξημένον· νῦν δὲ θεωρῶν
καὶ σκοπῶν εὑρίσκω τὴν μὲν ἡμετέραν εὐήθειαν
τὸ κατ' ἀρχάς, ὅτ' Ὀλυνθίους ἀπήλαυνόν τινες
ἐνθένδε βουλομένους ὑμῖν διαλεχθῆναι, τῷ τὴν
Ἀμφίπολιν φάσκειν παραδώσειν καὶ τὸ θρυλού-

tion of the world; but the more you have failed to improve your opportunities, the greater is the discredit that you have incurred. All this then I will waive. For an impartial investigation, men of Athens, would trace the source of Philip's greatness not to himself, but to this very platform. Of transactions, then, for which Philip should be grateful to those whose policy has served his interests, and for which you might well demand satisfaction, I do not find this the proper time for speaking. There are, however other topics open to me; you will be the better for having heard them, and if you will consent to scrutinize them accurately, men of Athens, you will find in them grave charges against Philip. On these topics I shall endeavour to address you.

Now to call a man perjured and faithless, without drawing attention to his acts, might justly be termed mere abuse; but to describe his conduct in detail and convict him on the whole count fortunately requires only a short speech. Moreover, I have two reasons for thinking the story worth the telling: Philip shall appear as worthless as he really is, and those who stand aghast at his apparent invincibility shall see that he has exhausted all the arts of chicanery on which his greatness was founded at the first, and that his career has now reached its extreme limit. For my own part, Athenians, I too should be inclined to regard Philip with mingled fear and admiration, if I saw that his success had crowned a career of integrity. But when I consider him attentively, I find that at the outset, when the Olynthians were anxious to consult you, but certain persons were for excluding them from our Assembly, he won our simple hearts by promising to hand over Amphipolis

μενόν ποτ' ἀπόρρητον ἐκεῖνο κατασκευάσαι, τούτῳ
7 προαγαγόμενον, τὴν δ' Ὀλυνθίων φιλίαν μετὰ
[20] ταῦτα τῷ Ποτείδαιαν οὖσαν ὑμετέραν ἐξελεῖν καὶ
τοὺς μὲν πρότερον συμμάχους ὑμᾶς ἀδικῆσαι,
παραδοῦναι δ' ἐκείνοις, Θετταλοὺς δὲ νῦν τὰ
τελευταῖα τῷ Μαγνησίαν παραδώσειν ὑποσχέσθαι
καὶ τὸν Φωκικὸν πόλεμον πολεμήσειν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
ἀναδέξασθαι. ὅλως δ' οὐδεὶς ἔστιν ὅντιν' οὐ
πεφενάκικεν ἐκεῖνος τῶν αὐτῷ χρησαμένων· τὴν
γὰρ ἑκάστων ἄνοιαν ἀεὶ τῶν ἀγνοούντων αὐτὸν ἐξαπατῶν
8 καὶ προσλαμβάνων οὕτως ηὐξήθη. ὥσπερ
οὖν διὰ τούτων ἤρθη μέγας, ἡνίχ' ἕκαστοι συμφέρον
αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῖς ᾤοντό τι πράξειν, οὕτως
ὀφείλει διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων καὶ καθαιρεθῆναι
πάλιν, ἐπειδὴ πάνθ' ἕνεχ' ἑαυτοῦ ποιῶν ἐξελήλεγκται.
καιροῦ μὲν δή, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
πρὸς τοῦτο πάρεστι Φιλίππῳ τὰ πράγματα· ἢ
παρελθών τις ἐμοί, μᾶλλον δ' ὑμῖν δειξάτω, ὡς
οὐκ ἀληθῆ ταῦτ' ἐγὼ λέγω, ἢ ὡς οἱ τὰ πρῶτ'
ἐξηπατημένοι τὰ λοιπὰ πιστεύσουσιν, ἢ ὡς οἱ
παρὰ τὴν αὑτῶν ἀξίαν δεδουλωμένοι Θετταλοὶ
νῦν οὐκ ἂν ἐλεύθεροι γένοιντ' ἄσμενοι.

9 Καὶ μὴν εἴ τις ὑμῶν ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ἔχειν
ἡγεῖται, οἴεται δὲ βίᾳ καθέξειν αὐτὸν τὰ πράγματα
τῷ τὰ χωρία καὶ λιμένας καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα προειληφέναι,
οὐκ ὀρθῶς οἴεται. ὅταν μὲν γὰρ ὑπ'
εὐνοίας τὰ πράγματα συστῇ καὶ πᾶσι ταὐτὰ
συμφέρῃ τοῖς μετέχουσι τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ συμ-

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[a] The proposed surrender of Pydna in exchange for Amphipolis.

[b] If the Greek is sound, this must allude to Philip's offer

to us and by negotiating that secret treaty [a] once so much talked about. I find that next he won the friendship of the Olynthians by capturing Potidaea, which was yours, and thus wronging you, his former allies,[b] in presenting it to them. Lastly he has won over the Thessalians by promising to bestow Magnesia upon them and by undertaking to conduct the Phocian war [c] in their interests. In a word, he has hoodwinked everyone that has had any dealings with him ; he has played upon the folly of each party in turn and exploited their ignorance of his own character. That is how he has gained his power. Now even as he has raised himself by these arts, while every community imagined that they were to be the recipients of his favours, so by these same arts he is bound to be brought low again now that the utter selfishness of his conduct has been amply demonstrated. Yes, men of Athens, this is the turning-point of Philip's career. If not, let someone step up and prove to me—or rather to you—that my words are untrue, or that those who have been once deceived will continue to trust him, or that the Thessalians who stooped to become his slaves would not now welcome their emancipation.

Again, if anyone here admits the truth of this, but fancies that Philip will remain master of the situation, being already in possession of the fortresses and harbours and other points of vantage, he is mistaken. For when a league is knit together by goodwill, when all the allied states have the same interests, then the individual members are willing

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of alliance with Athens ten years before. But perhaps we should omit ὑμᾶς with Blass. The allies will then be the Potidaeans, as the Scholiast explains.

[c] The Sacred War of 355–346.

πονεῖν καὶ φέρειν τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ μένειν ἐθέλουσιν
ἄνθρωποι· ὅταν δ᾽ ἐκ πλεονεξίας καὶ
πονηρίας τις ὥσπερ οὗτος ἰσχύσῃ, ἡ πρώτη
πρόφασις καὶ μικρὸν πταῖσμ᾽ ἅπαντ᾽ ἀνεχαίτισε
10 καὶ διέλυσεν. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες
[21] Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀδικοῦντα καὶ ἐπιορκοῦντα καὶ ψευδόμενον
δύναμιν βεβαίαν κτήσασθαι, ἀλλὰ τὰ τοιαῦτ᾽
εἰς μὲν ἅπαξ καὶ βραχὺν χρόνον ἀντέχει, καὶ
σφόδρα γ᾽ ἤνθησεν ἐπὶ ταῖς ἐλπίσιν, ἂν τύχῃ, τῷ
χρόνῳ δὲ φωρᾶται καὶ περὶ αὑτὰ καταρρεῖ. ὥσπερ
γὰρ οἰκίας, οἶμαι, καὶ πλοίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν
τοιούτων τὰ κάτωθεν ἰσχυρότατ᾽ εἶναι δεῖ, οὕτω
καὶ τῶν πράξεων τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ὑποθέσεις
ἀληθεῖς καὶ δικαίας εἶναι προσήκει. τοῦτο δ᾽ οὐκ
ἔνι νῦν ἐν τοῖς πεπραγμένοις Φιλίππῳ.

11 Φημὶ δὴ δεῖν ἡμᾶς τοῖς μὲν Ὀλυνθίοις βοηθεῖν,
καὶ ὅπως τις λέγει κάλλιστα καὶ τάχιστα, οὕτως
ἀρέσκει μοι· πρὸς δὲ Θετταλοὺς πρεσβείαν πέμπειν,
ἣ τοὺς μὲν διδάξει ταῦτα, τοὺς δὲ παροξυνεῖ·
καὶ γὰρ νῦν εἰσιν ἐψηφισμένοι Παγασὰς ἀπαιτεῖν
12 καὶ περὶ Μαγνησίας λόγους ποιεῖσθαι. σκοπεῖσθε
μέντοι τοῦτ᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅπως μὴ λόγους
ἐροῦσιν μόνον οἱ παρ᾽ ἡμῶν πρέσβεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ
ἔργον τι δεικνύειν ἕξουσιν, ἐξεληλυθότων ὑμῶν
ἀξίως τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὄντων ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν·
ὡς ἅπας μὲν λόγος, ἂν ἀπῇ τὰ πράγματα, μάταιόν
τι φαίνεται καὶ κενόν, μάλιστα δ᾽ ὁ παρὰ τῆς
ἡμετέρας πόλεως· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἑτοιμότατ᾽ αὐτῷ
δοκοῦμεν χρῆσθαι, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ἀπιστοῦσι
13 πάντες αὐτῷ. πολλὴν δὴ τὴν μετάστασιν καὶ
μεγάλην δεικτέον τὴν μεταβολήν, εἰσφέροντας,
ἐξιόντας, ἅπαντα ποιοῦντας ἑτοίμως, εἴπερ τις

to remain steadfast, sharing the toil and enduring the hardships; but when a man has gained power, as Philip has, by rapacity and crime, then the first pretext, some trifling slip, overthrows and shatters all. It is impossible, men of Athens, impossible to gain permanent power by injustice, perjury, and falsehood. Once in a way and for a brief season such things endure, and fed with hopes make, it may be, a brave show of blossom, but at the last they are detected and fall to pieces. For a house, I take it, or a ship or anything of that sort must have its chief strength in its substructure; and so too in affairs of state the principles and the foundations must be truth and justice. There is no vestige of these to-day in the power that Philip has built up.

I urge you strongly to send help to Olynthus, and the best and quickest method that anyone can suggest will please me most. To the Thessalians you must send an embassy to inform some of them of our intentions and to stir up the others; for they have already decided to demand the restoration of Pagasae and to protest against the occupation of Magnesia. But you must make sure, men of Athens, that our envoys do not confine themselves to words; they must be able to give some practical proof that we have taken the field in a way worthy of our city and that we are really grappling with the situation. All words, apart from action, seem vain and idle, especially words from Athenian lips; for the greater our reputation for a ready tongue, the greater the distrust it inspires in all men. You must indeed prove the thoroughness of your reformation and the importance of your change of policy by raising money, by serving in the field, and by doing every-

ὑμῖν προσέξει τὸν νοῦν. κἂν ταῦτ᾽ ἐθελήσηθ᾽ ὡς προσήκει καὶ δὴ περαίνειν, οὐ μόνον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ συμμαχικὰ ἀσθενῶς καὶ ἀπίστως [22] ἔχοντα φανήσεται Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῆς οἰκείας ἀρχῆς καὶ δυνάμεως κακῶς ἔχοντ᾽ ἐξελεγχθήσεται.

14 Ὅλως μὲν γὰρ ἡ Μακεδονικὴ δύναμις καὶ ἀρχὴ ἐν μὲν προσθήκῃ μερίς ἐστί τις οὐ μικρά· οἷον ὑπῆρξέ ποθ᾽ ὑμῖν ἐπὶ Τιμοθέου πρὸς Ὀλυνθίους· πάλιν αὖ πρὸς Ποτείδαιαν Ὀλυνθίοις ἐφάνη τι τοῦτο συναμφότερον· νυνὶ δὲ Θετταλοῖς στασιάζουσι καὶ τεταραγμένοις ἐπὶ τὴν τυραννικὴν οἰκίαν ἐβοήθησεν· καὶ ὅποι τις ἄν, οἶμαι, προσθῇ κἂν μικρὰν δύναμιν, πάντ᾽ ὠφελεῖ· αὐτὴ δὲ καθ᾽ αὑτὴν 15 ἀσθενὴς καὶ πολλῶν κακῶν ἐστι μεστή. καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἅπασι τούτοις, οἷς ἄν τις μέγαν αὐτὸν ἡγήσαιτο, τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ταῖς στρατείαις, ἔτ᾽ ἐπισφαλεστέραν ἢ ὑπῆρχε φύσει κατεσκεύακεν αὑτῷ. μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθ᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς αὐτοῖς Φίλιππόν τε χαίρειν καὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ μὲν δόξης ἐπιθυμεῖ καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐζήλωκε καὶ προῄρηται πράττων καὶ κινδυνεύων, ἂν συμβῇ τι, παθεῖν, τὴν τοῦ διαπράξασθαι ταῦθ᾽ ἃ μηδεὶς πώποτ᾽ ἄλλος Μακεδόνων βασιλεὺς δόξαν ἀντὶ τοῦ 16 ζῆν ἀσφαλῶς ᾑρημένος· τοῖς δὲ τῆς μὲν φιλοτιμίας τῆς ἀπὸ τούτων οὐ μέτεστι, κοπτόμενοι δ᾽ ἀεὶ ταῖς στρατείαις ταύταις ταῖς ἄνω κάτω λυποῦνται καὶ συνεχῶς ταλαιπωροῦσιν, οὔτ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις οὔτ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῖς αὑτῶν ἰδίοις ἐώμενοι διατρίβειν, οὔθ᾽ ὅσ᾽ ἂν ποιήσωσιν οὕτως ὅπως ἂν δύνωνται, ταῦτ᾽ ἔχοντες διαθέσθαι, κεκλειμένων

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[a] In 364 an Athenian force under Timotheus joined

thing with a will, if you want anyone to take you seriously. If you consent to carry through the necessary reforms at once, not only will Philip's alliances, men of Athens, prove unstable and untrustworthy, but the weakness of his native power and sovereignty will be completely exposed.

Yes, the power and sovereignty of Macedonia is indeed, as an adjunct, no slight contribution, as you found it when on your side against Olynthus in the days of Timotheus.[a] On another occasion, in dealing with Potidaea, the Olynthians found its co-operation of some value; and lately it came to the help of the Thessalians in their factions and feuds against the ruling house. The accession, I suppose, even of a small force is in every way helpful; but by itself Macedonia is weak and full of defects. For indeed Philip by all that might be deemed to constitute his greatness, by his wars and his campaigns, has only reduced his country below its natural level of insecurity. You must not imagine, men of Athens, that his subjects share his tastes. No: glory is his sole object and ambition; in action and in danger he has elected to suffer whatever may befall him, putting before a life of safety the distinction of achieving what no other king of Macedonia ever achieved. But his subjects have no share in the glory that results. They are perpetually buffeted and wearied and distressed by these expeditions north and south, never suffered to give their time to their business or their private affairs, never able to dispose of such produce as they can raise, because

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Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, in an attack on the Olynthian confederacy.

17 τῶν ἐμπορίων τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον. οἱ μὲν οὖν πολλοὶ Μακεδόνων πῶς ἔχουσι Φιλίππῳ, [23] ἐκ τούτων ἄν τις σκέψαιτ' οὐ χαλεπῶς· οἱ δὲ δὴ περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντες ξένοι καὶ πεζέταιροι δόξαν μὲν ἔχουσιν ὡς εἰσὶ θαυμαστοὶ καὶ συγκεκροτημένοι τὰ τοῦ πολέμου, ὡς δ' ἐγὼ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ γεγενημένων τινὸς ἤκουον, ἀνδρὸς οὐδαμῶς οἵου 18 τε ψεύδεσθαι, οὐδένων εἰσὶ βελτίους. εἰ μὲν γάρ τις ἀνήρ ἐστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷος ἔμπειρος πολέμου καὶ ἀγώνων, τούτους μὲν φιλοτιμίᾳ πάντας ἀπωθεῖν αὐτὸν ἔφη, βουλόμενον πάνθ' αὑτοῦ δοκεῖν εἶναι τὰ ἔργα (πρὸς γὰρ αὖ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν ἀνυπέρβλητον εἶναι)· εἰ δέ τις σώφρων ἢ δίκαιος ἄλλως, τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν ἀκρασίαν τοῦ βίου καὶ μέθην καὶ κορδακισμοὺς οὐ δυνάμενος φέρειν, παρεῶσθαι καὶ ἐν οὐδενὸς εἶναι μέρει τὸν τοιοῦτον. 19 λοιποὺς δὴ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι λῃστὰς καὶ κόλακας καὶ τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους οἵους μεθυσθέντας ὀρχεῖσθαι τοιαῦθ' οἷ' ἐγὼ νῦν ὀκνῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὀνομάσαι. δῆλον δ' ὅτι ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀληθῆ· καὶ γὰρ οὓς ἐνθένδε πάντες ἀπήλαυνον ὡς πολὺ τῶν θαυματοποιῶν ἀσελγεστέρους ὄντας, Καλλίαν ἐκεῖνον τὸν δημόσιον καὶ τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους, μίμους γελοίων καὶ ποιητὰς αἰσχρῶν ᾀσμάτων, ὧν εἰς τοὺς συνόντας ποιοῦσιν ἕνεκα τοῦ γελασθῆναι, τούτους 20 ἀγαπᾷ καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἔχει. καίτοι ταῦτα, καὶ εἰ μικρά τις ἡγεῖται, μεγάλ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δείγματα τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης καὶ κακοδαιμονίας ἐστὶ τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσιν. ἀλλ', οἶμαι, νῦν μὲν ἐπισκοτεῖ τούτοις τὸ κατορθοῦν· αἱ γὰρ εὐπραξίαι δειναὶ συγκρύψαι τὰ τοιαῦτ' ὀνείδη· εἰ δέ τι πταίσει, [24] τότ' ἀκριβῶς αὐτοῦ ταῦτ' ἐξετασθήσεται. δοκεῖ

the war has closed all the markets in their land. Hence it is not difficult to see how the majority of the Macedonians regard Philip. As for his household troops and footguards, they have indeed the name of admirable soldiers, well grounded in the science of war ; but one who has lived on the spot, a man incapable of falsehood, has informed me that they are no better than other soldiers. If there is anyone among them who can be described as experienced in war and battle, I was told that Philip from jealousy keeps all such in the background, because he wants to have the credit himself of every action, among his many faults being an insatiable ambition. Any fairly decent or honest man, who cannot stomach the licentiousness of his daily life, the drunkenness and the lewd dancing, is pushed aside as of no account. All the rest about his court, he said, are robbers and toadies, men capable of getting drunk and performing such dances as I hesitate to name to you here. This report is obviously true, for the men who were unanimously expelled from Athens, as being of far looser morals than the average mountebank—I mean Callias the hangman and fellows of that stamp, low comedians, men who compose ribald songs to raise a laugh against their boon companions—these are the men he welcomes and loves to have about him. These are perhaps trivial things, and yet, Athenians, to wise men they afford an important proof of the infatuation of his character. For the present, however, his prosperity throws all this into the shade (for success is apt to cover a multitude of faults) ; but if he trips, then we shall know all about his vices. And it seems to me,

δ' ἔμοιγ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δείξειν οὐκ εἰς
μακράν, ἂν οἵ τε θεοὶ θέλωσι καὶ ὑμεῖς βούλησθε.
21 ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς σώμασι, τέως μὲν ἂν ἐρρωμένος
ᾖ τις, οὐδὲν ἐπαισθάνεται, ἐπὰν δ' ἀρρώστημά τι
συμβῇ, πάντα κινεῖται, κἂν ῥῆγμα κἂν στρέμμα
κἂν ἄλλο τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων σαθρὸν ᾖ, οὕτω καὶ
τῶν πόλεων καὶ τῶν τυράννων, ἕως μὲν ἂν ἔξω
πολεμῶσιν, ἀφανῆ τὰ κακὰ τοῖς πολλοῖς ἐστιν,
ἐπειδὰν δ' ὅμορος πόλεμος συμπλακῇ, πάντ' ἐποίησεν
ἔκδηλα.

22 Εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν Φίλιππον
εὐτυχοῦνθ' ὁρῶν ταύτῃ φοβερὸν προσπολεμῆσαι
νομίζει, σώφρονος μὲν ἀνθρώπου λογισμῷ χρῆται·
μεγάλη γὰρ ῥοπή, μᾶλλον δ' ὅλον ἡ τύχη παρὰ
πάντ' ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα· οὐ μὴν
ἀλλ' ἔγωγ', εἴ τις αἵρεσίν μοι δοίη, τὴν τῆς ἡμετέρας
πόλεως τύχην ἂν ἑλοίμην, ἐθελόντων ἃ
προσήκει ποιεῖν ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ κατὰ μικρόν, ἢ
τὴν ἐκείνου· πολὺ γὰρ πλείους ἀφορμὰς εἰς τὸ τὴν
παρὰ τῶν θεῶν εὔνοιαν ἔχειν ὁρῶ ὑμῖν ἐνούσας ἢ
'κείνῳ. ἀλλ', οἶμαι, καθήμεθ' οὐδὲν ποιοῦντες·
23 οὐκ ἔνι δ' αὐτὸν ἀργοῦντ' οὐδὲ τοῖς φίλοις ἐπιτάττειν
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τι ποιεῖν, μή τί γε δὴ τοῖς
θεοῖς. οὐ δὴ θαυμαστόν ἐστιν, εἰ στρατευόμενος
καὶ πονῶν ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸς καὶ παρὼν ἐφ' ἅπασι
καὶ μήτε καιρὸν μήθ'[1] ὥραν παραλείπων ἡμῶν
μελλόντων καὶ ψηφιζομένων καὶ πυνθανομένων
περιγίγνεται. οὐδὲ θαυμάζω τοῦτ' ἐγώ· τοὐναντίον
γὰρ ἂν ἦν θαυμαστόν, εἰ μηδὲν ποιοῦντες ἡμεῖς
24 ὧν τοῖς πολεμοῦσι προσήκει τοῦ πάντα ποιοῦντος
[25] περιῆμεν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο θαυμάζω, εἰ Λακεδαιμονίοις
μέν ποτ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν

Athenians, that we shall not have to wait long for the exposure, if heaven wills and you so resolve. For just as in our bodies, so long as a man is in sound health, he is conscious of no pain, but if some malady assails him, every part is set a-working, be it rupture or sprain or any other local affection; even so is it with states and monarchies; as long as their wars are on foreign soil, few detect their weaknesses, but when the shock of battle is on their frontiers, it makes all their faults perfectly clear.

But if any of you, Athenians, seeing Philip's good fortune, thinks that he is in that respect a formidable antagonist, he reasons like a prudent man. For fortune is indeed a great weight in the scales; I might almost say it is everything in human affairs. All the same, if you gave me the choice, I should prefer the fortune of Athens to Philip's, provided that you are willing to do your duty yourselves, even to a limited extent; for I am sure you have far greater claims than he upon the favour of the gods. Yet, I think, we sit here doing nothing. But one who is himself idle cannot possibly call upon his friends, much less upon the gods, to work for him. No wonder that Philip, sharing himself in the toils of the campaign, present at every action, neglecting no chance and wasting no season, gets the better of us, while we procrastinate and pass resolutions and ask questions. I cannot wonder at this: the contrary would rather surprise me, that we, performing no single duty of a combatant, should overcome the man who fulfils them all. Nay, I am surprised that you, men of Athens, who once withstood the

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[1] So Blass: *μηδένα καιρὸν μηδ'* Dindorf and vulg.: *μηδὲ καιρὸν μηδὲ* S.

δικαίων ἀντήρατε, καὶ πόλλ’ ἰδίᾳ πλεονεκτῆσαι
πολλάκις ὑμῖν ἐξὸν οὐκ ἠθελήσατε, ἀλλ’ ἵν’ οἱ
ἄλλοι τύχωσι τῶν δικαίων, τὰ ὑμέτερ’ αὐτῶν
ἀνηλίσκετ’ εἰσφέροντες καὶ προὐκινδυνεύετε στρατευόμενοι,
νυνὶ δ’ ὀκνεῖτ’ ἐξιέναι καὶ μέλλετ’
εἰσφέρειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν κτημάτων,
καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους σεσώκατε πολλάκις πάντας
καὶ καθ’ ἕν’ αὐτῶν ἐν μέρει, τὰ δ’ ὑμέτερ’ αὐτῶν
25 ἀπολωλεκότες κάθησθε. ταῦτα θαυμάζω, κἄτι
πρὸς τούτοις, εἰ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
δύναται λογίσασθαι πόσον πολεμεῖτε χρόνον Φιλίππῳ,
καὶ τί ποιούντων ὑμῶν ὁ χρόνος διελήλυθεν
οὗτος. ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ’, ὅτι μελλόντων
αὐτῶν, ἑτέρους τινὰς ἐλπιζόντων πράξειν, αἰτιωμένων
ἀλλήλους, κρινόντων, πάλιν ἐλπιζόντων,
σχεδὸν ταὔθ’ ἅπερ νυνὶ ποιούντων, ἅπας ὁ χρόνος
26 διελήλυθεν. εἶθ’ οὕτως ἀγνωμόνως ἔχετ’, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥστε δι’ ὧν ἐκ χρηστῶν φαῦλα τὰ
πράγματα τῆς πόλεως γέγονεν, διὰ τούτων ἐλπίζετε
τῶν αὐτῶν πράξεων ἐκ φαύλων αὐτὰ χρηστὰ
γενήσεσθαι; ἀλλ’ οὔτ’ εὔλογον οὔτ’ ἔχον ἐστὶ
φύσιν τοῦτό γε· πολὺ γὰρ ῥᾷον ἔχοντας φυλάττειν
ἢ κτήσασθαι πάντα πέφυκεν. νῦν δ’ ὅ τι μὲν
φυλάξομεν, οὐδέν ἐστιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πολέμου λοιπὸν
τῶν πρότερον, κτήσασθαι δὲ δεῖ. αὐτῶν οὖν
27 ἡμῶν ἔργον τοῦτ’ ἤδη. φημὶ δὴ δεῖν εἰσφέρειν
χρήματα, αὐτοὺς ἐξιέναι προθύμως, μηδέν’ αἰτιᾶσθαι
πρὶν ἂν τῶν πραγμάτων κρατήσητε, τηνικαῦτα
[26] δ’ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔργων κρίναντας τοὺς μὲν ἀξίους
ἐπαίνου τιμᾶν, τοὺς δ’ ἀδικοῦντας κολάζειν, τὰς
προφάσεις δ’ ἀφελεῖν καὶ τὰ καθ’ ὑμᾶς ἐλλείμματα·
οὐ γὰρ ἔστι πικρῶς ἐξετάσαι τί πέπρακται τοῖς

Lacedaemonians in defence of the rights of Hellas, who spurned the opportunity, repeatedly offered, of self-aggrandizement, who lavished your treasure and jeoparded your lives in the field that others might enjoy their rights, now shrink from service and grudge to pay your contributions for the sake of your own possessions. I am surprised that you, who have so often saved the other states, both all of them together and each separately in turn, should sit down under the loss of what is your own. All this I wonder at, and at another thing besides. I wonder that no one here, men of Athens, can count up how many years you have been at war with Philip, and what you have been doing all that long time. Surely you must know that all that time you have been hesitating, hoping that some other state would take action, accusing and sitting in judgement on one another, and still hoping, hoping—doing in fact pretty much what you are doing now. And are you so unintelligent, men of Athens, as to hope that the same policy that has brought our state from success to failure will raise us from failure to success? Surely that is neither reasonable nor natural; for in all things it is much easier to keep than to gain. But, in the present instance, of what was once ours the war has left us nothing to keep and everything to gain. This, then, is our own task to-day. I say it is your duty to serve cheerfully in person and to reserve your censures till you are masters of the situation. Then, judging all on their merits, assign praise to the deserving and punishment to the wrong-doers, and render excuse impossible by mending your own deficiencies; for you have no right to be severe

ἄλλοις, ἂν μὴ παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτῶν πρῶτον ὑπάρξῃ τὰ
28 δέοντα. τίνος γὰρ ἕνεκ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
νομίζετε τοῦτον μὲν φεύγειν τὸν πόλεμον πάντας
ὅσους ἂν ἐκπέμψητε στρατηγούς, ἰδίους δ' εὑρίσκειν
πολέμους, εἰ δεῖ τι τῶν ὄντων καὶ περὶ τῶν στρατηγῶν
εἰπεῖν; ὅτι ἐνταῦθα μέν ἐστι τὰ ἆθλ'
ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐστιν ὁ πόλεμος ὑμέτερα (Ἀμφίπολίς γ'
ἂν[1] ληφθῇ, παραχρῆμ' ὑμεῖς κομιεῖσθε), οἱ δὲ
κίνδυνοι τῶν ἐφεστηκότων ἴδιοι, μισθὸς δ' οὐκ
ἔστιν· ἐκεῖ δὲ κίνδυνοι μὲν ἐλάττους, τὰ δὲ λήμματα
τῶν ἐφεστηκότων καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, Λάμψακος,
Σίγειον, τὰ πλοῖ' ἃ συλῶσιν. ἐπ' οὖν τὸ λυσιτελοῦν
29 αὑτοῖς ἕκαστοι χωροῦσιν. ὑμεῖς δ', ὅταν μὲν εἰς
τὰ πράγματ' ἀποβλέψητε φαύλως ἔχοντα, τοὺς
ἐφεστηκότας κρίνετε, ὅταν δὲ δόντες λόγον τὰς
ἀνάγκας ἀκούσητε ταύτας, ἀφίετε. περίεστι τοίνυν
ὑμῖν ἀλλήλοις ἐρίζειν καὶ διεστάναι, τοῖς μὲν
ταῦτα πεπεισμένοις, τοῖς δὲ ταῦτα, τὰ κοινὰ δ'
ἔχειν φαύλως. πρότερον μὲν γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰσεφέρετε κατὰ συμμορίας, νυνὶ δὲ
πολιτεύεσθε κατὰ συμμορίας. ῥήτωρ ἡγεμὼν ἑκατέρων,
καὶ στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ βοησόμενοι
τριακόσιοι· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι προσνενέμησθε οἱ
30 μὲν ὡς τούτους, οἱ δ' ὡς ἐκείνους. δεῖ δὴ ταῦτ'

[1] So Deuerling: κἂν MSS.: Ἀμφίπολιν, κἂν Dindorf.

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[a] Since the year 378 for the payment of the war-tax (εἰσφορά), and since 357 for the trierarchy also, the citizens had been divided into a number of συμμορίαι, such that each comprised an equal fraction of the private wealth of the community. They were also divided into four classes according to property, the first class consisting of the wealthiest citizens, who prepaid the whole required sum

critics of others' conduct, unless you first set your own house in order. Why is it, think you, men of Athens, that all the generals you dispatch—if I am to tell you something of the truth about them—leave this war to itself and pursue little wars of their own? It is because in this war the prizes for which you contend are your own—(if, for instance, Amphipolis is captured, the immediate gain will be yours)—while the officers have all the dangers to themselves and no remuneration; but in the other case the risks are smaller and the prizes fall to the officers and the soldiers—Lampsacus, for example, and Sigeum, and the plunder of the merchant-ships. So they turn aside each to what pays him best. But you, whenever you turn your attention to your reverses, sit in judgement on your officers, but acquit them whenever in defence they plead their necessities. Hence the outcome is strife and contention among yourselves, some taking this side and some that, while the interests of the state suffer. You conduct your party-politics, Athenians, as you used to conduct your tax-paying—by syndicates.[a] Each syndicate has an orator for chairman, with a general under him and three hundred to do the shouting. The rest of you are attached now to one party and now to another. Surely this system must

into the exchequer and then recovered the money due from the less wealthy classes—a system which produced the abuses remedied by Demosthenes in 340. The richest man in a symmory was called the ἡγεμών or chairman and had under him an ἐπιμελητής or director. The comparison here is only a rough-and-ready one. Each political party in the Assembly has an orator (=ἡγεμών) at its head, a favourite general (=ἐπιμελητής) whose claims it supports, and a group of backers who applaud (=the 300 who pay).

ἐπανέντας καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἔτι καὶ νῦν γενομένους
κοινὸν καὶ τὸ βουλεύεσθαι καὶ τὸ λέγειν καὶ τὸ
πράττειν ποιῆσαι. εἰ δὲ τοῖς μὲν ὥσπερ ἐκ
[27] τυραννίδος ὑμῶν ἐπιτάττειν ἀποδώσετε, τοῖς δ' ἀναγκάζεσθαι τριηραρχεῖν, εἰσφέρειν, στρατεύεσθαι, τοῖς δὲ ψηφίζεσθαι κατὰ τούτων μόνον, ἄλλο δὲ μηδ' ὁτιοῦν συμπονεῖν, οὐχὶ γενήσεται τῶν δεόντων ὑμῖν οὐδὲν ἐν καιρῷ· τὸ γὰρ ἠδικημένον ἀεὶ μέρος ἐλλείψει, εἶθ' ὑμῖν τούτους κολάζειν ἀντὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐξέσται.

31 Λέγω δὴ κεφάλαιον, πάντας εἰσφέρειν ἀφ' ὅσων ἕκαστος ἔχει τὸ ἴσον· πάντας ἐξιέναι κατὰ μέρος, ἕως ἂν ἅπαντες στρατεύσησθε· πᾶσι τοῖς παριοῦσι λόγον διδόναι, καὶ τὰ βέλτισθ' ὧν ἂν ἀκούσηθ' αἱρεῖσθαι, μὴ ἃ ἂν ὁ δεῖν' ἢ ὁ δεῖν' εἴπῃ. κἂν ταῦτα ποιῆτε, οὐ τὸν εἰπόντα μόνον παραχρῆμ' ἐπαινέσεσθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὕστερον, βέλτιον τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων ὑμῖν ἐχόντων.

be abandoned. You must be once more your own masters, and must give to all alike the same chance to speak, to counsel, to act. But if you authorize one class of men to issue orders like absolute monarchs, and force another class to equip the galleys and pay the war-tax and serve in the field, while yet a third class has no other public duty than to vote the condemnation of the latter, you will never get anything essential done at the right time. There will always be some class with a grievance, who will fail you, and then it will be your privilege to punish them instead of the enemy.

To sum up, I propose that all should contribute equitably, each according to his means, that all should serve in turn until all have taken part in the campaign, that all who wish to address you should have a fair hearing, and that you should adopt the best advice offered, not just what this man or that man is pleased to suggest. If you do this, you will be able to congratulate the speaker at once and yourselves later on, when you find the cause of the nation prospering.

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III. ΟΛΥΝΘΙΑΚΟΣ Γ

Οὐχὶ ταὐτὰ παρίσταταί μοι γιγνώσκειν, ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅταν τ' εἰς τὰ πράγματ' ἀποβλέψω
καὶ ὅταν πρὸς τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἀκούω·
τοὺς μὲν γὰρ λόγους περὶ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι
Φίλιππον ὁρῶ γιγνομένους, τὰ δὲ πράγματ' εἰς
τοῦτο προήκοντα, ὥσθ' ὅπως μὴ πεισόμεθ' αὐτοὶ
πρότερον κακῶς σκέψασθαι δέον. οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλλο
μοι δοκοῦσιν οἱ τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγοντες ἢ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν,
περὶ ἧς βουλεύεσθε, οὐχὶ τὴν οὖσαν παριστάντες
2 ὑμῖν ἁμαρτάνειν. ἐγὼ δ', ὅτι μέν ποτ'
ἐξῆν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ αὑτῆς ἔχειν ἀσφαλῶς καὶ
Φίλιππον τιμωρήσασθαι, καὶ μάλ' ἀκριβῶς οἶδα·
ἐπ' ἐμοῦ γάρ, οὐ πάλαι γέγονε ταῦτ' ἀμφότερα·
[29] νῦν μέντοι πέπεισμαι τοῦθ' ἱκανὸν προλαβεῖν ἡμῖν
εἶναι τὴν πρώτην, ὅπως τοὺς συμμάχους σώσομεν.
ἐὰν γὰρ τοῦτο βεβαίως ὑπάρξῃ, τότε καὶ περὶ τοῦ
τίνα τιμωρήσεταί τις καὶ ὃν τρόπον ἐξέσται
σκοπεῖν· πρὶν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὀρθῶς ὑποθέσθαι,
μάταιον ἡγοῦμαι περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς ὁντινοῦν
ποιεῖσθαι λόγον.

3 Ὁ μὲν οὖν παρὼν καιρός, εἴπερ ποτέ, πολλῆς
φροντίδος καὶ βουλῆς δεῖται· ἐγὼ δ' οὐχ ὅ τι χρὴ
περὶ τῶν παρόντων συμβουλεῦσαι χαλεπώτατον
ἡγοῦμαι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖν' ἀπορῶ, τίνα χρὴ τρόπον, ὦ

III. THIRD OLYNTHIAC

VERY different, men of Athens, are the thoughts suggested to me by the contemplation of public affairs and by the speeches to which I listen. I observe that the speeches are all about punishing Philip, while our affairs have reached a stage at which it must be our first concern to avoid disaster ourselves. Hence these speakers seem to me to make precisely the mistake of submitting to you the wrong subject for deliberation. But for myself I am perfectly well aware that Athens once had the chance both of establishing her power and of punishing Philip; for within my own memory and not long ago, both these objects were within our grasp. Now, however, I am persuaded that we must be content to secure the first, that of saving our allies. If once we can be sure of that, then we can go on to consider who is to be punished and how it is to be done; but until that foundation is well and truly laid, it is idle, in my opinion, to say a word about our ultimate object.

Never was there a crisis that demanded more careful handling than the present. But the difficulty lies, I think, not in proposing a plan to meet the case: what puzzles me, men of Athens, is how to put it

ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πρὸς ὑμᾶς περὶ αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν. πέπεισμαι γὰρ ἐξ ὧν παρὼν καὶ ἀκούων σύνοιδα, τὰ πλείω τῶν πραγμάτων ἡμᾶς ἐκπεφευγέναι τῷ μὴ βούλεσθαι τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ἢ τῷ μὴ συνιέναι. ἀξιῶ δ' ὑμᾶς, ἂν μετὰ παρρησίας ποιῶμαι τοὺς λόγους, ὑπομένειν, τοῦτο θεωροῦντας, εἰ τἀληθῆ λέγω, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ', ἵνα τὰ λοιπὰ βελτίω γένηται· ὁρᾶτε γὰρ ὡς ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς χάριν δημηγορεῖν ἐνίους εἰς πᾶν προελήλυθε μοχθηρίας τὰ παρόντα.

4 Ἀναγκαῖον δ' ὑπολαμβάνω μικρὰ τῶν γεγενημένων
πρῶτον ὑμᾶς ὑπομνῆσαι. μέμνησθ', ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτ' ἀπηγγέλθη Φίλιππος ὑμῖν
ἐν Θρᾴκῃ, τρίτον ἢ τέταρτον ἔτος τουτί, Ἡραῖον
τεῖχος πολιορκῶν. τότε τοίνυν μὴν μὲν ἦν μαιμακτηριών·
πολλῶν δὲ λόγων καὶ θορύβου γιγνομένου
παρ' ὑμῖν ἐψηφίσασθε τετταράκοντα
τριήρεις καθέλκειν καὶ τοὺς μέχρι πέντε καὶ
τετταράκοντ' ἐτῶν αὐτοὺς ἐμβαίνειν καὶ τάλανθ'
5 ἐξήκοντ' εἰσφέρειν. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα διελθόντος
τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ τούτου ἑκατομβαιών, μεταγειτνιών,
βοηδρομιών· τούτου τοῦ μηνὸς μόγις μετὰ τὰ
[30] μυστήρια δέκα ναῦς ἀπεστείλατ' ἔχοντα κενὰς
Χαρίδημον καὶ πέντε τάλαντ' ἀργυρίου. ὡς γὰρ
ἠγγέλθη Φίλιππος ἀσθενῶν ἢ τεθνεώς (ἦλθε γὰρ
ἀμφότερα), οὐκέτι καιρὸν οὐδένα τοῦ βοηθεῖν
νομίσαντες ἀφεῖτ',[1] ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν
ἀπόστολον. ἦν δ' οὗτος ὁ καιρὸς αὐτός· εἰ γὰρ
τότ' ἐκεῖσ' ἐβοηθήσαμεν, ὥσπερ ἐψηφισάμεθα,
προθύμως, οὐκ ἂν ἠνώχλει νῦν ἡμῖν ὁ Φίλιππος
σωθείς.

6 Τὰ μὲν δὴ τότε πραχθέντ' οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἔχοι·

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[1] So A and Y: ἠφίετε Dindorf: ἀφίετε S.

before you. For what I have seen and heard convinces me that most of your chances have escaped you rather from a disinclination to do your duty than from a failure to understand it. I must ask you to bear with me if I speak frankly, considering only whether I am speaking the truth, and speaking with the object that things may go better in the future; for you see how the popularity-hunting of some of our orators has led us into this desperate predicament.

I must first refresh your memory with a little history. You remember, men of Athens, when news came three or four years ago that Philip was in Thrace besieging the fortress of Heraeum. Well, it was the month of Maemacterion, and there was a long and excited debate in the Assembly, and you finally decided to launch a fleet of forty vessels, manned by citizens under the age of forty-five, and to raise forty talents by a special tax. That year passed and Hecatombaeon came and Metageitnion and Boëdromion. In that month, with a great effort, after the celebration of the Mysteries [a] you dispatched Charidemus with ten ships, unmanned, and a sum of five talents of silver. When news came that Philip was ill or dead—both reports reached us—you, Athenians, thinking that help was no longer needed, abandoned the expedition. But that was just your opportunity. If we had carried out our resolution in earnest and sailed to Thrace then, Philip would not have survived to trouble us to-day.

Well, what is done cannot be undone; but now

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[a] The Eleusinian Mysteries, celebrated between the 13th and 24th of Boëdromion, *i.e.* about the beginning of October.

νῦν δ' ἑτέρου πολέμου καιρὸς ἥκει τις, δι' ὃν καὶ
περὶ τούτων ἐμνήσθην, ἵνα μὴ ταὐτὰ πάθητε. τί
δὴ χρησόμεθ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τούτῳ; εἰ
γὰρ μὴ βοηθήσετε παντὶ σθένει κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν,
θεάσασθ' ὃν τρόπον ὑμεῖς ἐστρατηγηκότες πάντ'
7 ἔσεσθ' ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου. ὑπῆρχον Ὀλύνθιοι δύναμίν
τινα κεκτημένοι, καὶ διέκειθ' οὕτω τὰ πράγματα·
οὔτε Φίλιππος ἐθάρρει τούτους οὔθ' οὗτοι Φίλιππον.
ἐπράξαμεν ἡμεῖς κἀκεῖνοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς εἰρήνην· ἦν
τοῦθ' ὥσπερ ἐμπόδισμά τι τῷ Φιλίππῳ καὶ
δυσχερές, πόλιν μεγάλην ἐφορμεῖν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ
καιροῖς διηλλαγμένην πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἐκπολεμῶσαι[1]
δεῖν ᾠόμεθα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου,
καὶ ὃ πάντες ἐθρύλουν, πέπρακται νυνὶ τοῦθ'
8 ὁπωσδήποτε. τί οὖν ὑπόλοιπον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
πλὴν βοηθεῖν ἐρρωμένως καὶ προθύμως;
ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὁρῶ· χωρὶς γὰρ τῆς περιστάσης ἂν
ἡμᾶς αἰσχύνης, εἰ καθυφείμεθά τι τῶν πραγμάτων,
οὐδὲ τὸν φόβον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μικρὸν ὁρῶ
τὸν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα, ἐχόντων μὲν ὡς ἔχουσι
Θηβαίων ἡμῖν, ἀπειρηκότων δὲ χρήμασι Φωκέων,
μηδενὸς δ' ἐμποδὼν ὄντος Φιλίππῳ τὰ παρόντα
καταστρεψαμένῳ πρὸς ταῦτ' ἐπικλῖναι τὰ πράγματα.
9 ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ τις ὑμῶν εἰς τοῦτ' ἀναβάλλεται
[31] ποιήσειν τὰ δέοντα, ἰδεῖν ἐγγύθεν βούλεται τὰ
δεινά, ἐξὸν ἀκούειν ἄλλοθι γιγνόμενα, καὶ βοηθοὺς
ἑαυτῷ ζητεῖν, ἐξὸν νῦν ἑτέροις αὐτὸν βοηθεῖν· ὅτι

[1] ἐκπολεμῆσαι Dindorf with S.

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[a] As Sandys has noted, the phrase is probably a formula borrowed from the actual text of the treaty.

[b] The change to the past tense is made more abrupt by

comes the opportunity of another war. That was why I have referred to the past, that you may not make the same mistake again. What use, men of Athens, are we to make of our opportunity? For if you do not send help "in full muster, whereto your power shall extend,"[a] observe how all your generalship will make for Philip's success. We could count[b] on the Olynthians with their considerable resources; and the position of affairs was that Philip did not trust them, nor they Philip. We had negotiated a peace with them that hampered Philip sorely; for here was a powerful state, reconciled to us and watching for him to give them an opening. We thought that we ought by all means to embroil them with him; and what was the common talk has to-day somehow or other come to pass. What remains then, men of Athens, but to help them with all your power and energy? I see no alternative. For, quite apart from the disgrace that we should incur if we shirk our responsibilities, I see not a little danger, men of Athens, for the future, if the Thebans maintain their present attitude towards us, and the Phocians have come to the end of their money, and there is nothing to hinder Philip, when he has crushed his present foe, from turning his arms against Attica. But surely if anyone of you would postpone the necessary action till then, he must prefer to see danger at his very doors, rather than hear of it far away, and to beg help for himself, when he might be lending help to others now; for I suppose we all

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the omission of connecting particles in three successive sentences. Demosthenes is telling off on his fingers the advantages which the Athenians already had before the debate began.

γὰρ εἰς τοῦτο περιστήσεται τὰ πράγματα, ἐὰν τὰ
παρόντα προώμεθα, σχεδὸν ἴσμεν ἅπαντες δήπου.
10 Ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι μὲν δὴ δεῖ βοηθεῖν, εἴποι τις ἄν,
πάντες ἐγνώκαμεν, καὶ βοηθήσομεν· τὸ δ᾽ ὅπως,
τοῦτο λέγε. μὴ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θαυμάσητε,
ἂν παράδοξον εἴπω τι τοῖς πολλοῖς.
νομοθέτας καθίσατε. ἐν δὲ τούτοις τοῖς νομοθέταις
μὴ θῆσθε νόμον μηδένα (εἰσὶ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἱκανοί[1]),
ἀλλὰ τοὺς εἰς τὸ παρὸν βλάπτοντας ὑμᾶς λύσατε.
11 λέγω τοὺς περὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν, σαφῶς οὑτωσί,
καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῶν στρατευομένων ἐνίους, ὧν οἱ
μὲν τὰ στρατιωτικὰ τοῖς οἴκοι μένουσι διανέμουσι
θεωρικά, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἀτακτοῦντας ἀθῴους καθιστᾶσιν,
εἶτα καὶ τοὺς τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν βουλομένους
ἀθυμοτέρους ποιοῦσιν. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταῦτα
λύσητε καὶ τὴν τοῦ τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν ὁδὸν
παράσχητ᾽ ἀσφαλῆ, τηνικαῦτα τὸν γράψονθ᾽ ἃ
12 πάντες ἴσθ᾽ ὅτι συμφέρει ζητεῖτε. πρὶν δὲ ταῦτα
πρᾶξαι, μὴ σκοπεῖτε τίς εἰπὼν τὰ βέλτισθ᾽ ὑπὲρ
ὑμῶν ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν ἀπολέσθαι βουλήσεται· οὐ γὰρ
εὑρήσετε, ἄλλως τε καὶ τούτου μόνου περιγίγνεσθαι
μέλλοντος, παθεῖν ἀδίκως τι κακὸν τὸν ταῦτ᾽
εἰπόντα καὶ γράψαντα, μηδὲν δ᾽ ὠφελῆσαι τὰ
πράγματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν μᾶλλον ἔτ᾽ ἢ
νῦν τὸ τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν φοβερώτερον ποιῆσαι.
καὶ λύειν γ᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς νόμους δεῖ
13 τούτους τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀξιοῦν οἵπερ καὶ τεθήκασιν·
[32] οὐ γάρ ἐστι δίκαιον, τὴν μὲν χάριν, ἣ πᾶσαν
ἔβλαπτε τὴν πόλιν, τοῖς τότε θεῖσιν ὑπάρχειν, τὴν
δ᾽ ἀπέχθειαν, δι᾽ ἧς ἂν ἅπαντες ἄμεινον πράξαιμεν,
τῷ νῦν τὰ βέλτιστ᾽ εἰπόντι ζημίαν γενέσθαι. πρὶν
δὲ ταῦτ᾽ εὐτρεπίσαι, μηδαμῶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,

realize that that is what it will come to, if we throw away our present chances.

Perhaps you will say, " Of course we all know that we must send an expedition, and we are willing to do so ; but tell us how." Then do not be surprised, Athenians, if my answer comes as a shock to most of you. Appoint a legislative commission. Do not use it to frame new laws—you have laws enough for your purpose—but repeal those which hamper us in the present crisis. In plain language I mean the laws for administering the Theoric Fund, and also some of the service regulations. The former distribute the military funds as theatre-money among those who remain in the city ; the latter give impunity to deserters and in consequence discourage those willing to serve. When you have repealed these laws and made the way safe for wise counsel, then look round for someone who will propose what you all know to be salutary measures. But until you have done this, do not expect to find a statesman who will propose measures for your benefit, only to be ruined by you for his pains. You will never find one, especially as the only result would be that the proposer would get into trouble without improving the situation, and his fate would also make good advice more dangerous for the future. Yes, men of Athens, and you ought to insist that those who made these laws should also repeal them. It is not fair that those legislators should enjoy a popularity which has cost the community dear, but that the patriotic reformer should be penalized by the odium of proposals by which we may all be benefited. Until you have set this right, Athenians, do not expect to find

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[1] *ἱκανοὶ ὑμῖν* Dindorf with S.

μηδέν᾽ ἀξιοῦτε τηλικοῦτον εἶναι παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ὥστε
τοὺς νόμους τούτους παραβάντα μὴ δοῦναι δίκην,
μηδ᾽ οὕτως ἀνόητον ὥστ᾽ εἰς προῦπτον κακὸν
αὑτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν.
14 Οὐ μὴν οὐδ᾽ ἐκεῖνό γ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν δεῖ, ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ψήφισμ᾽ οὐδενὸς ἄξιόν ἐστιν,
ἂν μὴ προσγένηται τὸ ποιεῖν ἐθέλειν τά γε δόξαντα
προθύμως ὑμᾶς. εἰ γὰρ αὐτάρκη τὰ ψηφίσματ᾽
ἦν ἢ ὑμᾶς ἀναγκάζειν ἃ προσήκει πράττειν ἢ περὶ
ὧν γραφείη διαπράξασθαι, οὔτ᾽ ἂν ὑμεῖς πολλὰ
ψηφιζόμενοι μικρά, μᾶλλον δ᾽ οὐδὲν ἐπράττετε
τούτων, οὔτε Φίλιππος τοσοῦτον ὑβρίκει χρόνον·
πάλαι γὰρ ἂν ἕνεκά γε ψηφισμάτων ἐδεδώκει
15 δίκην. ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ οὕτω ταῦτ᾽ ἔχει· τὸ γὰρ πράττειν
τοῦ λέγειν καὶ χειροτονεῖν ὕστερον ὂν τῇ τάξει,
πρότερον τῇ δυνάμει καὶ κρεῖττόν ἐστιν. τοῦτ᾽
οὖν δεῖ προσεῖναι, τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλ᾽ ὑπάρχει· καὶ γὰρ
εἰπεῖν τὰ δέοντα παρ᾽ ὑμῖν εἰσιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
δυνάμενοι, καὶ γνῶναι πάντων ὑμεῖς ὀξύτατοι
τὰ ῥηθέντα, καὶ πρᾶξαι δὲ δυνήσεσθε νῦν, ἐὰν
16 ὀρθῶς ποιῆτε. τίνα γὰρ χρόνον ἢ τίνα καιρόν, ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦ παρόντος βελτίω ζητεῖτε;
ἢ πόθ᾽ ἃ δεῖ πράξετ᾽, εἰ μὴ νῦν; οὐχ ἅπαντα μὲν
ἡμῶν προείληφε τὰ χωρί᾽ ἄνθρωπος, εἰ δὲ καὶ
ταύτης κύριος τῆς χώρας γενήσεται, πάντων
αἴσχιστα πεισόμεθα; οὐχ οὕς, εἰ πολεμήσαιεν,
[33] ἑτοίμως σώσειν ὑπισχνούμεθα, οὗτοι νῦν πολεμοῦσιν;
οὐκ ἐχθρός; οὐκ ἔχων τὰ ἡμέτερα;
17 οὐ βάρβαρος; οὐχ ὅ τι ἂν εἴποι τις; ἀλλὰ πρὸς
θεῶν πάντ᾽ ἐάσαντες καὶ μόνον οὐχὶ συγκατασκευάσαντες
αὐτῷ, τότε τοὺς αἰτίους οἵτινες
τούτων ζητήσομεν; οὐ γὰρ αὐτοί γ᾽ αἴτιοι

anyone so influential among you that he can break these laws with impunity, or so wanting in discretion as to run open-eyed into danger.

At the same time, Athenians, you must not forget this, that a mere decree is worthless without a willingness on your part to put your resolutions into practice. If decrees could automatically compel you to do your duty, or could accomplish the objects for which they were proposed, you would not have passed such an array of them with little or no result, and Philip would not have had such a long career of insolent triumph. Long ago, if decrees counted for anything, he would have suffered for his sins. But that is not so. For in order of time action is subsequent to speaking and voting, but in importance it comes first and ranks higher. It is action, then, that must be added: of all else we have enough. You have among you, Athenians, men competent to say the right thing, no nation is quicker-witted to grasp the meaning of speech, and you will at once be able to translate it into action, if only you do your duty. Why, what better time or occasion could you find than the present, men of Athens? When will you do your duty, if not now? Has not your enemy already captured all our strongholds, and if he becomes master of Chalcidice, shall we not be overwhelmed with dishonour? Are not those states actually at war which we so readily engaged in that event to protect? Is not Philip our enemy? And in possession of our property? And a barbarian? Is any description too bad for him? But, in the name of the gods, when we have abandoned all these places and almost helped Philip to gain them, shall we then ask who is to blame? For I am sure we

φήσομεν εἶναι, σαφῶς οἶδα τοῦτ᾽ ἐγώ. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν
τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου κινδύνοις τῶν φυγόντων οὐδεὶς
ἑαυτοῦ κατηγορεῖ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν
πλησίον καὶ πάντων μᾶλλον, ἥττηνται δ᾽ ὅμως
διὰ πάντας τοὺς φυγόντας δήπου· μένειν γὰρ ἐξῆν
τῷ κατηγοροῦντι τῶν ἄλλων, εἰ δὲ τοῦτ᾽ ἐποίει
18 ἕκαστος, ἐνίκων ἄν. καὶ νῦν, οὐ λέγει τις τὰ
βέλτιστα· ἀναστὰς ἄλλος εἰπάτω, μὴ τοῦτον
αἰτιάσθω. ἕτερος λέγει τις βελτίω· ταῦτα ποιεῖτ᾽
ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ ἡδέα ταῦτα· οὐκέτι τοῦθ᾽
ὁ λέγων ἀδικεῖ, πλὴν εἰ δέον εὔξασθαι παραλείπει·
εὔξασθαι μὲν γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ῥᾴδιον, εἰς
ταὐτὸ πάνθ᾽ ὅσα βούλεταί τις ἁθροίσαντ᾽ ἐν
ὀλίγῳ· ἑλέσθαι δ᾽, ὅταν περὶ πραγμάτων προτεθῇ
σκοπεῖν, οὐκέθ᾽ ὁμοίως εὔπορον, ἀλλὰ δεῖ τὰ
βέλτιστ᾽ ἀντὶ τῶν ἡδέων, ἂν μὴ συναμφότερ᾽ ἐξῇ,
19 λαμβάνειν. εἰ δέ τις ἡμῖν ἔχει καὶ τὰ θεωρικὰ
ἐᾶν καὶ πόρους ἑτέρους λέγειν στρατιωτικούς, οὐχ
οὗτος κρείττων; εἴποι τις ἄν. φήμ᾽ ἔγωγε,
εἴπερ ἔστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· ἀλλὰ θαυμάζω
εἴ τῴ ποτ᾽ ἀνθρώπων ἢ γέγονεν ἢ γενήσεται, ἂν
τὰ παρόντ᾽ ἀναλώσῃ πρὸς ἃ μὴ δεῖ, τῶν ἀπόντων
εὐπορῆσαι πρὸς ἃ δεῖ. ἀλλ᾽, οἶμαι, μέγα τοῖς
τοιούτοις ὑπάρχει λόγοις ἡ παρ᾽ ἑκάστου βούλησις,
διόπερ ῥᾷστον ἁπάντων ἐστὶν αὑτὸν ἐξαπατῆσαι·
[34] ὃ γὰρ βούλεται, τοῦθ᾽ ἕκαστος καὶ οἴεται, τὰ
20 δὲ πράγματα πολλάκις οὐχ οὕτω πέφυκεν. ὁρᾶτ᾽
οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταῦθ᾽ οὕτως, ὅπως καὶ
τὰ πράγματ᾽ ἐνδέχεται καὶ δυνήσεσθ᾽ ἐξιέναι καὶ
μισθὸν ἕξετε. οὔ τοι σωφρόνων οὐδὲ γενναίων

shall never admit that it is ourselves. In the panic of battle the runaway never blames himself; it is always his general's fault, or his comrades', anyone's rather than his own. Yet surely to the runaways collectively the defeat is due; for he might have stood firm who now blames the others, and if every man had stood, the battle would have been won. So now: someone's suggestion is not the best possible. Then let someone else get up and make a better, not blame the first speaker. Suppose the second suggestion is an improvement. Then act upon it, and success attend it! But, you say, it is not a pleasant one. The speaker is not to blame for that—unless he leaves out the necessary prayer! Yes, men of Athens, it is easy to pray, cramming all our wants into one short petition. But to choose, when choice of action is put before you, is no such child's-play, because you have to choose the best course rather than the pleasantest, if you cannot have both at once. "But what if someone can leave our Theoric Fund untouched and name other sources for our military budget? Is not he the better statesman?" says someone. I grant you, men of Athens—if the thing is possible. But I wonder if any mortal, after spending all his existing wealth on superfluities, ever did or ever will find himself with a surplus for necessaries from his vanished funds. I think that in such proposals the wish is father to the thought, and that is why nothing is easier than self-deceit. For what each man wishes, that he also believes to be true. Unfortunately it is not often so in practical politics. Now I want you, Athenians, to consider the possibilities of the case, and see how you can both serve and receive your pay. Surely it is

ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐλλείποντάς τι δι᾽ ἔνδειαν χρημάτων
τῶν τοῦ πολέμου εὐχερῶς τὰ τοιαῦτ᾽
ὀνείδη φέρειν, οὐδ᾽ ἐπὶ μὲν Κορινθίους καὶ Μεγαρέας
ἁρπάσαντας τὰ ὅπλα πορεύεσθαι, Φίλιππον δ᾽
ἐᾶν πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας ἀνδραποδίζεσθαι δι᾽ ἀπορίαν
ἐφοδίων τοῖς στρατευομένοις.
21 Καὶ ταῦτ᾽ οὐχ ἵν᾽ ἀπέχθωμαί τισιν ὑμῶν, τὴν
ἄλλως προῄρημαι λέγειν· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἄφρων
οὐδ᾽ ἀτυχής εἰμ᾽ ἐγὼ ὥστ᾽ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι βούλεσθαι
μηδὲν ὠφελεῖν νομίζων· ἀλλὰ δικαίου πολίτου
κρίνω τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων σωτηρίαν ἀντὶ τῆς ἐν
τῷ λέγειν χάριτος αἱρεῖσθαι· καὶ γὰρ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν
προγόνων ἡμῶν λέγοντας ἀκούω, ὥσπερ ἴσως καὶ
ὑμεῖς, οὓς ἐπαινοῦσι μὲν οἱ παριόντες ἅπαντες,
μιμοῦνται δ᾽ οὐ πάνυ, τούτῳ τῷ ἔθει καὶ τῷ
τρόπῳ τῆς πολιτείας χρῆσθαι, τὸν Ἀριστείδην
ἐκεῖνον, τὸν Νικίαν, τὸν ὁμώνυμον ἐμαυτῷ, τὸν
22 Περικλέα. ἐξ οὗ δ᾽ οἱ διερωτῶντες ὑμᾶς οὗτοι
πεφήνασι ῥήτορες "τί βούλεσθε; τί γράψω; τί
ὑμῖν χαρίσωμαι;" προπέποται τῆς παραυτίκα
χάριτος τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα, καὶ τοιαυτὶ
συμβαίνει, καὶ τὰ μὲν τούτων πάντα καλῶς ἔχει,
23 τὰ δ᾽ ὑμέτερ᾽ αἰσχρῶς. καίτοι σκέψασθ᾽, ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἅ τις ἂν κεφάλαι᾽ εἰπεῖν ἔχοι
τῶν τ᾽ ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων ἔργων καὶ τῶν ἐφ᾽
[35] ὑμῶν. ἔσται δὲ βραχὺς καὶ γνώριμος ὑμῖν ὁ
λόγος· οὐ γὰρ ἀλλοτρίοις ὑμῖν χρωμένοις παραδείγμασιν,
ἀλλ᾽ οἰκείοις, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
24 εὐδαίμοσιν ἔξεστι γενέσθαι. ἐκεῖνοι τοίνυν, οἷς οὐκ
ἐχαρίζονθ᾽ οἱ λέγοντες οὐδ᾽ ἐφίλουν αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ

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[a] Generally explained of the attacks on Corinth in 458

not like men of sense and spirit to shirk your military duty because the pay is not forthcoming, thinking lightly of the shame of it all; or to snatch up arms and march against Corinth or Megara,[a] but to let Philip enslave Greek cities, because you are short of rations for a campaign.

I am not talking for the idle purpose of quarrelling with anyone here. I am not such a misguided fool as to pick a quarrel deliberately when I see no advantage from it. But I consider it right as a citizen to set the welfare of the state above the popularity of an orator. Indeed I am given to understand—and so perhaps are you—that the orators of past generations, always praised but not always imitated by those who address you, adopted this very standard and principle of statesmanship. I refer to the famous Aristides, to Nicias, to my own namesake,[b] and to Pericles. But ever since this breed of orators appeared who ply you with such questions as "What would you like? What shall I propose? How can I oblige you?" the interests of the state have been frittered away for a momentary popularity. The natural consequences follow, and the orators profit by your disgrace. Yet reflect, men of Athens, on what might be named as the outstanding achievements of the days of your ancestors and those of your own time. I will give you a summary of familiar facts, for you need not go abroad for examples to teach you how to win success. Now your ancestors, whom their orators, unlike ours to-day, did not caress or flatter,

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and on Megara in 431 (Thuc. i. 105, ii. 31); but probably the reference is to some later and obscurer events.

[b] Demosthenes, the general, who perished with Nicias in the Sicilian expedition. He is not elsewhere described as an orator.

ὑμᾶς οὗτοι νῦν, πέντε μὲν καὶ τετταράκοντ᾽ ἔτη
τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦρξαν ἑκόντων, πλείω δ᾽ ἢ μύρια
τάλαντ᾽ εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνήγαγον, ὑπήκουε δ᾽
ὁ ταύτην τὴν χώραν ἔχων αὐτοῖς βασιλεύς, ὥσπερ
ἐστὶ προσῆκον βάρβαρον Ἕλλησι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ
καλὰ καὶ πεζῇ καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες ἔστησαν τρόπαι᾽
αὐτοὶ στρατευόμενοι, μόνοι δ᾽ ἀνθρώπων κρείττω
τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις δόξαν τῶν φθονούντων κατέλιπον.
25 ἐπὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἦσαν τοιοῦτοι·
ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν θεάσασθ᾽ ὁποῖοι,
ἔν τε τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις. δημοσίᾳ μὲν
τοίνυν οἰκοδομήματα καὶ κάλλη τοιαῦτα καὶ
τοσαῦτα κατεσκεύασαν ἡμῖν ἱερῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν
τούτοις ἀναθημάτων, ὥστε μηδενὶ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων
ὑπερβολὴν λελεῖφθαι· ἰδίᾳ δ᾽ οὕτω
σώφρονες ἦσαν καὶ σφόδρ᾽ ἐν τῷ τῆς πολιτείας
26 ἤθει μένοντες, ὥστε τὴν Ἀριστείδου καὶ τὴν
Μιλτιάδου καὶ τῶν τότε λαμπρῶν οἰκίαν, εἴ τις
ἄρ᾽ οἶδεν ὑμῶν ὁποία ποτ᾽ ἐστίν, ὁρᾷ τῆς τοῦ
γείτονος οὐδὲν σεμνοτέραν οὖσαν· οὐ γὰρ εἰς
περιουσίαν ἐπράττετ᾽ αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ
τὸ κοινὸν αὔξειν ἕκαστος ᾤετο δεῖν. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ
τὰ μὲν Ἑλληνικὰ πιστῶς, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς
εὐσεβῶς, τὰ δ᾽ ἐν αὑτοῖς ἴσως διοικεῖν μεγάλην
εἰκότως ἐκτήσαντ᾽ εὐδαιμονίαν.

27 Τότε μὲν δὴ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον εἶχε τὰ πράγματ᾽
ἐκείνοις, χρωμένοις οἷς εἶπον προστάταις· νυνὶ δὲ
πῶς ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν χρηστῶν τῶν νῦν τὰ πράγματ᾽
[36] ἔχει; ἆρά γ᾽ ὁμοίως καὶ παραπλησίως; οἷς—τὰ
μὲν ἄλλα σιωπῶ, πόλλ᾽ ἂν ἔχων εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅσης

for five and forty years[a] commanded the willing obedience of the Greeks; more than ten thousand talents did they accumulate in our Acropolis; the then king of Macedonia[b] was their subject, even as a barbarian ought to be subject to Greeks; many honourable trophies for victory on sea and land did they erect, themselves serving in the field; and they alone of mankind left behind them by their deeds a renown greater than all detraction. Such was their rank in the world of Hellas: what manner of men they were at home, in public or in private life, look round you and see. Out of the wealth of the state they set up for our delight so many fair buildings and things of beauty, temples and offerings to the gods, that we who come after must despair of ever surpassing them; yet in private they were so modest, so careful to obey the spirit of the constitution, that the houses of their famous men, of Aristides or of Miltiades, as any of you can see that knows them, are not a whit more splendid than those of their neighbours. For selfish greed had no place in their statesmanship, but each thought it his duty to further the common weal. And so by their good faith towards their fellow Greeks, their piety towards the gods, and their equality among themselves, they deserved and won a great prosperity.

Such was their condition in those days under the leaders I have named; and what is our condition to-day, thanks to our worthy statesmen? Is it the same or anything like the same? Why, we—I pass over much that I might mention, but you all see

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[a] The interval between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars.

[b] Perdiccas II.; a pardonable exaggeration.

ἅπαντες ὁρᾶτ᾿ ἐρημίας ἐπειλημμένοι, [καὶ][1] Λακεδαιμονίων
μὲν ἀπολωλότων, Θηβαίων δ᾿ ἀσχόλων
ὄντων, τῶν δ᾿ ἄλλων οὐδενὸς ὄντος ἀξιόχρεω περὶ
τῶν πρωτείων ἡμῖν ἀντιτάξασθαι, ἐξὸν δ᾿ ἡμῖν καὶ
τὰ ἡμέτερ᾿ αὐτῶν ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν καὶ τὰ τῶν
28 ἄλλων δίκαια βραβεύειν, ἀπεστερήμεθα μὲν χώρας
οἰκείας, πλείω δ᾿ ἢ χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια τάλαντ᾿
ἀνηλώκαμεν εἰς οὐδὲν δέον, οὓς δ᾿ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ
συμμάχους ἐκτησάμεθα, εἰρήνης οὔσης ἀπολωλέκασιν
οὗτοι, ἐχθρὸν δ᾿ ἐφ᾿ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς τηλικοῦτον
ἠσκήκαμεν. ἢ φρασάτω τις ἐμοὶ παρελθών,
πόθεν ἄλλοθεν ἰσχυρὸς γέγονεν ἢ παρ᾿ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν
29 Φίλιππος. ἀλλ᾿, ὦ τᾶν, εἰ ταῦτα φαύλως, τά γ᾿
ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει νῦν ἄμεινον ἔχει. καὶ τί ἂν
εἰπεῖν τις ἔχοι; τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἃς κονιῶμεν, καὶ
τὰς ὁδοὺς ἃς ἐπισκευάζομεν, καὶ κρήνας, καὶ
λήρους; ἀποβλέψατε δὴ πρὸς τοὺς ταῦτα πολιτευομένους,
ὧν οἱ μὲν ἐκ πτωχῶν πλούσιοι
γεγόνασιν, οἱ δ᾿ ἐξ ἀδόξων ἔντιμοι, ἔνιοι δὲ τὰς
ἰδίας οἰκίας τῶν δημοσίων οἰκοδομημάτων σεμνοτέρας
εἰσὶ κατεσκευασμένοι, ὅσῳ δὲ τὰ τῆς
πόλεως ἐλάττω γέγονεν, τοσούτῳ τὰ τούτων
ηὔξηται.

30 Τί δὴ τὸ πάντων αἴτιον τούτων, καὶ τί δή ποθ᾿
ἅπαντ᾿ εἶχε καλῶς τότε, καὶ νῦν οὐκ ὀρθῶς; ὅτι
τότε μὲν πράττειν[2] καὶ στρατεύεσθαι τολμῶν αὐτὸς
ὁ δῆμος δεσπότης τῶν πολιτευομένων ἦν καὶ
κύριος αὐτὸς ἁπάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ ἀγαπητὸν
31 ἦν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τῶν ἄλλων ἑκάστῳ καὶ τιμῆς
[37] καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τινος μεταλαβεῖν· νῦν δὲ

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[1] Bracketed by Dobree. Dindorf keeps καὶ but omits δὲ after ἐξόν.

what a clear field we had got, with the Lacedaemonians crushed, the Thebans fully occupied, and no other city fit to dispute the supremacy with us, while we might have been both the vindicators of our own rights and the umpires of the rights of others; and yet we have been robbed of our own soil, we have wasted on unnecessary objects more than fifteen hundred talents, our statesmen in peace have lost us the allies we gained in war, and we have provided a training-ground for this formidable rival. If not, let someone come forward and tell me who but ourselves has made Philip powerful. "But," says an objector, "if our foreign policy has failed, there is great improvement in domestic affairs." And to what can you point in proof? To the walls we are whitewashing, the streets we are paving, the waterworks, and the balderdash? Look rather at the men whose statesmanship has produced these results: some of them were poor and now are rich, some were obscure and now are eminent, some have reared private houses more stately than our public buildings, while the lower the fortunes of the city have sunk, the higher have their fortunes soared.

What is the cause of all this, and why, pray, did everything go well then that now goes amiss? Because then the people, having the courage to act and to fight, controlled the politicians and were themselves the dispensers of all favours; the rest were well content to accept at the people's hand honour and authority and reward. Now, on the

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[2] *τὸ μὲν πρῶτον* MSS.: *τὸ μὲν πρότερον* Dindorf. *τότε* is the reading of Hermogenes, and *πράττειν* is a correction of Rehdantz.

τοὐναντίον κύριοι μὲν οἱ πολιτευόμενοι τῶν ἀγαθῶν,
καὶ διὰ τούτων ἅπαντα πράττεται, ὑμεῖς δ' ὁ δῆμος
ἐκνενευρισμένοι καὶ περιῃρημένοι χρήματα, συμμάχους,
ἐν ὑπηρέτου καὶ προσθήκης μέρει γεγένησθε,
ἀγαπῶντες ἐὰν μεταδιδῶσι θεωρικῶν
ὑμῖν ἢ Βοηδρόμια πέμψωσιν οὗτοι, καὶ τὸ πάντων
ἀνδρειότατον, τῶν ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν χάριν προσοφείλετε.
οἱ δ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει καθείρξαντες
ὑμᾶς ἐπάγουσιν ἐπὶ ταῦτα καὶ τιθασεύουσι χειροήθεις
32 αὐτοῖς ποιοῦντες. ἔστι δ' οὐδέποτ', οἶμαι,
μέγα καὶ νεανικὸν φρόνημα λαβεῖν μικρὰ καὶ
φαῦλα πράττοντας· ὁποῖ' ἄττα γὰρ ἂν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα
τῶν ἀνθρώπων ᾖ, τοιοῦτον ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ
φρόνημ' ἔχειν. ταῦτα μὰ τὴν Δήμητρ' οὐκ ἂν
θαυμάσαιμ' εἰ μείζων εἰπόντι ἐμοὶ γένοιτο παρ'
ὑμῶν βλάβη τῶν πεποιηκότων αὐτὰ γενέσθαι·
οὐδὲ γὰρ παρρησία περὶ πάντων ἀεὶ παρ' ἡμῖν
ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ἔγωγ' ὅτι καὶ νῦν γέγονε θαυμάζω.
33 Ἐὰν οὖν ἀλλὰ νῦν γ' ἔτ' ἀπαλλαγέντες τούτων
τῶν ἐθῶν ἐθελήσητε στρατεύεσθαί τε καὶ πράττειν
ἀξίως ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ ταῖς περιουσίαις ταῖς οἴκοι
ταύταις ἀφορμαῖς ἐπὶ τὰ ἔξω τῶν ἀγαθῶν χρήσησθε,
ἴσως ἄν, ἴσως, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τέλειόν
τι καὶ μέγα κτήσαισθ' ἀγαθὸν καὶ τῶν τοιούτων
λημμάτων ἀπαλλαγείητε, ἃ τοῖς [ἀσθενοῦσι] παρὰ
τῶν ἰατρῶν σιτίοις διδομένοις ἔοικε. καὶ γὰρ
ἐκεῖν' οὔτ' ἰσχὺν ἐντίθησιν οὔτ' ἀποθνῄσκειν ἐᾷ·
καὶ ταῦθ' ἃ νέμεσθε νῦν ὑμεῖς, οὔτε τοσαῦτ' ἐστὶν
ὥστ' ὠφέλειαν ἔχειν τινὰ διαρκῆ, οὔτ' ἀπογνόντας
34 ἄλλο τι πράττειν ἐᾷ, ἀλλ' ἔστι ταῦτα τὴν ἑκάστου
[38] ῥᾳθυμίαν ἡμῶν ἐπαυξάνοντα. οὐκοῦν σὺ μισθοφορὰν
λέγεις; φήσει τις. καὶ παραχρῆμά γε τὴν

contrary, the politicians hold the purse-strings and manage everything, while you, the people, robbed of nerve and sinew, stripped of wealth and of allies, have sunk to the level of lackeys and hangers-on, content if the politicians gratify you with a dole from the Theoric Fund or a procession at the Boëdromia, and your manliness reaches its climax when you add your thanks for what is your own. They have mewed you up in the city and entice you with these baits, that they may keep you tame and subservient to the whip. You cannot, I suppose, have a proud and chivalrous spirit, if your conduct is mean and paltry ; for whatever a man's actions are, such must be his spirit. By our Lady, I should not wonder if I got rougher treatment from you for pointing out these faults than the men who are responsible for them. For you do not allow liberty of speech on every subject, and indeed I am surprised that you have allowed it now.

If, therefore, even at the eleventh hour, you can shake off these habits, and consent to fight and act as becomes Athenians and to devote the abundant resources that you have at home to the attainment of success abroad, perhaps, men of Athens, perhaps you may gain some important and unqualified advantage and may be quit of these paltry perquisites. Like the diet prescribed by doctors, which neither restores the strength of the patient nor allows him to succumb, so these doles that you are now distributing neither suffice to ensure your safety nor allow you to renounce them and try something else ; they only confirm each citizen in his apathy. You will ask me if I mean pay for military service. Not

αὐτὴν σύνταξιν ἁπάντων, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἵνα τῶν κοινῶν ἕκαστος τὸ μέρος λαμβάνων, ὅτου δέοιθ᾿ ἡ πόλις, τοῦθ᾿ ὑπάρχοι. ἔξεστιν ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν· οἴκοι μένων βελτίων, τοῦ δι᾿ ἔνδειαν ἀνάγκῃ τι ποιεῖν αἰσχρὸν ἀπηλλαγμένος. συμβαίνει τι τοιοῦτον οἷον καὶ τὰ νῦν· στρατιώτης αὐτὸς ὑπάρχων ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τούτων λημμάτων, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος. ἔστι τις ἔξω τῆς ἡλικίας ἡμῶν· ὅσ᾿ οὗτος ἀτάκτως νῦν λαμβάνων οὐκ ὠφελεῖ, ταῦτ᾿ ἐν ἴσῃ τάξει λαμβάνων πάντ᾿ ἐφορῶν καὶ διοικῶν ἃ χρὴ πράττεσθαι.
35 ὅλως δ᾿ οὔτ᾿ ἀφελὼν οὔτε προσθείς, πλὴν μικρῶν, τὴν ἀταξίαν ἀνελὼν εἰς τάξιν ἤγαγον τὴν πόλιν, τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ λαβεῖν, τοῦ στρατεύεσθαι, τοῦ δικάζειν, τοῦ ποιεῖν τοῦθ᾿ ὅ τι καθ᾿ ἡλικίαν ἕκαστος ἔχοι καὶ ὅτου καιρὸς εἴη, τάξιν ποιήσας. οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπου μηδὲν ἐγὼ ποιοῦσι τὰ τῶν ποιούντων εἶπον ὡς δεῖ νέμειν, οὐδ᾿ αὐτοὺς μὲν ἀργεῖν καὶ σχολάζειν καὶ ἀπορεῖν, ὅτι δ᾿ οἱ τοῦ δεῖνος νικῶσι ξένοι, ταῦτα πυνθάνεσθαι· ταῦτα γὰρ νυνὶ γίγνεται.
36 καὶ οὐχὶ μέμφομαι τὸν ποιοῦντά τι τῶν δεόντων ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀξιῶ πράττειν ταῦτ᾿ ἐφ᾿ οἷς ἑτέρους τιμᾶτε, καὶ μὴ παραχωρεῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς τάξεως, ἣν ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι τῆς ἀρετῆς μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν κινδύνων κτησάμενοι κατέλιπον.

Σχεδὸν εἴρηχ᾿ ἃ νομίζω συμφέρειν· ὑμεῖς δ᾿
[39] ἕλοισθ᾿ ὅ τι καὶ τῇ πόλει καὶ ἅπασι συνοίσειν ὑμῖν μέλλει.

only that, men of Athens, but also the immediate adoption of a uniform system, so that each citizen, receiving his quota from the public funds, may fill his proper place in the service of the state. If peace can be preserved, he is better off at home, safe from temptations into which want might lead him. If some such contingency as the present arises, then it is better for him to serve his country in person, as indeed he ought, supported by these same contributions. If anyone is too old to fight, then as overseer or manager of some indispensable work, let him be paid on an equitable system the wages that he now receives without benefit to the state. In a word, without increasing or lessening our expenditure by more than a trifle, I claim to have removed anomalies and introduced order into the state, establishing a uniform system of pay and of service, whether in the field or in the law-courts or wherever each man finds a task suited to his own age and to the needs of the occasion. Never have I suggested that we should give the worker's wages to the drone, or that we should ourselves remain inactive, idle, and helpless, and only learn by report that So-and-so's mercenaries have won a victory. For that is what happens now. I am not indeed blaming the man who does your duty for you, but I call on you to do that for yourselves which you pay others for doing, and not to desert that post of honour, men of Athens, which your ancestors through many glorious hazards won and bequeathed to you.

I have now said almost all that I consider suitable. It is for you to choose what is likely to benefit the city and all of you.

FIRST PHILIPPIC

INTRODUCTION

This speech, which comes in point of time before the Olynthiacs, was delivered early in 351. Philip, leaving Olynthus alone for the present, has interfered in the affairs of Thrace, taking advantage of the rivalry of two petty kings, Amadocus and Cersobleptes. He has also intrigued in Euboea, with the object of keeping Athens too busy to oppose him in Thrace. His captains have seized her corn ships rounding the southern promontory of that island, and have even insulted her on her own soil, landing on the historic beach of Marathon and carrying off the Athenian state-galley. The only reply was the dispatch of a force, mentioned in *Ol.* iii., under the mercenary leader, Charidemus. Just before or just after this expedition, Demosthenes delivered this speech before the Assembly. Hitherto he had never intervened until the older statesmen had spoken. He was now in his thirty-fourth year, and, for the first time in his career, he ventured to open the debate.

IV. ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Α

[40] Εἰ μὲν περὶ καινοῦ τινος πράγματος προὐτίθετ᾽,
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λέγειν, ἐπισχὼν ἂν ἕως οἱ
πλεῖστοι τῶν εἰωθότων γνώμην ἀπεφήναντο, εἰ μὲν
ἤρεσκέ τί μοι τῶν ὑπὸ τούτων ῥηθέντων, ἡσυχίαν
ἂν ἦγον, εἰ δὲ μή, τότ᾽ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπειρώμην ἃ
γιγνώσκω λέγειν· ἐπειδὴ δ᾽ ὑπὲρ ὧν πολλάκις
εἰρήκασιν οὗτοι πρότερον συμβαίνει καὶ νυνὶ
σκοπεῖν, ἡγοῦμαι καὶ πρῶτος ἀναστὰς εἰκότως
ἂν συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν. εἰ γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος
χρόνου τὰ δέονθ᾽ οὗτοι συνεβούλευσαν,
οὐδὲν ἂν ὑμᾶς νῦν ἔδει βουλεύεσθαι.

2 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν οὐκ ἀθυμητέον, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν, οὐδ᾽ εἰ πάνυ
φαύλως ἔχειν δοκεῖ. ὃ γάρ ἐστι χείριστον αὐτῶν
ἐκ τοῦ παρεληλυθότος χρόνου, τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ
μέλλοντα βέλτιστον ὑπάρχει. τί οὖν ἐστι τοῦτο;
ὅτι οὐδέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν δεόντων
ποιούντων ὑμῶν κακῶς τὰ πράγματ᾽ ἔχει· ἐπεί τοι,
εἰ πάνθ᾽ ἃ προσῆκε πραττόντων οὕτως εἶχεν, οὐδ᾽
3 ἂν ἐλπὶς ἦν αὐτὰ βελτίω γενέσθαι. ἔπειτ᾽ ἐνθυμητέον
καὶ παρ᾽ ἄλλων ἀκούουσι καὶ τοῖς εἰδόσιν
αὐτοῖς ἀναμιμνῃσκομένοις, ἡλίκην ποτ᾽ ἐχόντων
δύναμιν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἐξ οὗ χρόνος οὐ πολύς,
ὡς καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον ὑμεῖς

IV. FIRST PHILIPPIC

If the question before us were a new one, men of Athens, I should have waited until most of the regular speakers had delivered their opinions, and if satisfied with any of their proposals, I should have remained silent, but if not satisfied, I should then have tried to express my own views. Since, however, it is our fortune to be still debating a point on which they have often spoken before, I can safely claim your indulgence if I am the first to rise and address you. For if in the past their advice had been sound, there would be no need for deliberation to-day.

Now in the first place, Athenians, there is no need to despair of our present position, however hopeless it may seem. For that which is worst in the days that are past and gone is just what affords the best assurance for the future. And what is that ? It is that your affairs are in this evil plight just because you, men of Athens, utterly fail to do your duty ; since surely, were you so placed in spite of every effort on your part, it would be hopeless to look for improvement. In the next place, bear this in mind. Some of you have been told, others know and remember, how formidable the Spartans were, not many years ago, and yet how at the call of honour

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δικαίων τὸν πρὸς ἐκείνους πόλεμον. τίνος οὖν
[41] ἕνεκα ταῦτα λέγω; ἵν' εἰδῆτ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
καὶ θεάσησθε, ὅτι οὐδὲν οὔτε φυλαττομένοις ὑμῖν
ἐστι φοβερόν, οὔτ', ἂν ὀλιγωρῆτε, τοιοῦτον οἷον
ἂν ὑμεῖς βούλοισθε, παραδείγμασι χρώμενοι τῇ
τότε ῥώμῃ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, ἧς ἐκρατεῖτ' ἐκ
τοῦ προσέχειν τοῖς πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν, καὶ τῇ νῦν
ὕβρει τούτου, δι' ἣν ταραττόμεθ' ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν
4 φροντίζειν ὧν ἐχρῆν. εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, δυσπολέμητον οἴεται τὸν Φίλιππον
εἶναι, σκοπῶν τό τε πλῆθος τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ
δυνάμεως καὶ τὸ τὰ χωρία πάντ' ἀπολωλέναι τῇ
πόλει, ὀρθῶς μὲν οἴεται, λογισάσθω μέντοι τοῦθ',
ὅτι εἴχομέν ποθ' ἡμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
Πύδναν καὶ Ποτείδαιαν καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ πάντα
τὸν τόπον τοῦτον οἰκεῖον κύκλῳ, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν
μετ' ἐκείνου νῦν ὄντων ἐθνῶν αὐτονομούμενα καὶ
ἐλεύθερ' ὑπῆρχε καὶ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν ἐβούλετ' ἔχειν
5 οἰκείως ἢ 'κείνῳ. εἰ τοίνυν ὁ Φίλιππος τότε ταύτην
ἔσχε τὴν γνώμην, ὡς χαλεπὸν πολεμεῖν ἐστιν
Ἀθηναίοις ἔχουσι τοσαῦτ' ἐπιτειχίσματα τῆς αὐτοῦ
χώρας ἔρημον ὄντα συμμάχων, οὐδὲν ἂν ὧν νυνὶ
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ἀλλ' εἶδεν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτο καλῶς
ἐκεῖνος, ὅτι ταῦτα μέν ἐστιν ἅπαντα τὰ χωρί'
ἆθλα τοῦ πολέμου κείμεν' ἐν μέσῳ, φύσει δ'
ὑπάρχει τοῖς παροῦσι τὰ τῶν ἀπόντων, καὶ τοῖς
ἐθέλουσι πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν τὰ τῶν
6 ἀμελούντων. καὶ γάρ τοι ταύτῃ χρησάμενος τῇ

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[a] The reference is probably to the invasion of Boeotia by Agesilaus in 378.

and duty you played a part not unworthy of your country, and entered the lists against them in defence of your rights.[a] I remind you of this, Athenians, because I want you to know and realize that, as no danger can assail you while you are on your guard, so if you are remiss no success can attend you. Learn a lesson from the former strength of the Lacedaemonians, which you mastered by strict attention to your affairs, and the present arrogance of our enemy, which discomposes us because we ignore every call of duty. But if anyone here, Athenians, is inclined to think Philip too formidable, having regard to the extent of his existing resources and to our loss of all our strongholds, he is indeed right, yet he must reflect that we too, men of Athens, once held Pydna, Potidaea, and Methone and had in our own hands all the surrounding territory, and that many of the native tribes now in his service were then free and independent and were indeed more inclined to side with us than with Philip. If, therefore, Philip had then come to the conclusion that it was a difficult task to fight the Athenians while they held such strong outposts in his own territory and he was destitute of allies, in that case he would never have gained his present successes, never acquired his present power. But, men of Athens, Philip saw clearly that all these outposts were but the open prizes of war, that by natural right the property of the absent belongs to those who are on the spot, and the property of the careless to those who can face toil and danger. It was precisely by acting on this principle that he has

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γνώμῃ πάντα κατέστραπται καὶ ἔχει, τὰ μὲν ὡς
ἂν ἑλών τις ἔχοι πολέμῳ, τὰ δὲ σύμμαχα καὶ φίλα
[42] ποιησάμενος· καὶ γὰρ συμμαχεῖν καὶ προσέχειν
τὸν νοῦν τούτοις ἐθέλουσιν ἅπαντες, οὓς ἂν ὁρῶσι
παρεσκευασμένους καὶ πράττειν ἐθέλοντας ἃ χρή.
7 ἂν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς
τοιαύτης ἐθελήσητε γενέσθαι γνώμης νῦν, ἐπειδήπερ
οὐ πρότερον, καὶ ἕκαστος ὑμῶν, οὗ δεῖ καὶ
δύναιτ᾿ ἂν παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν χρήσιμον τῇ πόλει,
πᾶσαν ἀφεὶς τὴν εἰρωνείαν ἕτοιμος πράττειν
ὑπάρξῃ, ὁ μὲν χρήματ᾿ ἔχων εἰσφέρειν, ὁ δ᾿ ἐν
ἡλικίᾳ στρατεύεσθαι, συνελόντι δ᾿ ἁπλῶς, ἂν ὑμῶν
αὐτῶν ἐθελήσητε γενέσθαι καὶ παύσησθ᾿ αὐτὸς μὲν
οὐδὲν ἕκαστος ποιήσειν ἐλπίζων, τὸν δὲ πλησίον
πάνθ᾿ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ πράξειν, καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερ᾿ αὐτῶν
κομιεῖσθ᾿, ἂν θεὸς θέλῃ, καὶ τὰ κατερρᾳθυμημένα
8 πάλιν ἀναλήψεσθε, κἀκεῖνον τιμωρήσεσθε. μὴ γὰρ
ὡς θεῷ νομίζετ᾿ ἐκείνῳ τὰ παρόντα πεπηγέναι
πράγματ᾿ ἀθάνατα, ἀλλὰ καὶ μισεῖ τις ἐκεῖνον καὶ
δέδιεν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ φθονεῖ, καὶ τῶν
πάνυ νῦν δοκούντων οἰκείως ἔχειν· καὶ ἅπανθ᾿ ὅσα
περ κἀν ἄλλοις τισὶν ἀνθρώποις ἔνι, ταῦτα κἀν
τοῖς μετ᾿ ἐκείνου χρὴ νομίζειν ἐνεῖναι. κατέπτηχε
μέντοι πάντα ταῦτα νῦν, οὐκ ἔχοντ᾿ ἀποστροφὴν
διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν βραδυτῆτα καὶ ῥᾳθυμίαν· ἣν
9 ἀποθέσθαι φημὶ δεῖν ἤδη. ὁρᾶτε γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ πρᾶγμα, οἷ προελήλυθεν ἀσελγείας
ἄνθρωπος, ὃς οὐδ᾿ αἵρεσιν ὑμῖν δίδωσι τοῦ πράττειν
ἢ ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν, ἀλλ᾿ ἀπειλεῖ καὶ λόγους
ὑπερηφάνους, ὥς φασι, λέγει, καὶ οὐχ οἷός ἐστιν
ἔχων ἃ κατέστραπται μένειν ἐπὶ τούτων, ἀλλ᾿ ἀεί
τι προσπεριβάλλεται, καὶ κύκλῳ πανταχῇ μέλ-

mastered and now holds them all. Some he has seized by right of arms, others he has won by alliance and friendship. For indeed alliance and respect are willingly offered by all men to those whom they see ready and prompt to take action. And you too, men of Athens, if you are willing to adopt this principle, now if never before, if each citizen is ready to throw off his diffidence and serve the state as he ought and as he best may, the rich man paying, the strong man fighting, if, briefly and plainly, you will consent to become your own masters, and if each man will cease to expect that, while he does nothing himself, his neighbour will do everything for him, then, God willing, you will recover your own, you will restore what has been frittered away, and you will turn the tables upon Philip. Do not believe that his present power is fixed and unchangeable like that of a god. No, men of Athens ; he is a mark for the hatred and fear and envy even of those who now seem devoted to him. One must assume that even his adherents are subject to the same passions as any other men. At present, however, all these feelings are repressed and have no outlet, thanks to your indolence and apathy, which I urge you to throw off at once. For observe, Athenians, the height to which the fellow's insolence has soared : he leaves you no choice of action or inaction ; he blusters and talks big, according to all accounts ; he cannot rest content with what he has conquered ; he is always taking in more, everywhere casting his net round us,

10 λοντας ἡμᾶς καὶ καθημένους περιστοιχίζεται. πότ'
[43] οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πόθ' ἃ χρὴ πράξετε;
ἐπειδὰν τί γένηται; ἐπειδὰν νὴ Δί' ἀνάγκη τις
ᾖ. νῦν δὲ τί χρὴ τὰ γιγνόμεν' ἡγεῖσθαι; ἐγὼ μὲν
γὰρ οἴομαι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις μεγίστην ἀνάγκην τὴν
ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνην εἶναι. ἢ βούλεσθ',
εἰπέ μοι, περιιόντες αὑτῶν πυνθάνεσθαι· "λέγεταί
τι καινόν;" γένοιτο γὰρ ἄν τι καινότερον ἢ
Μακεδὼν ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναίους καταπολεμῶν καὶ τὰ
11 τῶν Ἑλλήνων διοικῶν; "τέθνηκε Φίλιππος;"
"οὐ μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ἀσθενεῖ." τί δ' ὑμῖν διαφέρει;
καὶ γὰρ ἂν οὗτός τι πάθῃ, ταχέως ὑμεῖς ἕτερον
Φίλιππον ποιήσετε, ἄνπερ οὕτω προσέχητε τοῖς
πράγμασι τὸν νοῦν· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος παρὰ τὴν
αὑτοῦ ῥώμην τοσοῦτον ἐπηύξηται, ὅσον παρὰ τὴν
12 ἡμετέραν ἀμέλειαν. καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο· εἴ τι πάθοι
καὶ τὰ τῆς τύχης ἡμῖν, ἥπερ ἀεὶ βέλτιον ἢ ἡμεῖς
ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμελούμεθα, καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξεργάσαιτο,
ἴσθ' ὅτι πλησίον μὲν ὄντες, ἅπασιν ἂν τοῖς πράγμασι
τεταραγμένοις ἐπιστάντες ὅπως βούλεσθε
διοικήσαισθε, ὡς δὲ νῦν ἔχετε, οὐδὲ διδόντων τῶν
καιρῶν Ἀμφίπολιν δέξασθαι δύναισθ ἄν, ἀπηρτημένοι
καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις.

13 Ὡς μὲν οὖν δεῖ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντας
ὑπάρχειν ἅπαντας ἑτοίμως, ὡς ἐγνωκότων ὑμῶν
καὶ πεπεισμένων, παύομαι λέγων· τὸν δὲ τρόπον
τῆς παρασκευῆς ἣν ἀπαλλάξαι ἂν τῶν τοιούτων
πραγμάτων ἡμᾶς οἴομαι, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὅσον,
καὶ πόρους οὕστινας χρημάτων, καὶ τἆλλ' ὥς ἂν
[44] μοι βέλτιστα καὶ τάχιστα δοκεῖ παρασκευασθῆναι,

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[a] Lit. "being cut off [from Amphipolis] both in forces and in plans," a vigorous but untranslatable phrase.

while we sit idle and do nothing. When, Athenians, will you take the necessary action? What are you waiting for? Until you are compelled, I presume. But what are we to think of what is happening now? For my own part I think that for a free people there can be no greater compulsion than shame for their position. Or tell me, are you content to run round and ask one another, "Is there any news to-day?" Could there be any news more startling than that a Macedonian is triumphing over Athenians and settling the destiny of Hellas? "Is Philip dead?" you ask. "No, indeed; but he is ill." And what is that to you? Even if something happens to him, you will soon raise up a second Philip, if that is the way you attend to your affairs; for even this Philip has not grown great through his own unaided strength so much as through our carelessness. Nor is this all. If anything happened to him, or if Fortune, which always cares for us better than we care for ourselves, should bring that result about, remember that you must be on the spot if you want to take advantage of the general confusion and to control the situation at your pleasure; but in your present condition you would be unable, even if the opportunity offered, to take over Amphipolis, having neither a force nor a policy ready to hand.[a]

Well, assuming that you are thoroughly convinced that you must all be ready and willing to make this necessary effort, I say no more on that point. But as to the nature and size of the force which I think adequate to relieve the situation, the means of defraying the cost, and the best and speediest method of providing for its equipment, I shall now

καὶ δὴ πειράσομαι λέγειν, δεηθεὶς ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες
14 Ἀθηναῖοι, τοσοῦτον. ἐπειδὰν ἅπαντ᾿ ἀκούσητε,
κρίνατε, μὴ πρότερον προλαμβάνετε· μηδ᾿ ἂν ἐξ
ἀρχῆς δοκῶ τινι καινὴν παρασκευὴν λέγειν, ἀναβάλλειν
με τὰ πράγμαθ᾿ ἡγείσθω. οὐ γὰρ οἱ “ταχὺ”
καὶ “τήμερον” εἰπόντες μάλιστ᾿ εἰς δέον λέγουσιν
(οὐ γὰρ ἂν τά γ᾿ ἤδη γεγενημένα τῇ νυνὶ βοηθείᾳ
15 κωλῦσαι δυνηθείημεν), ἀλλ᾿ ὃς ἂν δείξῃ τίς πορισθεῖσα
παρασκευὴ καὶ πόση καὶ πόθεν διαμεῖναι
δυνήσεται, ἕως ἂν ἢ διαλυσώμεθα πεισθέντες τὸν
πόλεμον ἢ περιγενώμεθα τῶν ἐχθρῶν· οὕτω γὰρ
οὐκέτι τοῦ λοιποῦ πάσχοιμεν ἂν κακῶς. οἶμαι
τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταῦτα λέγειν ἔχειν, μὴ κωλύων εἴ τις
ἄλλος ἐπαγγέλλεταί τι. ἡ μὲν οὖν ὑπόσχεσις οὕτω
μεγάλη, τὸ δὲ πρᾶγμ᾿ ἤδη τὸν ἔλεγχον δώσει·
κριταὶ δ᾿ ὑμεῖς ἔσεσθε.

16 Πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τριήρεις
πεντήκοντα παρασκευάσασθαι φημὶ δεῖν, εἶτ᾿
αὐτοὺς οὕτω τὰς γνώμας ἔχειν ὡς, ἐάν τι δέῃ,
πλευστέον εἰς ταύτας αὐτοῖς ἐμβᾶσιν. πρὸς δὲ
τούτοις τοῖς ἡμίσεσι τῶν ἱππέων ἱππαγωγοὺς
τριήρεις καὶ πλοῖ᾿ ἱκανὰ εὐτρεπίσαι κελεύω.
17 ταῦτα μὲν οἶμαι δεῖν ὑπάρχειν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐξαίφνης
ταύτας ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας χώρας αὐτοῦ στρατείας
εἰς Πύλας καὶ Χερρόνησον καὶ Ὄλυνθον καὶ ὅποι
βούλεται· δεῖ γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τοῦτ᾿ ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ παραστῆσαι,
ὡς ὑμεῖς ἐκ τῆς ἀμελείας ταύτης τῆς
ἄγαν, ὥσπερ εἰς Εὔβοιαν καὶ πρότερόν ποτέ φασιν
εἰς Ἁλίαρτον καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα πρῴην εἰς Πύλας,
18 ἴσως ἂν ὁρμήσαιτε· οὔτοι παντελῶς, οὐδ᾿ εἰ μὴ

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[a] The Athenians sent a force to Euboea in 357 (*cf. Ol.* i. 8). They helped the Thebans to defeat Lysander at Haliartus in

endeavour to state my views, making just this appeal to you, Athenians. Wait till you have heard everything before you pass judgement. Do not be premature ; and even if at the outset I seem to be suggesting a novel kind of expeditionary force, do not imagine that I am trying to postpone our operations. It is not those who cry " at once " or " to-day " that really speak to the purpose, for no dispatch of forces now could prevent what has already happened ; but it is the man who can indicate the nature, the size, and the source of the expedition that will be able to keep the field until we either defeat the enemy or consent to a termination of hostilities ; for that is how we shall avoid trouble in the future. Now I believe that I can indicate this, without prejudice to anyone else's proposal. That is a bold promise, but it will soon be put to a practical test, and you shall be my judges.

First then, men of Athens, I propose to equip fifty war-galleys ; next you must make up your minds to embark and sail in them yourselves, if necessary. Further I recommend the provision of transports and other vessels, sufficient for the conveyance of half our cavalry. All this is a necessary provision against Philip's sudden raids from Macedonia against Thermopylae, the Chersonese, Olynthus, or where he will. You must present to his mind the consideration that you may possibly shake off your excessive apathy and strike out as you did at Euboea, and before that, as we are told, at Haliartus, and quite recently at Thermopylae.[a] That, even if you

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Boeotia in 395. In 352, when Philip tried to march from Thessaly against Phocis, he was checked by the dispatch of an Athenian fleet to Thermopylae.

[45] ποιήσαιτ᾿ ἂν τοῦτο, ὡς ἔγωγέ φημι δεῖν, εὐκαταφρόνητόν
ἐστιν, ἵν᾿ ἢ διὰ τὸν φόβον εἰδὼς εὐτρεπεῖς
ὑμᾶς (εἴσεται γὰρ ἀκριβῶς· εἰσὶ γάρ, εἰσὶν οἱ
πάντ᾿ ἐξαγγέλλοντες ἐκείνῳ παρ᾿ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν
πλείους τοῦ δέοντος) ἡσυχίαν ἔχῃ, ἢ παριδὼν ταῦτ᾿
ἀφύλακτος ληφθῇ, μηδενὸς ὄντος ἐμποδὼν πλεῖν
ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου χώραν ὑμῖν, ἂν ἐνδῷ καιρόν.
19 ταῦτα μέν ἐστιν ἃ πᾶσι δεδόχθαι φημὶ δεῖν καὶ
παρεσκευάσθαι προσήκειν οἴομαι· πρὸ δὲ τούτων
δύναμίν τιν᾿, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φημὶ προχειρίσασθαι
δεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἣ συνεχῶς πολεμήσει καὶ κακῶς
ἐκεῖνον ποιήσει. μή μοι μυρίους μηδὲ δισμυρίους
ξένους, μηδὲ τὰς ἐπιστολιμαίους ταύτας δυνάμεις,
ἀλλ᾿ ἣ τῆς πόλεως ἔσται, κἂν ὑμεῖς ἕνα κἂν
πλείους κἂν τὸν δεῖνα κἂν ὁντινοῦν χειροτονήσητε
στρατηγόν, τούτῳ πείσεται καὶ ἀκολουθήσει. καὶ
20 τροφὴν ταύτῃ πορίσαι κελεύω. ἔσται δ᾿ αὕτη
τίς ἡ δύναμις καὶ πόση, καὶ πόθεν τὴν τροφὴν
ἕξει, καὶ πῶς ταῦτ᾿ ἐθελήσει ποιεῖν; ἐγὼ φράσω,
καθ᾿ ἕκαστον τούτων διεξιὼν χωρίς. ξένους μὲν
λέγω—καὶ ὅπως μὴ ποιήσεθ᾿ ὃ πολλάκις ὑμᾶς
ἔβλαψεν· πάντ᾿ ἐλάττω νομίζοντες εἶναι τοῦ
δέοντος, καὶ τὰ μέγιστ᾿ ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν αἱρούμενοι,
ἐπὶ τῷ πράττειν οὐδὲ τὰ μικρὰ ποιεῖτε·
ἀλλὰ τὰ μικρὰ ποιήσαντες καὶ πορίσαντες τούτοις
21 προστίθετε, ἂν ἐλάττω φαίνηται. λέγω δὴ τοὺς
πάντας στρατιώτας δισχιλίους, τούτων δ᾿ Ἀθηναίους
φημὶ δεῖν εἶναι πεντακοσίους, ἐξ ἧς ἄν
τινος ὑμῖν ἡλικίας καλῶς ἔχειν δοκῇ, χρόνον
τακτὸν στρατευομένους, μὴ μακρὸν τοῦτον, ἀλλ᾿

should not act as I, personally, think you ought, is not an altogether trivial matter; for its purpose is that he may either hold his hand through fear, knowing that you are on the alert—he will know it sure enough, for there are some on our side, yes, too many, who report everything to him—or that he may overlook it and so be taken off his guard, provided there is nothing to hinder you from sailing against his country, if he gives you the chance. Such, in my opinion, are the resolutions which you ought to adopt, and the force which must be equipped, at once. But in addition to this, Athenians, I propose that you should get ready a corps to carry on a continuous war of annoyance against Philip. Not an imposing army—on paper—of ten or twenty thousand mercenaries! It shall be a real Athenian contingent, and whether you appoint one general or more, whether it is this man or that or the other, him it shall strictly follow and obey. I also urge you to provide for its maintenance. And what will this force be, and how large? How will it be maintained, and how far will it consent to effect its purpose? I will tell you, describing each detail separately. Of mercenaries I propose—and beware of the mistake that has so often thwarted your efforts. Thinking that the utmost is too little for the occasion, you choose the biggest scheme in your resolutions, but when it comes to performance, you fail to realize even the smallest. You should rather act and provide on a small scale, adding more if this proves insufficient. So I propose that the whole force should consist of two thousand men, but of these five hundred must be Athenians, chosen from any suitable age and serving in relays for a specified period—

[46] ὅσον ἂν δοκῇ καλῶς ἔχειν, ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἀλλήλοις·
τοὺς δ᾽ ἄλλους ξένους εἶναι κελεύω. καὶ μετὰ
τούτων ἱππέας διακοσίους, καὶ τούτων πεντήκοντ᾽
᾽Αθηναίους τοὐλάχιστον, ὥσπερ τοὺς πεζούς, τὸν
αὐτὸν τρόπον στρατευομένους· καὶ ἱππαγωγοὺς
22 τούτοις. εἶεν· τί πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι; ταχείας τριή-
ρεις δέκα· δεῖ γάρ, ἔχοντος ἐκείνου ναυτικόν, καὶ
ταχειῶν τριήρων ἡμῖν, ὅπως ἀσφαλῶς ἡ δύναμις
πλέῃ. πόθεν δὴ τούτοις ἡ τροφὴ γενήσεται; ἐγὼ
καὶ τοῦτο φράσω καὶ δείξω, ἐπειδάν, διότι τηλι-
καύτην ἀποχρῆν οἶμαι τὴν δύναμιν καὶ πολίτας
τοὺς στρατευομένους εἶναι κελεύω, διδάξω.

23 Τοσαύτην μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες ᾽Αθηναῖοι, διὰ ταῦτα,
ὅτι οὐκ ἔνι νῦν ἡμῖν πορίσασθαι δύναμιν τὴν ἐκείνῳ
παραταξομένην, ἀλλὰ λῃστεύειν ἀνάγκη καὶ τούτῳ
τῷ τρόπῳ τοῦ πολέμου χρῆσθαι τὴν πρώτην· οὐ
τοίνυν ὑπέρογκον αὐτήν (οὐ γὰρ ἔστι μισθὸς οὐδὲ
24 τροφή), οὐδὲ παντελῶς ταπεινὴν εἶναι δεῖ. πολίτας
δὲ παρεῖναι καὶ συμπλεῖν διὰ ταῦτα κελεύω, ὅτι
καὶ πρότερόν ποτ᾽ ἀκούω ξενικὸν τρέφειν ἐν
Κορίνθῳ τὴν πόλιν, οὗ Πολύστρατος ἡγεῖτο καὶ
᾽Ιφικράτης καὶ Χαβρίας καὶ ἄλλοι τινές, καὶ αὐτοὺς
ὑμᾶς συστρατεύεσθαι· καὶ οἶδ᾽ ἀκούων ὅτι Λακε-
δαιμονίους παραταττόμενοι μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν ἐνίκων οὗτοι
οἱ ξένοι καὶ ὑμεῖς μετ᾽ ἐκείνων. ἐξ οὗ δ᾽ αὐτὰ
καθ᾽ αὑτὰ τὰ ξενικὰ ὑμῖν στρατεύεται, τοὺς φίλους
νικᾷ καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους, οἱ δ᾽ ἐχθροὶ μείζους τοῦ
δέοντος γεγόνασι. καὶ παρακύψαντ᾽ ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς
πόλεως πόλεμον, πρὸς ᾽Αρτάβαζον καὶ πανταχοῖ

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[a] During the so-called "Corinthian War," 394–387, when Iphicrates with a light-armed force destroyed a *mora* of

not a long one, but just so long as seems advisable; the rest should be mercenaries. Attached to them will be two hundred cavalry, fifty at least of them being Athenians, serving on the same terms as the infantry. There will also be cavalry transports provided. So far, so good; and what besides? Ten fast-sailing war-galleys. Since Philip has a fleet, we must have fast vessels if our force is to sail in safety. Now how is this army to be maintained? That also I will explain fully, when I have told you why I think so small a force sufficient, and why I insist that those serving shall be citizens.

I name a force of this size, Athenians, because it is not in our power now to provide one fit to meet him in pitched battle: we must adopt guerilla tactics to start with. The force must therefore be neither unwieldy—for we cannot afford the pay and maintenance—nor altogether insignificant. My reasons for insisting on the presence of citizens in the expedition are these. I am told that on a previous occasion the state maintained a mercenary force at Corinth,[a] commanded by Polystratus, Iphicrates, Chabrias, and others, and that you citizens also served in person; and I know from history that you and these mercenaries, fighting shoulder to shoulder, beat the Lacedaemonians in the field. But ever since exclusively mercenary forces have been fighting for you, it is your friends and allies that they have beaten, while the power of your enemies has increased beyond bounds. They cast a casual glance at the war for which Athens has hired them, and off they

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Spartan hoplites. Chabrias, his successor, is best known for his defeat of the Lacedaemonian fleet at Naxos in 376. Of Polystratus, little or nothing is known.

[47] μᾶλλον οἴχεται πλέοντα, ὁ δὲ στρατηγὸς ἀκολουθεῖ,
εἰκότως· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἄρχειν μὴ διδόντα
25 μισθόν. τί οὖν κελεύω; τὰς προφάσεις ἀφελεῖν
καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν, μισθὸν
πορίσαντας καὶ στρατιώτας οἰκείους ὥσπερ ἐπόπτας
τῶν στρατηγουμένων παρακαταστήσαντας· ἐπεὶ
νῦν γε γέλως ἔσθ' ὡς χρώμεθα τοῖς πράγμασιν.
εἰ γὰρ ἔροιτό τις ὑμᾶς· “εἰρήνην ἄγετ', ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι;” “μὰ Δί' οὐχ ἡμεῖς γ',” εἴποιτ' ἄν,
26 “ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ πολεμοῦμεν.” οὐκ ἐχειροτονεῖτε
δ' ἐξ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν δέκα ταξιάρχους καὶ στρατηγοὺς
καὶ φυλάρχους καὶ ἱππάρχους δύο; τί οὖν οὗτοι
ποιοῦσι; πλὴν ἑνὸς ἀνδρός, ὃν ἂν ἐκπέμψητ' ἐπὶ
τὸν πόλεμον, οἱ λοιποὶ τὰς πομπὰς πέμπουσιν
ὑμῖν μετὰ τῶν ἱεροποιῶν· ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ πλάττοντες
τοὺς πηλίνους, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν χειροτονεῖτε
τοὺς ταξιάρχους καὶ τοὺς φυλάρχους, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν
27 πόλεμον. οὐ γὰρ ἐχρῆν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταξιάρχους
παρ' ὑμῶν, ἵππαρχον παρ' ὑμῶν, ἄρχοντας
οἰκείους εἶναι, ἵν' ἦν ὡς ἀληθῶς τῆς πόλεως ἡ
δύναμις; ἀλλ' εἰς μὲν Λῆμνον τὸν παρ' ὑμῶν
ἵππαρχον δεῖ πλεῖν, τῶν δ' ὑπὲρ τῶν τῆς πόλεως
κτημάτων ἀγωνιζομένων Μενέλαον ἱππαρχεῖν. καὶ
οὐ τὸν ἄνδρα μεμφόμενος ταῦτα λέγω, ἀλλ' ὑφ'
ὑμῶν ἔδει κεχειροτονημένον εἶναι τοῦτον, ὅστις
ἂν ᾖ.
28 Ἴσως δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθῶς ἡγεῖσθε λέγεσθαι, τὸ

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[a] Just as the terra-cotta figurines were manufactured not for practical use, but for the toy-market, so the generals were elected, not to fight, but to make a brave show in the public processions.

[b] We learn from Aristotle, Ἀθ. Πολ. 61. 6, that a ἵππαρχος

sail to join Artabazus or anyone else, and the general naturally follows them, for he cannot command if he does not pay. What then do I recommend? Deprive both general and men of all excuse by providing pay and by attaching to them citizen soldiers as overseers, so to speak, of their conduct in the field; for at present our system is a mockery. If anyone asked you, "Are you at peace, Athenians?" you would reply, "Certainly not; we are at war with Philip." But have you not been electing from among yourselves ten brigadiers and ten generals and ten squadron-leaders and a couple of cavalry-commanders? And what, pray, are those officers doing? With the exception of the solitary one whom you dispatch to the seat of war, they are all busy helping the state-sacrificers to marshal your processions. You are like the men who model the clay puppets;[a] you choose your brigadiers and commanders for the market-place, not for the field. What! Ought there not to be brigadiers and a cavalry-commander, all chosen from among yourselves, native Athenian officers, that the force might be a truly national one? Yes, but your own cavalry-commander has to sail to Lemnos,[b] leaving Menelaus[c] to command the men who are fighting for our city's possessions. I do not say this in his disparagement, but that commander, whoever he is, ought to be one elected by you.

You think perhaps that this is a sound proposal,

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was regularly sent to Lemnos to take charge of the cavalry there.

[c] Identified by Harpocration with a son of Amyntas II. and so half-brother of Philip; more probably a petty Macedonian chief who helped the Athenians at Potidaea in 364, and who is named in a complimentary inscription which has been preserved (*C.I.A.* ii. 55).

γνώμας, ἂν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκῃ, χειροτονήσετε, ἵνα μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ψηφίσμασι καὶ ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς πολεμῆτε Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις.

31 Δοκεῖτε δέ μοι πολὺ βέλτιον ἂν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ὅλης τῆς παρασκευῆς βουλεύσασθαι, εἰ τὸν τόπον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς χώρας, πρὸς ἣν πολεμεῖτε, ἐνθυμηθείητε, καὶ λογίσαισθ᾿ ὅτι τοῖς πνεύμασι καὶ ταῖς ὥραις τοῦ ἔτους τὰ πολλὰ προλαμβάνων διαπράττεται Φίλιππος, καὶ φυλάξας τοὺς ἐτησίας ἢ τὸν χειμῶν᾿ ἐπιχειρεῖ, ἡνίκ᾿ ἂν ἡμεῖς μὴ δυναίμεθ᾿ ἐκεῖσ᾿ ἀφικέσθαι. 32 δεῖ τοίνυν [49] ταῦτ᾿ ἐνθυμουμένους μὴ βοηθείαις πολεμεῖν (ὑστεριοῦμεν γὰρ ἁπάντων), ἀλλὰ παρασκευῇ συνεχεῖ καὶ δυνάμει. ὑπάρχει δ᾿ ὑμῖν χειμαδίῳ μὲν χρῆσθαι τῇ δυνάμει Λήμνῳ καὶ Θάσῳ καὶ Σκιάθῳ καὶ ταῖς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ νήσοις, ἐν αἷς καὶ λιμένες καὶ σῖτος καὶ ἃ χρὴ στρατεύματι πάνθ᾿ ὑπάρχει· τὴν δ᾿ ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους, ὅτε καὶ πρὸς τῇ γῇ γενέσθαι ῥᾴδιον καὶ τὸ τῶν πνευμάτων ἀσφαλές, πρὸς αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς τῶν ἐμπορίων στόμασι ῥᾳδίως ἔσται.

33 Ἃ μὲν οὖν χρήσεται καὶ πότε τῇ δυνάμει, παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν ὁ τούτων κύριος καταστὰς ὑφ᾿ ὑμῶν βουλεύσεται· ἃ δ᾿ ὑπάρξαι δεῖ παρ᾿ ὑμῶν, ταῦτ᾿ ἐστὶν ἁγὼ γέγραφα. ἂν ταῦτ᾿, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πορίσητε τὰ χρήματα πρῶτον ἃ λέγω, εἶτα καὶ τἄλλα παρασκευάσαντες, τοὺς στρατιώτας, τὰς τριήρεις, τοὺς ἱππέας, ἐντελῆ πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν νόμῳ κατακλείσητ᾿ ἐπὶ τῷ πολέμῳ μένειν, τῶν μὲν χρημάτων αὐτοὶ ταμίαι καὶ πορισταὶ γιγνόμενοι, τῶν δὲ πράξεων παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τὸν

you give your votes, you will pass these proposals, if you approve them, because your object is to fight Philip not only with decrees and dispatches, but with deeds also.

But you would, I think, men of Athens, form a better idea of the war and of the total force required, if you considered the geography of the country you are attacking, and if you reflected that the winds and the seasons enable Philip to gain most of his successes by forestalling us. He waits for the Etesian winds[a] or for the winter, and attacks at a time when we could not possibly reach the seat of war. Bearing this in mind, we must rely not on occasional levies, or we shall be too late for everything, but on a regular standing army. You have the advantage of winter bases for your troops in Lemnos, Thasos, Sciathos, and the neighbouring islands, where are to be found harbours, provisions, and everything that an army needs; and during that season of the year when it is easy to stand close in to shore and the winds are steady, your force will easily lie off his coast and at the mouth of his seaports.

How and when this force is to be employed will be a matter for your duly appointed commander to determine according to circumstances, but what it is your task to provide, that I have put down in my resolution. If, men of Athens, you first provide the funds which I name and then equip the whole force complete, men, ships and cavalry, binding them legally to serve for the duration of the war, and if you make yourselves the stewards and administrators of the funds, looking to your general for an account

[a] Northerly winds which blew steadily down the Aegean in the autumn.

λόγον ζητοῦντες, παύσεσθ' ἀεὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν
34 βουλευόμενοι καὶ πλέον οὐδὲν ποιοῦντες, καὶ ἔτι
πρὸς τούτῳ πρῶτον μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν
μέγιστον τῶν ἐκείνου πόρων ἀφαιρήσεσθε. ἔστι
δ' οὗτος τίς; ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων ὑμῖν πολεμεῖ
συμμάχων, ἄγων καὶ φέρων τοὺς πλέοντας τὴν
θάλατταν. ἔπειτα τί πρὸς τούτῳ; τοῦ πάσχειν
αὐτοὶ κακῶς ἔξω γενήσεσθε, οὐχ ὥσπερ τὸν
παρελθόντα χρόνον εἰς Λῆμνον καὶ Ἴμβρον ἐμβαλὼν
αἰχμαλώτους πολίτας ὑμετέρους ᾤχετ' ἔχων, πρὸς
τῷ Γεραιστῷ τὰ πλοῖα συλλαβὼν ἀμύθητα χρήματ'
[50] ἐξέλεξε, τὰ τελευταῖ' εἰς Μαραθῶν' ἀπέβη καὶ
τὴν ἱερὰν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας ᾤχετ' ἔχων τριήρη, ὑμεῖς
δ' οὔτε ταῦτα δύνασθε κωλύειν οὔτ' εἰς τοὺς
35 χρόνους, οὓς ἂν προθῆσθε, βοηθεῖν. καίτοι τί
δήποτ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίζετε τὴν μὲν τῶν
Παναθηναίων ἑορτὴν καὶ τὴν τῶν Διονυσίων ἀεὶ
τοῦ καθήκοντος χρόνου γίγνεσθαι, ἄν τε δεινοὶ
λάχωσιν ἄν τ' ἰδιῶται οἱ τούτων ἑκατέρων ἐπι-
μελούμενοι, εἰς ἃ τοσαῦτ' ἀναλίσκεται χρήματα,
ὅσ' οὐδ' εἰς ἕνα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τοσοῦτον
ὄχλον καὶ παρασκευὴν ὅσην οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ τι τῶν
ἁπάντων ἔχει, τοὺς δ' ἀποστόλους πάντας ὑμῖν
ὑστερίζειν τῶν καιρῶν, τὸν εἰς Μεθώνην, τὸν εἰς
36 Παγασάς, τὸν εἰς Ποτείδαιαν; ὅτι ἐκεῖνα μὲν
ἅπαντα νόμῳ τέτακται, καὶ πρόοιδεν ἕκαστος
ὑμῶν ἐκ πολλοῦ τίς χορηγὸς ἢ γυμνασίαρχος τῆς
φυλῆς, πότε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ καὶ τί λαβόντα τί δεῖ
ποιεῖν, οὐδὲν ἀνεξέταστον οὐδ' ἀόριστον ἐν τούτοις

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[a] The "Paralus," conveying the θεωρία or state-embassy to Delos in May, touched at Marathon to offer sacrifice in the Δήλιον or sanctuary of Apollo. Readers of the *Phaedo*

of his operations, then you will no longer be for ever debating the same question and never making any progress. More than that, Athenians, you will be depriving Philip of his principal source of revenue. And what is that? For the war against you he makes your allies pay by raiding their sea-borne commerce. Is there any further advantage? Yes, you will be out of reach of injury yourselves. Your past experience will not be repeated, when he threw a force into Lemnos and Imbros and carried your citizens away captive, when he seized the shipping at Geraestus and levied untold sums, or, to crown all, when he landed at Marathon and bore away from our land the sacred trireme,[a] while you are still powerless to prevent these insults or to send your expeditions at the appointed times. And yet, men of Athens, how do you account for the fact that the Panathenaic festival and the Dionysia are always held at the right date, whether experts or laymen are chosen by lot to manage them, that larger sums are lavished upon them than upon any one of your expeditions, that they are celebrated with bigger crowds and greater splendour than anything else of the kind in the world, whereas your expeditions invariably arrive too late, whether at Methone or at Pagasae or at Potidaea? The explanation is that at the festivals everything is ordered by statute; every man among you knows long beforehand who of his tribe is to provide the chorus or who to equip the gymnasium,[b] what he is to receive, when and from whom he is to receive it, and what he is to do; nothing here is left to chance,

will remember why the execution of Socrates was postponed for thirty days.

[b] A more important function of the gymnasiarch was to equip a team for the torch-race (λαμπαδηφορία).

ἠμέληται· ἐν δὲ τοῖς περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῇ
τούτου παρασκευῇ ἄτακτα, ἀδιόρθωτα, ἀόρισθ'
ἅπαντα. τοιγαροῦν ἅμ' ἀκηκόαμέν τι καὶ τριηράρχους
καθίσταμεν καὶ τούτοις ἀντιδόσεις ποιούμεθα
καὶ περὶ χρημάτων πόρου σκοποῦμεν, καὶ
μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐμβαίνειν τοὺς μετοίκους ἔδοξε καὶ
37 τοὺς χωρὶς οἰκοῦντας, εἶτ' αὐτοὺς πάλιν, εἶτ'
ἀντεμβιβάζειν, εἶτ' ἐν ὅσῳ ταῦτα μέλλεται, προαπόλωλε
τὸ ἐφ' ὃ ἂν ἐκπλέωμεν· τὸν γὰρ τοῦ
πράττειν χρόνον εἰς τὸ παρασκευάζεσθαι ἀναλίσκομεν,
οἱ δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων οὐ μένουσι
καιροὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν βραδυτῆτα καὶ εἰρωνείαν.
ἃς δὲ τὸν μεταξὺ χρόνον δυνάμεις οἰόμεθ' ἡμῖν
ὑπάρχειν, οὐδὲν οἷαί τ' οὖσαι ποιεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῶν
[51] τῶν καιρῶν ἐξελέγχονται. ὁ δ' εἰς τοῦθ' ὕβρεως
ἐλήλυθεν ὥστ' ἐπιστέλλειν Εὐβοεῦσιν ἤδη τοιαύτας
ἐπιστολάς.

ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΣ ΑΝΑΓΝΩΣΙΣ

38 Τούτων, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἀνεγνωσμένων
ἀληθῆ μέν ἐστι τὰ πολλά, ὡς οὐκ ἔδει, οὐ μὴν
ἀλλ' ἴσως οὐχ ἡδέ' ἀκούειν. ἀλλ' εἰ μέν, ὅσ' ἂν
τις ὑπερβῇ τῷ λόγῳ, ἵνα μὴ λυπήσῃ, καὶ τὰ
πράγμαθ' ὑπερβήσεται, δεῖ πρὸς ἡδονὴν δημηγορεῖν·
εἰ δ' ἡ τῶν λόγων χάρις, ἂν ᾖ μὴ προσήκουσα,
ἔργῳ ζημία γίγνεται, αἰσχρόν ἐστι
φενακίζειν ἑαυτούς, καὶ ἅπαντ' ἀναβαλλομένους ἃ
39 ἂν ᾖ δυσχερῆ πάντων ὑστερεῖν τῶν ἔργων, καὶ
μηδὲ τοῦτο δύνασθαι μαθεῖν, ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς ὀρθῶς
πολέμῳ χρωμένους οὐκ ἀκολουθεῖν τοῖς πράγ-

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[a] If a citizen, nominated for a "liturgy," thought that a

nothing is undetermined: but in what pertains to war and its equipment, everything is ill-arranged, ill-managed, ill-defined. Consequently we wait till we have heard some piece of news, and then we appoint our ship-masters, and arrange suits for exchange of property,[a] and go into committee of ways and means, and next we resolve that the fleet shall be manned by resident aliens and freedmen, then again by citizens, then by substitutes, then, while we thus delay, the object of our cruise is already lost. Thus the time for action is wasted in preparation, but the opportunities of fortune wait not for our dilatoriness and reluctance. The forces which we fancied would serve us as a stop-gap prove incapable when the crucial moment arrives. Meanwhile Philip has the effrontery to send such letters as these to the Euboeans.

(*A Letter of Philip's is read*)

Most of what has been read, Athenians, is unfortunately true—possibly, however, not pleasant to listen to. But if all that a speaker passes over, to avoid giving offence, is passed over by the course of events also, then blandiloquence is justified; but if smooth words out of season prove a curse in practice, then it is our disgrace if we hoodwink ourselves, if we shelve whatever is irksome and so miss the time for action, if we fail to learn the lesson that to manage a war properly you must not follow the trend of

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richer member of his tribe, otherwise eligible, had been passed over, he could challenge him to undertake the burden or exchange properties. In the case of the trierarchy such a challenge was referred to the Strategi.

μασιν, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἔμπροσθεν εἶναι τῶν πραγμάτων,
καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ τῶν στρατευμάτων
ἀξιώσειέ τις ἂν τὸν στρατηγὸν ἡγεῖσθαι,
οὕτω καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων τοὺς βουλευομένους,
ἵν' ἃ ἂν ἐκείνοις δοκῇ, ταῦτα πράττηται καὶ
40 μὴ τὰ συμβάντ' ἀναγκάζωνται διώκειν. ὑμεῖς
δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πλείστην δύναμιν ἁπάντων
ἔχοντες, τριήρεις, ὁπλίτας, ἱππέας, χρημάτων
πρόσοδον, τούτων μὲν μέχρι τῆς τήμερον ἡμέρας
οὐδενὶ πώποτ' εἰς δέον τι κέχρησθε, οὐδὲν δ'
ἀπολείπετε, ὥσπερ οἱ βάρβαροι πυκτεύουσιν, οὕτω
πολεμεῖν Φιλίππῳ. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων ὁ πληγεὶς
αἰεὶ τῆς πληγῆς ἔχεται, κἂν ἑτέρωσε πατάξῃς,
ἐκεῖσ' εἰσὶν αἱ χεῖρες· προβάλλεσθαι δ' ἢ βλέπειν
41 ἐναντίον οὔτ' οἶδεν οὔτ' ἐθέλει. καὶ ὑμεῖς, ἂν ἐν
Χερρονήσῳ πύθησθε Φίλιππον, ἐκεῖσε βοηθεῖν
[52] ψηφίζεσθε, ἐὰν ἐν Πύλαις, ἐκεῖσε, ἐὰν ἄλλοθί
που, συμπαραθεῖτ' ἄνω κάτω, καὶ στρατηγεῖσθ'
ὑπ' ἐκείνου, βεβούλευσθε δ' οὐδὲν αὐτοὶ συμφέρον
περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, οὐδὲ πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων
προορᾶτ' οὐδέν, πρὶν ἂν ἢ γεγενημένον ἢ γιγνόμενόν
τι πύθησθε. ταῦτα δ' ἴσως πρότερον μὲν
ἐνῆν· νῦν δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἥκει τὴν ἀκμήν, ὥστ' οὐκέτ'
42 ἐγχωρεῖ. δοκεῖ δέ μοι θεῶν τις, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
τοῖς γιγνομένοις ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως αἰσχυνόμενος
τὴν φιλοπραγμοσύνην ταύτην ἐμβαλεῖν Φιλίππῳ.
εἰ γὰρ ἔχων ἃ κατέστραπται καὶ προείληφεν
ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ἤθελε καὶ μηδὲν ἔπραττεν ἔτι,
ἀποχρῆν ἐνίοις ὑμῶν ἄν μοι δοκεῖ, ἐξ ὧν αἰσχύνην
καὶ ἀνανδρίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ αἴσχιστ' ὠφληκότες
ἂν ἦμεν δημοσίᾳ· νῦν δ' ἐπιχειρῶν ἀεί τινι καὶ τοῦ
πλείονος ὀρεγόμενος ἴσως ἂν ἐκκαλέσαιθ' ὑμᾶς,

events but must forestall them, and that just as an army looks to its general for guidance, so statesmen must guide circumstances, if they are to carry out their policy and not be forced to follow at the heels of chance. But you, Athenians, possessing unsurpassed resources—fleet, infantry, cavalry, revenues—have never to this very day employed them aright, and yet you carry on war with Philip exactly as a barbarian boxes. The barbarian, when struck, always clutches the place ; hit him on the other side and there go his hands. He neither knows nor cares how to parry a blow or how to watch his adversary. So you, if you hear of Philip in the Chersonese, vote an expedition there ; if at Thermopylae, you vote one there ; if somewhere else, you still keep pace with him to and fro. You take your marching orders from him ; you have never framed any plan of campaign for yourselves, never foreseen any event, until you learn that something has happened or is happening. All this was once perhaps possible ; now things have come to a crisis, so that it is no longer in your power. It seems to me, Athenians, as if some god, out of very shame for the conduct of our city, had inspired Philip with this activity. For if he did nothing more, but were willing to rest satisfied with what he has already captured and subdued, I believe some of you would be quite content with what must bring the deepest disgrace upon us and brand us as a nation of cowards. But by always attempting something new, always grasping at more power, he may possibly

43 εἴπερ μὴ παντάπασιν ἀπεγνώκατε. θαυμάζω δ'
ἔγωγε, εἰ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν μήτ' ἐνθυμεῖται μήτ'
ὀργίζεται, ὁρῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν μὲν
ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου γεγενημένην περὶ τοῦ τιμωρήσασθαι
Φίλιππον, τὴν δὲ τελευτὴν οὖσαν ἤδη ὑπὲρ
τοῦ μὴ παθεῖν κακῶς ὑπὸ Φιλίππου. ἀλλὰ μὴν
ὅτι γ' οὐ στήσεται, δῆλον, εἰ μή τις κωλύσει.
εἶτα τοῦτ' ἀναμενοῦμεν; καὶ τριήρεις κενὰς καὶ
τὰς παρὰ τοῦ δεῖνος ἐλπίδας ἂν ἀποστείλητε,
44 πάντ' ἔχειν οἴεσθε καλῶς; οὐκ ἐμβησόμεθα;
οὐκ ἔξιμεν αὐτοὶ μέρει γέ τινι στρατιωτῶν
οἰκείων νῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον; οὐκ ἐπὶ τὴν
ἐκείνου πλευσόμεθα; “ποῖ οὖν προσορμιούμεθα;”
[53] ἤρετό τις. εὑρήσει τὰ σαθρά, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἐκείνου πραγμάτων αὐτὸς ὁ πόλεμος,
ἂν ἐπιχειρῶμεν· ἂν μέντοι καθώμεθ' οἴκοι,
λοιδορουμένων ἀκούοντες καὶ αἰτιωμένων ἀλλήλους
τῶν λεγόντων, οὐδέποτ' οὐδὲν ἡμῖν μὴ
45 γένηται τῶν δεόντων. ὅποι μὲν γὰρ ἄν, οἶμαι,
μέρος τι τῆς πόλεως συναποσταλῇ, κἂν μὴ πᾶσα,
καὶ τὸ τῶν θεῶν εὐμενὲς καὶ τὸ τῆς τύχης συναγωνίζεται·
ὅποι δ' ἂν στρατηγὸν καὶ ψήφισμα
κενὸν καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος ἐλπίδας ἐκπέμψητε,
οὐδὲν ὑμῖν τῶν δεόντων γίγνεται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν
ἐχθροὶ καταγελῶσιν, οἱ δὲ σύμμαχοι τεθνᾶσι τῷ
46 δέει τοὺς τοιούτους ἀποστόλους. οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν,
οὐκ ἔστιν ἕν' ἄνδρα δυνηθῆναί ποτε ταῦθ' ὑμῖν
πρᾶξαι πάνθ' ὅσα βούλεσθε· ὑποσχέσθαι μέντοι
καὶ φῆσαι καὶ τὸν δεῖν' αἰτιάσασθαι καὶ τὸν δεῖν'
ἔστι, τὰ δὲ πράγματ' ἐκ τούτων ἀπόλωλεν· ὅταν
γὰρ ἡγῆται μὲν ὁ στρατηγὸς ἀθλίων ἀπομίσθων
ξένων, οἱ δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν ἐκεῖνος πράξῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς

rouse even you, if you have not utterly abandoned hope. Personally I am surprised that none of you, Athenians, is distressed and angry to find that at the beginning of the war our aim was to punish Philip, but at the end it is to escape injury at his hands. But surely it is obvious that he will not stop, unless someone stops him. And is that what we are to wait for? Do you fancy that all is well, if you dispatch an unmanned fleet and the vague hope of some deliverer? Shall we not man the fleet ourselves? Shall we not take the field with at least a proportion of native troops, even now, if never before? Shall we not sail against his territory? "Where then are we to go and anchor?" someone has asked. The progress of the war, men of Athens, will itself discover the weak places in his front, if we make the effort; but if we sit here at home listening to the abuse and mutual recriminations of the orators, there is not the slightest chance of our getting anything done that ought to be done. Wherever, I believe, we send out a force composed partly or wholly of our citizens, there the gods are gracious and fortune fights on our side; but wherever you send out a general with an empty decree and the mere aspirations of this platform, your needs are not served, your enemies laugh you to scorn, your allies stand in mortal fear of such an expeditionary force. It is impossible, utterly impossible for one man ever to do all that you want done; he can only promise[a] and assent and throw the blame on someone else. In consequence our interests are ruined. For when your general leads wretched, ill-paid mercenaries, and finds plenty of men here to lie to you about

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[a] Editors detect a special allusion here. The "promises of Chares" had become proverbial.

ψευδόμενοι ῥᾳδίως ἐνθάδ᾽ ὦσιν, ὑμεῖς δ᾽ ἐξ ὧν ἂν
ἀκούσηθ᾽ ὅ τι ἂν τύχητε ψηφίζησθε, τί καὶ χρὴ
προσδοκᾶν;

47 Πῶς οὖν ταῦτα παύσεται; ὅταν ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀποδείξητε στρατιώτας καὶ
μάρτυρας τῶν στρατηγουμένων καὶ δικαστὰς οἴκαδ᾽
ἐλθόντας τῶν εὐθυνῶν, ὥστε μὴ ἀκούειν μόνον ὑμᾶς
τὰ ὑμέτερ᾽ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρόντας ὁρᾶν. νῦν
δ᾽ εἰς τοῦθ᾽ ἥκει τὰ πράγματ᾽ αἰσχύνης ὥστε τῶν
στρατηγῶν ἕκαστος δὶς καὶ τρὶς κρίνεται παρ᾽
ὑμῖν περὶ θανάτου, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς οὐδεὶς
οὐδ᾽ ἅπαξ αὐτῶν ἀγωνίσασθαι περὶ θανάτου τολμᾷ,
ἀλλὰ τὸν τῶν ἀνδραποδιστῶν καὶ λωποδυτῶν
[54] θάνατον μᾶλλον αἱροῦνται τοῦ προσήκοντος· κακούργου
μὲν γάρ ἐστι κριθέντ᾽ ἀποθανεῖν, στρατηγοῦ
48 δὲ μαχόμενον τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἡμῶν δ᾽ οἱ
μὲν περιιόντες μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίων φασὶ Φίλιππον
πράττειν τὴν Θηβαίων κατάλυσιν καὶ τὰς πολιτείας
διασπᾶν, οἱ δ᾽ ὡς πρέσβεις πέπομφεν ὡς βασιλέα,
οἱ δ᾽ ἐν Ἰλλυριοῖς πόλεις τειχίζειν, οἱ δὲ λόγους
49 πλάττοντες ἕκαστος περιερχόμεθα. ἐγὼ δ᾽ οἶμαι
μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκεῖνον
μεθύειν τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πεπραγμένων καὶ πολλὰ
τοιαῦτ᾽ ὀνειροπολεῖν ἐν τῇ γνώμῃ, τήν τ᾽ ἐρημίαν
τῶν κωλυσόντων ὁρῶντα καὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις
ἐπηρμένον, οὐ μέντοι γε μὰ Δί᾽ οὕτω προαιρεῖσθαι
πράττειν ὥστε τοὺς ἀνοητοτάτους τῶν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν
εἰδέναι τί μέλλει ποιεῖν ἐκεῖνος· ἀνοητότατοι γάρ
50 εἰσιν οἱ λογοποιοῦντες. ἀλλ᾽ ἂν ἀφέντες ταῦτ᾽
ἐκεῖν᾽ εἰδῶμεν, ὅτι ἐχθρὸς ἄνθρωπος καὶ τὰ ἡμέτερ᾽
ἡμᾶς ἀποστερεῖ καὶ χρόνον πολὺν ὕβρικε, καὶ
ἅπανθ᾽ ὅσα πώποτ᾽ ἠλπίσαμέν τινα πράξειν ὑπὲρ

what he has done, while you pass decrees at random on the strength of these reports, what are you to expect?

How then is all this to be stopped? As soon as you, men of Athens, definitely appoint the same men as soldiers and as eye-witnesses of the campaign, and, on their return, as jurymen at the audit of your generals. In this way you will not merely learn about your affairs by hearsay, but you will be witnesses on the spot. So scandalous is our present system that every general is tried two or three times for his life in your courts, but not one of them dares to risk death in battle against the enemy; no, not once. They prefer the doom of a kidnapper or a pickpocket to a fitting death; for malefactors are condemned to the gallows, generals should die on the field of honour. Some of us spread the rumour that Philip is negotiating with the Lacedaemonians for the overthrow of Thebes and the dissolution of the free states, others that he has sent an embassy to the Great King, others that he is besieging towns in Illyria; in short, each of us circulates his own piece of fiction. Truly, men of Athens, I do think that Philip is drunk with the magnitude of his achievements and dreams of further triumphs, when, elated by his success, he finds that there is none to bar his way; but I cannot for a moment believe that he is deliberately acting in such a way that all the fools at Athens know what he is going to do next. For of all fools the rumour-mongers are the worst. But if, putting rumours aside, we recognize that this man is our enemy, who has for years been robbing and insulting us, that wherever we once hoped to find help

ἡμῶν καθ᾽ ἡμῶν εὕρηται, καὶ τὰ λοίπ᾽ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν ἐστί, κἂν μὴ νῦν ἐθέλωμεν ἐκεῖ πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ, ἐνθάδ᾽ ἴσως ἀναγκασθησόμεθα τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἂν ταῦτ᾽ εἰδῶμεν, καὶ τὰ δέοντ᾽ ἐσόμεθ᾽ ἐγνωκότες καὶ λόγων ματαίων ἀπηλλαγμένοι· οὐ γὰρ ἅττα ποτ᾽ ἔσται δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι φαῦλα, ἐὰν μὴ προσέχητε τὸν νοῦν καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα ποιεῖν ἐθέλητε, εὖ εἰδέναι.

51 Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οὔτ᾽ ἄλλοτε πώποτε πρὸς χάριν εἱλόμην λέγειν ὅ τι ἂν μὴ καὶ συνοίσειν πεπεισμένος ὦ, νῦν θ᾽ ἃ γιγνώσκω πάνθ᾽ ἁπλῶς, οὐδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος, πεπαρρησίασμαι. ἐβουλόμην δ᾽ ἄν, [55] ὥσπερ ὅτι ὑμῖν συμφέρει τὰ βέλτιστ᾽ ἀκούειν οἶδα, οὕτως εἰδέναι συνοῖσον καὶ τῷ τὰ βέλτιστ᾽ εἰπόντι· πολλῷ γὰρ ἂν ἥδιον εἶχον. νῦν δ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀδήλοις οὖσι τοῖς ἀπὸ τούτων ἐμαυτῷ γενησομένοις, ὅμως ἐπὶ τῷ συνοίσειν ὑμῖν, ἂν πράξητε, ταῦτα πεπεῖσθαι λέγειν αἱροῦμαι. νικῴη δ᾽ ὅ τι πᾶσιν μέλλει συνοίσειν.

we have found hindrance, that the future lies in our own hands, and if we refuse to fight now in Thrace, we shall perhaps be forced to fight here at home—if, I say, we recognize these facts, then we shall have done with idle words and shall come to a right decision. Our business is not to speculate on what the future may bring forth, but to be certain that it will bring disaster, unless you face the facts and consent to do your duty.

For my own part, I have never yet chosen to court your favour by saying anything that I was not quite convinced would be to your advantage ; and to-day, keeping nothing back, I have given free utterance to my plain sentiments. Yet, certain as I am that it is to your interest to receive the best advice, I could have wished that I were equally certain that to offer such advice is also to the interest of the speaker ; for then I should have felt much happier. But, as it is, in the uncertainty of what the result of my proposal may be for myself, yet in the conviction that it will be to your interest to adopt it, I have ventured to address you. Whatever shall be to the advantage of all, may that prevail !

ON THE PEACE

INTRODUCTION

The fall of Olynthus in 348 drew the two parties at Athens closer together, and a joint attempt was made to enlist the help of the other states to check Philip's alarming progress. The result was not encouraging, and meanwhile Philip intimated his desire to negotiate. Early in 346, on the motion of Philocrates, the first embassy, which included Demosthenes and Aeschines, was sent to treat with Philip. They returned with the offer of peace; each party was to retain its possessions, but two of the allies of Athens were expressly excluded—the little town of Halos in Thessaly, now being besieged by Philip, and the Phocians, against whom he was conducting the Sacred War at the invitation of the Thebans. The Athenians lent a too ready ear to Philocrates and Aeschines, who assured them of the benevolent intentions of Philip. The Peace of Philocrates was sanctioned, and the second embassy started on its dilatory tour to administer the oaths to Philip, now actively completing his conquests in Thrace. On its return, Demosthenes denounced his colleagues to the Council, but the Assembly shouted him down and eagerly accepted the renewed assurances of his rival. Athens was bound by terms of peace and alliance with Philip and his descendants.

The Phocians were ruined; Philip held the pass of Thermopylae, sat in the venerable Amphictyonic Council, and presided at the Pythian Games, while Athens sulked. He sent envoys to complain that the Athenians had given shelter to Phocian exiles, and to invite them to recognize him as a member of the Amphictyonic Council. The democracy had veered round. This time it was Aeschines who was refused a hearing, and Demosthenes had to calm the indignation of the Assembly by pointing out that the peace was an accomplished fact, and that it would be suicidal to repudiate it now. The speech, which may be safely assigned to the autumn of 346, succeeded in its object, and peace was preserved with Philip for some six years more.

In the speech "On the Embassy" (§ 113) Demosthenes asserts that Aeschines alone of the Athenians spoke in support of Philip's envoys on this occasion. Athenian orators (like Mr. Wenham) did not stick at trifles, but it is strange that Demosthenes should lay himself open to an obvious *tu quoque*, and stranger still that Aeschines failed to seize the opportunity. Hence Libanius, the fourth century (A.D.) rhetorician, to whom we owe the valuable arguments prefixed to the speeches, assumes that Demosthenes composed but never delivered the present speech. The problem has exercised the ingenuity of critics and historians; the reader will prefer to be left to provide his own solution.

V. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ

[57] *Ὁρῶ μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ παρόντα πράγματα
πολλὴν δυσκολίαν ἔχοντα καὶ ταραχὴν οὐ
μόνον τῷ πολλὰ προεῖσθαι καὶ μηδὲν εἶναι προὔργου
περὶ αὐτῶν εὖ λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑπολοίπων
κατὰ ταὐτὰ μηδὲ καθ᾽ ἓν τὸ συμφέρον πάντας
ἡγεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ὡδί, τοῖς δ᾽ ἑτέρως δοκεῖν.
2 δυσκόλου δ᾽ ὄντος φύσει καὶ χαλεποῦ τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι,
ἔτι πολλῷ χαλεπώτερον ὑμεῖς αὐτὸ πεποιήκατ᾽,
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πάντες
ἄνθρωποι πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰώθασι χρῆσθαι
τῷ βουλεύεσθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ μετὰ τὰ πράγματα. ἐκ
δὲ τούτου συμβαίνει παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον ὃν
οἶδ᾽ ἐγώ, τὸν μὲν οἷς ἂν ἁμάρτητ᾽ ἐπιτιμῶντ᾽
εὐδοκιμεῖν καὶ δοκεῖν εὖ λέγειν, τὰ δὲ πράγματα
3 καὶ περὶ ὧν βουλεύεσθ᾽ ἐκφεύγειν ὑμᾶς. οὐ μὴν
ἀλλὰ καίπερ τούτων οὕτως ἐχόντων οἴομαι καὶ
πεπεικὼς ἐμαυτὸν ἀνέστηκα, ἂν ἐθελήσητε τοῦ
θορυβεῖν καὶ φιλονικεῖν ἀποστάντες ἀκούειν, ὡς
ὑπὲρ πόλεως βουλευομένοις καὶ τηλικούτων πραγμάτων
προσήκει, ἕξειν καὶ λέγειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν
δι᾽ ὧν καὶ τὰ παρόντ᾽ ἔσται βελτίω καὶ τὰ
προειμένα σωθήσεται.*

4 *Ἀκριβῶς δ᾽ εἰδώς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ
λέγειν περὶ ὧν αὐτὸς εἶπέ τις καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ παρ᾽*

V. ON THE PEACE

I PERCEIVE, men of Athens, that the present outlook gives rise to much vexation and perplexity, because not only have we suffered serious losses, which cannot be mended by fine speeches, but there is also complete divergence of opinion about the preservation of what is left of our empire, one favouring this policy, another that. While deliberation is naturally a vexatious and difficult task, you, Athenians, have enhanced its difficulties; for all other people deliberate before the event, but you after the event. And the result is that, as long as I can remember, the man who attacks any mistakes you have made gains your applause as an able speaker, but meanwhile the events and the real object of your deliberation wholly escape you. Nevertheless, although this is so, I have come forward in the belief and confidence that, if you will consent to still the noise of faction and listen with the attention that befits men who are debating the most important interests of the state, I shall be able to offer you advice which will ameliorate our present condition and redeem our past losses.

While I am well aware, Athenians, that to talk in this assembly about oneself and one's own speeches

ὑμῖν ἀεὶ τῶν πάνυ λυσιτελούντων τοῖς τολμῶσιν
ὄν, οὕτως ἡγοῦμαι φορτικὸν καὶ ἐπαχθὲς ὥστ’
[58] ἀνάγκην οὖσαν ὁρῶν ὅμως ἀποκνῶ. νομίζω δ’
ἄμεινον ἂν ὑμᾶς περὶ ὧν νῦν ἐρῶ κρῖναι, μικρὰ
τῶν πρότερόν ποτε ῥηθέντων ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ μνημονεύσαντας.
5 ἐγὼ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
πρῶτον μέν, ἡνίκ’ ἔπειθόν τινες ὑμᾶς, τῶν ἐν
Εὐβοίᾳ πραγμάτων ταραττομένων, βοηθεῖν Πλουτάρχῳ
καὶ πόλεμον καὶ ἄδοξον καὶ δαπανηρὸν
ἄρασθαι, πρῶτος καὶ μόνος παρελθὼν ἀντεῖπον,
καὶ μόνον οὐ διεσπάσθην ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ μικροῖς
λήμμασι πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλ’ ὑμᾶς ἁμαρτάνειν πεισάντων·
καὶ χρόνου βραχέος διελθόντος, μετὰ τοῦ
προσοφλεῖν αἰσχύνην καὶ παθεῖν οἷα τῶν ὄντων
ἀνθρώπων οὐδένες πώποτε πεπόνθασιν ὑπὸ τούτων
οἷς ἐβοήθησαν, πάντες ὑμεῖς ἔγνωτε τήν τε τῶν
τότε ταῦτα πεισάντων κακίαν καὶ τὰ βέλτιστ’
6 εἰρηκότ’ ἐμέ. πάλιν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
κατιδὼν Νεοπτόλεμον τὸν ὑποκριτὴν τῷ μὲν τῆς
τέχνης προσχήματι τυγχάνοντ’ ἀδείας, κακὰ δ’
ἐργαζόμενον τὰ μέγιστα τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὰ παρ’
ὑμῶν διοικοῦντα Φιλίππῳ καὶ πρυτανεύοντα, παρελθὼν
εἶπον εἰς ὑμᾶς, οὐδεμιᾶς ἰδίας οὔτ’ ἔχθρας
οὔτε συκοφαντίας ἕνεκα, ὡς ἐκ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτ’
7 ἔργων γέγονε δῆλον. καὶ οὐκέτ’ ἐν τούτοις αἰτιάσομαι
τοὺς ὑπὲρ Νεοπτολέμου λέγοντας (οὐδὲ εἷς
γὰρ ἦν), ἀλλ’ αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς· εἰ γὰρ ἐν Διονύσου

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[a] Through Philip’s intrigues a Macedonian party had been formed in the cities of Euboea. Plutarchus, the ruler of Eretria, applied to Athens for help against a rising. The request was supported by Eubulus and Midias, but opposed

is a very profitable practice, if one has the necessary effrontery, I feel that it is so vulgar and so offensive that, though I see the necessity, I shrink from it. I believe, however, that you will form a better judgement of what I am going to propose, if I remind you of a few things that I have said on former occasions. For in the first place, Athenians, when it was proposed to take advantage of the unrest in Euboea [a] and side with Plutarchus in a war that would bring us more expense than glory, I was the first and indeed the only speaker to oppose it, and I narrowly escaped being torn to pieces by those who for trifling gains induced you to commit many serious errors. It was not long before you incurred disgrace and suffered indignities [b] such as no men have ever received from those whom they have helped, and so you realized the baseness of those to whom you then gave ear and the wisdom of the advice you received from me. Again, men of Athens, when I saw that Neoptolemus, the actor, enjoying safe conduct under cover of his profession, was doing his best to injure our city and was Philip's agent and representative at Athens, I once more came forward and addressed you, not out of private animosity or love of informing, as indeed my subsequent conduct has proved. And I shall not in this case, as in the former one, find fault with those who spoke in defence of Neoptolemus, for not a man defended him, but with yourselves. For if it had been a tragedy in the theatre of Dionysus

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by Demosthenes. A force was sent under the command of Phocion and won a battle, but Plutarchus proved himself a traitor and was expelled from Eretria.

[b] According to the Scholiast, Plutarchus seized some of the Athenian troops and compelled Athens to ransom them for 50 talents.

τραγῳδοὺς ἐθεᾶσθε,[1] ἀλλὰ μὴ περὶ σωτηρίας καὶ
κοινῶν πραγμάτων ἦν ὁ λόγος, οὐκ ἂν οὕτως οὔτ᾿
ἐκείνου πρὸς χάριν οὔτ᾿ ἐμοῦ πρὸς ἀπέχθειαν
8 ἠκούσατε. καίτοι τοῦτό γ᾿ ὑμᾶς οἶμαι νῦν ἅπαντας
ᾐσθῆσθαι, ὅτι τὴν τότ᾿ ἄφιξιν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους
ποιησάμενος[2] ὑπὲρ τοῦ τἀκεῖ χρήματ᾿ ὀφειλόμεν᾿,
[59] ὥς ἔφη, κομίσας δεῦρο λῃτουργεῖν, καὶ τούτῳ τῷ
λόγῳ πλείστῳ χρησάμενος, ὡς δεινὸν εἴ τις ἐγκαλεῖ
τοῖς ἐκεῖθεν ἐνθάδε τὰς εὐπορίας ἄγουσιν,
ἐπειδὴ διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην ἀδείας ἔτυχεν, ἣν ἐνθάδ᾿
ἐκέκτητ᾿ οὐσίαν φανεράν, ταύτην ἐξαργυρίσας πρὸς
9 ἐκεῖνον ἀπάγων οἴχεται. δύο μὲν δὴ ταῦθ᾿ ὧν
προεῖπον ἐγὼ μαρτυρεῖ τοῖς γεγενημένοις λόγοις
ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως, οἷά περ ἦν, ἀποφανθένθ᾿ ὑπ᾿
ἐμοῦ· τὸ τρίτον δ᾿, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, (καὶ μόνον
ἓν τοῦτ᾿ εἰπὼν ἔτι καὶ δὴ περὶ ὧν παρελήλυθ᾿
ἐρῶ,) ἡνίκα τοὺς ὅρκους τοὺς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης
10 ἀπειληφότες ἥκομεν οἱ πρέσβεις, τότε Θεσπιάς
τινων καὶ Πλαταιὰς ὑπισχνουμένων οἰκισθήσεσθαι,
καὶ τοὺς μὲν Φωκέας τὸν Φίλιππον, ἂν γένηται
κύριος, σώσειν, τὴν δὲ Θηβαίων πόλιν διοικιεῖν,
καὶ τὸν Ὠρωπὸν ὑμῖν ὑπάρξειν, καὶ τὴν Εὔβοιαν
ἀντ᾿ Ἀμφιπόλεως ἀποδοθήσεσθαι, καὶ τοιαύτας
ἐλπίδας καὶ φενακισμούς, οἷς ἐπαχθέντες ὑμεῖς
οὔτε συμφόρως οὔτ᾿ ἴσως οὔτε καλῶς προεῖσθε
Φωκέας, οὐδὲν τούτων οὔτ᾿ ἐξαπατήσας οὔτε σιγήσας
ἐγὼ φανήσομαι, ἀλλὰ προειπὼν ὑμῖν, ὡς
οἶδ᾿ ὅτι μνημονεύετε, ὅτι ταῦτ᾿ οὔτ᾿ οἶδ᾿ οὔτε
προσδοκῶ, νομίζω δὲ τὸν λέγοντα λῃρεῖν.

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[1] So A and S corrected: ἐθεάσασθε Dindorf with vulg.

[2] So Tournier, followed by most recent edd.: ἐποιήσατο vulg., Dindorf.

that you were watching and not a debate on the very existence of your state, you could not have shown more partiality to him and more ill-will against me. Yet I suppose that by this time you have all observed that after visiting the enemy, in order, as he alleged, to collect sums owing to him there which he might spend on public services here, and after making copious use of the argument that it was too bad to arraign men who were transferring wealth from Macedonia to Athens, he secured a safe conduct owing to the peace, converted into cash all the real property that he held here, and has absconded to Philip. There, then, you have two of my warnings, bearing testimony to the value of my earlier speeches, and uttered by me honestly and in strict conformity with the facts. Thirdly, men of Athens—and when I have given just this one further instance, I will at once pass on to some topics that I have omitted—when we ambassadors returned from administering the oaths for the peace, at that time there were some who assured us that Thespiae and Plataea would be rebuilt, that Philip, if he gained the mastery, would protect the Phocians and break up Thebes into villages, and that you would retain Oropus and receive Euboea in exchange for Amphipolis. Led on by these false hopes and cajoleries, you abandoned the Phocians against your own interests and against justice and honour. But you will find that I neither took part in this deception, nor passed it over in silence, but spoke out boldly, as I am sure you remember, saying that I had neither knowledge nor expectation of such results and that all such talk was nonsense.

11 Ταῦτα τοίνυν ἅπανθ᾿, ὅσα φαίνομαι βέλτιον τῶν
ἄλλων προορῶν, οὐδ᾿ εἰς μίαν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
οὔτε δεινότητ᾿ οὔτ᾿ ἀλαζονείαν ἐπανοίσω, οὐδὲ
προσποιήσομαι δι᾿ οὐδὲν ἄλλο γιγνώσκειν καὶ
προαισθάνεσθαι πλὴν δι᾿ ἃ ἂν ὑμῖν εἴπω, δύο· ἓν
μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δι᾿ εὐτυχίαν, ἣν συμπάσης
[60] ἐγὼ τῆς ἐν ἀνθρώποις οὔσης δεινότητος καὶ
12 σοφίας ὁρῶ κρατοῦσαν· ἕτερον δέ, προῖκα τὰ
πράγματα κρίνω καὶ λογίζομαι, καὶ οὐδὲν λῆμμ᾿
ἂν οὐδεὶς ἔχοι πρὸς οἷς ἐγὼ πεπολίτευμαι καὶ
λέγω δεῖξαι προσηρτημένον. ὀρθὸν οὖν, ὅ τι ἂν
ποτ᾿ ἀπ᾿ αὐτῶν ὑπάρχῃ τῶν πραγμάτων, τὸ
συμφέρον φαίνεταί μοι. ὅταν δ᾿ ἐπὶ θάτερ᾿ ὥσπερ
εἰς τρυτάνην ἀργύριον προσενέγκῃς, οἴχεται φέρον
καὶ καθείλκυκε τὸν λογισμὸν ἐφ᾿ αὐτό, καὶ οὐκ ἂν
ἔτ᾿ ὀρθῶς οὐδ᾿ ὑγιῶς ὁ τοῦτο ποιήσας περὶ οὐδενὸς
λογίσαιτο.

13 Ἓν μὲν οὖν ἔγωγε πρῶτον ὑπάρχειν φημὶ δεῖν,
ὅπως, εἴτε συμμάχους εἴτε σύνταξιν εἴτ᾿ ἄλλο τι
βούλεταί τις κατασκευάζειν τῇ πόλει, τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν
εἰρήνην μὴ λύων τοῦτο ποιήσει, οὐχ ὡς
θαυμαστὴν οὐδ᾿ ὡς ἀξίαν οὖσαν ὑμῶν· ἀλλ᾿ ὁποία
τίς ποτ᾿ ἐστὶν αὕτη, μὴ γενέσθαι μᾶλλον εἶχε
τοῖς πράγμασι καιρὸν ἢ γεγενημένη νῦν δι᾿ ἡμᾶς
λυθῆναι· πολλὰ γὰρ προείμεθα, ὧν ὑπαρχόντων
τότ᾿ ἂν ἢ νῦν ἀσφαλέστερος καὶ ῥᾴων ἦν ἡμῖν ὁ
14 πόλεμος. δεύτερον δ᾿, ὁρᾶν ὅπως μὴ προαξόμεθ᾿,
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς συνεληλυθότας τούτους
καὶ φάσκοντας Ἀμφικτύονας νῦν εἶναι εἰς ἀνάγκην
καὶ πρόφασιν κοινοῦ πολέμου πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἐγὼ

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[a] The Greek here is difficult. Most edd. awkwardly

Now all these instances, where I appear to have had a clearer foresight than the rest, I shall not refer to a single cause, men of Athens—my real or pretended cleverness [a]; nor will I claim that my knowledge and discernment were due to anything else than two things, which I will mention. One, men of Athens, was good luck, which my experience tells me is worth all the cleverness and wisdom in the world. The second is this: on public questions my estimates and decisions are disinterested, and no one can show that my policy and my speeches have been in any way bound up with my private gain. Hence I always see accurately the advantageous course as suggested by actual circumstances. But the instant you throw money into one scale, its weight bears down the judgement with it; and for him that has once done this, accurate and sound calculation becomes utterly impossible.

Now there is one precaution which I think essential. If anyone proposes to negotiate for our city an alliance or a joint contribution [b] or anything of the sort, it must be done without detriment to the existing peace. I do not mean that the peace is a glorious one or even creditable to you, but, whatever we may think of it, it would better suit our purpose never to have made it than to violate it when made, because we have now sacrificed many advantages which would have made war safer and easier for us then than now. The second precaution, men of Athens, is to avoid giving the self-styled Amphictyons now assembled any call or excuse for a crusade against us. For if

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render ἀλαζονεία “[cause for] boasting”: it is rather political quackery passing muster for real statesmanship.

[b] A euphemism under the second Athenian confederacy for the tribute (φόρος) of the first.

γάρ, εἰ γένοιθ' ἡμῖν πρὸς Φίλιππον πάλιν πόλεμος
δι' Ἀμφίπολιν ἤ τι τοιοῦτ' ἔγκλημ' ἴδιον, οὗ μὴ
μετέχουσι Θετταλοὶ μηδ' Ἀργεῖοι μηδὲ Θηβαῖοι,
οὐκ ἂν ἡμῖν οἴομαι τούτων οὐδένας[1] πολεμῆσαι,
15 καὶ πάντων ἥκιστα (καί μοι μὴ θορυβήσῃ μηδεὶς
πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι) Θηβαίους, οὐχ ὡς ἡδέως ἔχουσιν
ἡμῖν, οὐδ' ὡς οὐκ ἂν χαρίζοιντο Φιλίππῳ, ἀλλ'
[61] ἴσασιν ἀκριβῶς, εἰ καὶ πάνυ φησί τις αὐτοὺς
ἀναισθήτους εἶναι, ὅτι, εἰ γενήσεται πόλεμος πρὸς
ὑμᾶς αὐτοῖς, τὰ μὲν κακὰ πάνθ' ἕξουσιν αὐτοί,
τοῖς δ' ἀγαθοῖς ἐφεδρεύων ἕτερος καθεδεῖται.
οὔκουν πρόοιντ' ἂν αὐτοὺς εἰς τοῦτο, μὴ κοινῆς
τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς αἰτίας οὔσης τοῦ πολέμου.
16 οὐδέ γ' εἰ πάλιν πρὸς τοὺς Θηβαίους πολεμήσαιμεν
δι' Ὠρωπὸν ἤ τι τῶν ἰδίων, οὐδὲν ἂν ἡμᾶς παθεῖν
ἡγοῦμαι· καὶ γὰρ ἡμῖν κἀκείνοις τοὺς βοηθοῦντας
ἂν οἶμαι, εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν εἴ τις ἐμβάλοι, βοηθεῖν,
οὐ συνεπιστρατεύσειν οὐδετέροις. καὶ γὰρ αἱ συμμαχίαι
τοῦτον ἔχουσι τὸν τρόπον, ὧν καὶ φροντίσειεν
ἄν τις, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα φύσει τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν·
17 οὐκ ἄχρι τῆς ἴσης ἕκαστός ἐστιν εὔνους οὔθ' ἡμῖν
οὔτε Θηβαίοις, σῶς τ'[2] εἶναι καὶ κρατεῖν τῶν ἄλλων,
ἀλλὰ σῶς μὲν εἶναι πάντες ἂν βούλοινθ' ἕνεχ'
αὑτῶν, κρατήσαντας δὲ τοὺς ἑτέρους δεσπότας
ὑπάρχειν αὑτῶν οὐδὲ εἷς. τί οὖν ἡγοῦμαι φοβερὸν
καὶ τί φυλάξασθαι δεῖν ἡμᾶς; μὴ κοινὴν πρόφασιν
καὶ κοινὸν ἔγκλημ' ὁ μέλλων πόλεμος πρὸς ἅπαντας
18 λάβῃ. εἰ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι μὲν καὶ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ

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[1] So Herwerden: οὐδένα Dindorf with MSS.

[2] ὥστε MSS.: σῶς τ' Reiske: Dindorf brackets σῶς τ' . . . ἄλλων.

we should hereafter come to blows with Philip, about Amphipolis or in any private quarrel not shared by the Thessalians or the Argives or the Thebans, I do not believe for a moment that any of the latter would be dragged into the war, least of all—hear me before you shout me down — least of all the Thebans. I do not mean that they regard us with favour or that they would not readily oblige Philip, but they do realize quite clearly, for all the stolidity that people attribute to them, that if they ever fight you, they will have to take all the hard knocks themselves, and someone else will sit quietly by, waiting for the spoils. Therefore they would never make such a sacrifice unless the war had a common cause and origin. If we went to war again with the Thebans about Oropus[a] or for some other private reason, I do not think we should suffer, for both their allies and ours would, of course, offer support, if their own territory were invaded, but would not join either side in aggression. That is the way with every alliance worth considering, and such is the natural result. No individual ally is so fond either of us or of the Thebans as to regard our security and our supremacy in the same light. Secure they would all have us, for their own sakes ; that either nation should gain supremacy and be their masters would suit none of them. What, then, is the danger that I think we must guard against ? Lest the inevitable war should afford all states a common pretext and a common ground of complaint. For if the Argives

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[a] Oropus was in Attica, close to the Boeotian frontier. A war for its possession would therefore be confined to the Thebans and the Athenians, and Demosthenes has no fear of the result.

Μεγαλοπολῖται καί τινες τῶν λοιπῶν Πελοποννησίων,
ὅσοι ταὐτὰ τούτοις φρονοῦσι, διὰ τὴν πρὸς
Λακεδαιμονίους ἡμῖν ἐπικηρυκείαν ἐχθρῶς σχήσουσι
καὶ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐκδέχεσθαί τι τῶν ἐκείνοις
πεπραγμένων, Θηβαῖοι δ' ἔχουσι μέν, ὥς λέγουσιν,
ἀπεχθῶς, ἔτι δ' ἐχθροτέρως σχήσουσιν, ὅτι τοὺς
παρ' ἐκείνων φεύγοντας σῴζομεν καὶ πάντα τρόπον
19 τὴν δυσμένειαν ἐνδεικνύμεθ' αὐτοῖς, Θετταλοὶ δ',
ὅτι τοὺς Φωκέων φυγάδας σῴζομεν, Φίλιππος δ',
[62] ὅτι κωλύομεν αὐτὸν κοινωνεῖν τῆς ἀμφικτυονίας,
φοβοῦμαι μὴ πάντες περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἕκαστος ὀργιζόμενος
κοινὸν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀγάγωσι τὸν πόλεμον, τὰ
τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων δόγματα προστησάμενοι, εἶτ'
ἐπισπασθῶσιν ἕκαστοι πέρα τοῦ συμφέροντος
ἑαυτοῖς [ἡμῖν πολεμῆσαι],[1] ὥσπερ καὶ περὶ Φωκέας.
20 ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ', ὅτι νῦν Θηβαῖοι καὶ Φίλιππος
καὶ Θετταλοί, οὐχὶ ταὔθ' ἕκαστοι μάλιστ' ἐσπουδακότες,
ταὐτὰ πάντες ἔπραξαν· οἷον Θηβαῖοι τὸν
μὲν Φίλιππον παρελθεῖν καὶ λαβεῖν τὰς παρόδους
οὐκ ἐδύναντο κωλῦσαι, οὐδέ γε τῶν αὑτοῖς πεπονημένων
21 ὕστατον ἐλθόντα τὴν δόξαν ἔχειν· νυνὶ γὰρ
Θηβαίοις πρὸς μὲν τὸ τὴν χώραν κεκομίσθαι
πέπρακταί τι, πρὸς δὲ τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν αἴσχιστα·
εἰ γὰρ μὴ παρῆλθε Φίλιππος, οὐδὲν ἂν αὐτοῖς
δοκεῖ κέρδος εἶναι.[2] ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἐβούλοντο, ἀλλὰ
τῷ τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ τὴν Κορώνειαν λαβεῖν
ἐπιθυμεῖν, μὴ δύνασθαι δέ, πάντα ταῦθ' ὑπέμειναν.
22 Φίλιππον τοίνυν τινὲς μὲν δήπου τολμῶσι λέγειν

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[1] Blass omits: Dindorf retains, with MSS.

[2] ἐδόκει εἶναι MSS., with an unlikely hiatus: ἐδόκει πλέον εἶναι Dindorf after Reiske. An Oxyrhynchus papyrus has κερ . . . whence Butcher reads κέρδος εἶναι.

and Messenians and Megalopolitans, and other Peloponnesians who side with them, quarrel with us because of our embassy to Sparta and because they think that we have some interest in Lacedaemonian policy ; and if the Thebans are, as people admit, hostile and likely to be even more so, because we offer an asylum to their exiles and make no disguise of our hostility to them in every way ; and if the Thessalians dislike us because we protect the Phocian fugitives, and Philip because we are trying to exclude him from the Amphictyonic Council ; then I am afraid that these separate powers, having each a private grudge, may make common cause against us on the strength of the Amphictyonic decrees, and may then be tempted to go beyond what their several interests require, as they were in the case of the Phocians. For of course you realize that in the present case the Thebans and Philip and the Thessalians have acted in complete unison, though with widely different aims. The Thebans, for instance, were powerless to prevent Philip from pressing on and seizing the passes, or from coming in at the finish and usurping the credit of their previous exertions. Hence to-day the Thebans have been partially successful in recovering territory, but have failed lamentably to win honour and glory ; for they would presumably have gained nothing if Philip had not passed Thermopylae. That was not what they wanted, but they put up with it all because they had the will, though not the power, to grasp Orchomenus and Coronea. Now some people actually go so far as to say that Philip was compelled,

ὡς οὐδ' ἐβούλετο Θηβαίοις Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ Κορώνειαν
παραδοῦναι, ἀλλ' ἠναγκάσθη· ἐγὼ δὲ τούτοις
μὲν ἐρρῶσθαι λέγω, ἐκεῖνο δ' οἶδ', ὅτι οὐ μᾶλλόν
γε ταῦτ' ἔμελεν αὐτῷ ἢ τὰς παρόδους λαβεῖν
ἐβούλετο καὶ τὴν δόξαν τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ δοκεῖν
δι' αὑτὸν κρίσιν εἰληφέναι, καὶ τὰ Πύθια θεῖναι δι'
23 αὑτοῦ, καὶ ταῦτ' ἦν ὧν μάλιστ' ἐγλίχετο. Θετταλοὶ
δέ γ' οὐδέτερ' ἐβούλοντο τούτων, οὔτε Θηβαίους
οὔτε τὸν Φίλιππον μέγαν γίγνεσθαι (ταῦτα γὰρ
πάντ' ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἡγοῦντο), τῆς πυλαίας δ' ἐπεθύμουν
[63] καὶ τῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς, πλεονεκτημάτων δυοῖν,
κύριοι γενέσθαι· τῷ δὲ τούτων γλίχεσθαι τάδε
συγκατέπραξαν. τῶν τοίνυν ἰδίων ἕνεχ' εὑρήσεθ'
ἕκαστον πολλὰ προηγμένον ὧν οὐδὲν ἐβούλετο
πρᾶξαι. τοῦτο μέντοι, τοῦτ'[1] ἔστιν φυλακτέον ἡμῖν.
24 "Τὰ κελευόμεν' ἡμᾶς ἄρα δεῖ ποιεῖν ταῦτα
φοβουμένους; καὶ σὺ ταῦτα κελεύεις;" πολλοῦ
γε καὶ δέω. ἀλλ' ὡς οὔτε πράξομεν οὐδὲν ἀνάξιον
ἡμῶν αὐτῶν οὔτ' ἔσται πόλεμος, νοῦν δὲ δόξομεν
πᾶσιν ἔχειν καὶ τὰ δίκαια λέγειν, τοῦτ' οἶμαι δεῖν
ποιεῖν. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς θρασέως ὁτιοῦν οἰομένους
ὑπομεῖναι δεῖν καὶ μὴ προορωμένους τὸν πόλεμον,
ἐκεῖνα βούλομαι λογίσασθαι. ἡμεῖς Θηβαίους
ἐῶμεν ἔχειν Ὠρωπόν· καὶ εἴ τις ἔροιθ' ἡμᾶς,
κελεύσας εἰπεῖν τἀληθῆ, διὰ τί; ἵνα μὴ πολεμῶμεν,
25 φαῖμεν ἄν. καὶ Φιλίππῳ νυνὶ κατὰ τὰς
συνθήκας Ἀμφιπόλεως παρακεχωρήκαμεν, καὶ
Καρδιανοὺς ἐῶμεν ἔξω Χερρονησιτῶν τῶν ἄλλων

[1] So Rehdantz: τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν ὅτι τοιοῦτον vulg.: τοῦτο μέντοι ὅτι τοῦτ' S: τοῦτο μέντοι, ὅτι τοιοῦτόν ἐστι Dindorf.

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[a] The Amphictyonic Council met in autumn at the temple of Demeter near Thermopylae, and at Delphi in spring.

against his real wishes, to hand over Orchomenus and Coronea to the Thebans. For my part I wish them joy of their opinion. I only know this, that Philip was less interested in those towns than desirous to secure the pass, to win for himself the credit of finishing off the Sacred War, and to preside at the Pythian games. That was the summit of his ambition. But the Thessalians aimed at the aggrandizement neither of Thebes nor of Philip, because they felt that all that would tell against them; but they were anxious to control the council at Thermopylae and the Delphian temple [a]—two clear gains for them; and it was this ambition that led them to join in the war. So you will find that each of these powers was induced for private reasons to do much that it did not wish. That, however, is emphatically what *we* must avoid.

"Must we then," you ask, "do as we are told for fear of the consequences? Do you of all men advise that?" Far from it. No, I think we ought so to act as to do nothing unworthy of Athens and yet avoid war; we ought to show to all men our good sense and the justice of our claims. To those who think we ought boldly to risk everything, and who do not foresee the inevitable hostilities, I suggest the following consideration. We are allowing the Thebans to keep Oropus; and if anyone should ask us to tell him candidly why we do so, we should have to answer, "In order to avoid war." In the same way by agreement with Philip we have waived our claim to Amphipolis, and we are permitting Cardia [b] to be excepted from the rest of the Chersonese, the

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[b] Cardia, largely inhabited by Athenian colonists, was included in the peace of 346 as an ally of Philip.

τετάχθαι, καὶ τὸν Κᾶρα τὰς νήσους καταλαμβάνειν, Χίον καὶ Κῶν καὶ Ῥόδον, καὶ Βυζαντίους κατάγειν τὰ πλοῖα, δῆλον ὅτι τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ἡσυχίαν πλειόνων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαν εἶναι νομίζοντες ἢ τὸ προσκρούειν καὶ φιλονικεῖν περὶ τούτων. οὐκοῦν εὔηθες καὶ κομιδῇ σχέτλιον, πρὸς ἑκάστους καθ᾿ ἓν οὕτω προσενηνεγμένους περὶ τῶν οἰκείων καὶ ἀναγκαιοτάτων, πρὸς πάντας περὶ τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖς σκιᾶς νυνὶ πολεμῆσαι.

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[a] Idrieus, satrap of Caria, brother and successor of the famous Mausolus, who had helped the islands in their revolt from Athens in the Social War of 357–355.

Carian[a] to occupy the islands of Chios, Cos, and Rhodes, and the Byzantines to detain our ships[b] in harbour, obviously because we think that the respite which the peace affords is more productive of advantages than wrangling and coming to blows over these points. Therefore it is sheer folly and perversity, after dealing with the powers one by one on matters of vital concern to ourselves, to challenge them all together to fight about this phantom at Delphi.

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[b] Corn-ships from the Euxine forced to pay toll at Byzantium.

SECOND PHILIPPIC

INTRODUCTION

In the Peloponnesus Philip had found troubled waters in which to fish. The Argives, the Messenians, and the Arcadians, with their new centre Megalopolis, distrusted Athens because she was now on friendly terms with Sparta, who still laid claim to Messene. Philip supplied money and mercenaries to the ruling factions in those states, and Athens in the summer of 344 sent Demosthenes with other ambassadors on a tour of the Peloponnesus to counteract his growing influence. The mission was confessedly unsuccessful. Shortly afterwards, according to Libanius (though there are some difficulties in the way of accepting his statement), Philip sent envoys to Athens to complain of the charges of bad faith brought against him by some of the orators, and at the same time came envoys from Argos and Messene to protest against Athenian support of Sparta. In their presence Demosthenes points out that Philip's real object in befriending Thebes, Messene, and Argos is to attack Athens, and he throws the blame for the present difficulties on the statesmen who had deceived the Athenians with false hopes of Philip's benevolent intentions and so persuaded them to abandon Phocis and Thermopylae. The reply which he proposed to send to Philip has not come down to us, nor do we know whether it was adopted by the Assembly.

VI. ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Β

Ὅταν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγοι γίγνωνται
περὶ ὧν Φίλιππος πράττει καὶ βιάζεται παρὰ τὴν
εἰρήνην, ἀεὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν λόγους καὶ δικαίους
καὶ φιλανθρώπους ὁρῶ φαινομένους, καὶ λέγειν
μὲν ἅπαντας ἀεὶ τὰ δέοντα δοκοῦντας τοὺς κατηγοροῦντας
Φιλίππου, γιγνόμενον δ’ οὐδὲν ὡς ἔπος
εἰπεῖν τῶν δεόντων, οὐδ’ ὧν ἕνεκα ταῦτ’ ἀκούειν
2 ἄξιον· ἀλλ’ εἰς τοῦτ’ ἤδη προηγμένα τυγχάνει
[66] πάντα τὰ πράγματα τῇ πόλει, ὥσθ’ ὅσῳ τις ἂν
μᾶλλον καὶ φανερώτερον ἐξελέγχῃ Φίλιππον καὶ
τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρήνην παραβαίνοντα καὶ πᾶσι
τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπιβουλεύοντα, τοσούτῳ τὸ τί χρὴ
3 ποιεῖν συμβουλεῦσαι χαλεπώτερον. αἴτιον δὲ
τούτων, ὅτι πάντας, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς
πλεονεκτεῖν ζητοῦντας ἔργῳ κωλύειν καὶ πράξεσιν,
οὐχὶ λόγοις δέον, πρῶτον μὲν ἡμεῖς οἱ παριόντες
τούτων μὲν ἀφέσταμεν καὶ γράφειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν,
τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀπέχθειαν ὀκνοῦντες, οἷα
ποιεῖ δ’, ὡς δεινά, καὶ τοιαῦτα διεξερχόμεθα·
ἔπειθ’ ὑμεῖς οἱ καθήμενοι, ὡς μὲν ἂν εἴποιτε
δικαίους λόγους καὶ λέγοντος ἄλλου συνείητε,
ἄμεινον Φιλίππου παρεσκεύασθε, ὡς δὲ κωλύσαιτ’
ἂν ἐκεῖνον πράττειν ταῦτ’ ἐφ’ ὧν ἐστι νῦν, παντελῶς
4 ἀργῶς ἔχετε. συμβαίνει δὴ πρᾶγμ’ ἀναγ-

VI. SECOND PHILIPPIC

Whenever, men of Athens, we are discussing Philip's intrigues and his violations of the peace, I observe that all the speeches on our side are manifestly inspired by justice and generosity, and those who denounce Philip are all felt to be saying exactly the right thing; but of the much needed action, which alone would make the speeches worth hearing, little or nothing ensues. Unfortunately all our national affairs are now reduced to such a pass, that the more completely and manifestly Philip is convicted of violating the peace with us and of plotting against the whole of Greece, the more difficult it is to suggest the right course of action. The reason, Athenians, is this. Though all who aim at their own aggrandizement must be checked, not by speeches, but by practical measures, yet, in the first place, we who come before you shrink from any definite proposal or advice, being reluctant to incur your displeasure; we prefer to dilate on Philip's shocking behaviour and the like topics; and, secondly, you who sit here are indeed better equipped than Philip for making speeches about justice and for appreciating them in the mouth of another, but, when it comes to hindering the accomplishment of his present plans, you remain utterly inactive. The result is, I suppose, inevitable

καῖον, οἶμαι, καὶ ἴσως εἰκός· ἐν οἷς ἑκάτεροι
διατρίβετε καὶ περὶ ἃ σπουδάζετε, ταῦτ' ἄμεινον
ἑκατέροις ἔχει, ἐκείνῳ μὲν αἱ πράξεις, ὑμῖν δ' οἱ
λόγοι. εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ νῦν λέγειν δικαιότερ' ὑμῖν
ἐξαρκεῖ, ῥᾴδιον, καὶ πόνος οὐδεὶς πρόσεστι τῷ
5 πράγματι· εἰ δ' ὅπως τὰ παρόντ' ἐπανορθωθήσεται
δεῖ σκοπεῖν καὶ μὴ προελθόντ' ἔτι πορρωτέρω
λήσει πάνθ' ἡμᾶς, μηδ' ἐπιστήσεται μέγεθος
δυνάμεως πρὸς ἣν οὐδ' ἀνταῖραι δυνησόμεθα, οὐχ
ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος ὅσπερ πρότερον τοῦ βουλεύεσθαι,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς λέγουσιν ἅπασι καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν
ὑμῖν τὰ βέλτιστα καὶ τὰ σώσοντα τῶν ῥᾴστων καὶ
τῶν ἡδίστων προαιρετέον.

6 Πρῶτον μέν, εἴ τις, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, θαρρεῖ,
[67] ὁρῶν ἡλίκος ἤδη καὶ ὅσων κύριός ἐστι Φίλιππος,
καὶ μηδέν' οἴεται κίνδυνον φέρειν τοῦτο τῇ πόλει
μηδ' ἐφ' ὑμᾶς πάντα παρασκευάζεσθαι, θαυμάζω,
καὶ δεηθῆναι πάντων ὁμοίως ὑμῶν βούλομαι τοὺς
λογισμοὺς ἀκοῦσαί μου διὰ βραχέων, δι' οὓς
τἀναντί' ἐμοὶ παρέστηκε προσδοκᾶν καὶ δι' ὧν
ἐχθρὸν ἡγοῦμαι Φίλιππον· ἵν', ἐὰν μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ
βέλτιον προορᾶν, ἐμοὶ πεισθῆτε, ἂν δ' οἱ θαρροῦντες
καὶ πεπιστευκότες αὐτῷ, τούτοις προσθῆσθε.
7 ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λογίζομαι, τίνων
ὁ Φίλιππος κύριος πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν εἰρήνην
κατέστη; Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν Φωκεῦσι πραγμάτων.
τί οὖν; πῶς τούτοις ἐχρήσατο; ἃ Θηβαίοις συμφέρει
καὶ οὐχ ἃ τῇ πόλει, πράττειν προείλετο. τί
δήποτε; ὅτι πρὸς πλεονεξίαν, οἶμαι, καὶ τὸ πάνθ'
ὑφ' αὑτῷ ποιήσασθαι τοὺς λογισμοὺς ἐξετάζων,
καὶ οὐχὶ πρὸς εἰρήνην οὐδ' ἡσυχίαν οὐδὲ δίκαιον
8 οὐδέν, εἶδε τοῦτ' ὀρθῶς, ὅτι τῇ μὲν ἡμετέρᾳ πόλει

and perhaps reasonable. Where either side devotes its time and energy, there it succeeds the better—Philip in action, but you in argument. So if you still think it enough to employ the sounder arguments, that is easy ; your task entails no trouble. But if you have to devise means whereby our present fortunes shall be repaired, and their further decline shall not take us completely by surprise, and we shall not be confronted by a mighty power which we shall be unable even to withstand, then our method of deliberation must be changed, and all who speak and all who listen must choose the best and safest policy instead of the easiest and most agreeable.

In the first place, Athenians, if anyone views with confidence the present power of Philip and the extent of his dominions, if anyone imagines that all this imports no danger to our city and that you are not the object of his preparations, I must express my astonishment, and beg you all alike to listen to a brief statement of the considerations that have led me to form the opposite conclusion and to regard Philip as our enemy. Then, if you think me the better prophet, adopt my advice ; if you prefer those who have so confidently trusted him, give them your allegiance. Now I, men of Athens, reason thus. What did Philip first get under his control after the Peace ? Thermopylae and the Phocian government. Well, what did he make of these ? He chose to act in the interests of Thebes, not of Athens. And why so ? Because, I believe, guided in his calculations by ambition and the desire of universal dominion, regardless of the claims of peace and quietness and justice, he rightly saw that

καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσι τοῖς ἡμετέροις οὐδὲν ἂν ἐνδείξαιτο
τοσοῦτον οὐδὲ ποιήσειεν, ὑφ᾿ οὗ πεισθέντες ὑμεῖς
τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκ᾿ ὠφελείας τῶν ἄλλων τινὰς Ἑλλήνων
ἐκείνῳ πρόοισθε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου λόγον
ποιούμενοι, καὶ τὴν προσοῦσαν ἀδοξίαν τῷ πράγματι
φεύγοντες, καὶ πάνθ᾿ ἃ προσήκει προορώμενοι,
ὁμοίως ἐναντιώσεσθε, ἄν τι τοιοῦτον ἐπιχειρῇ
9 πράττειν, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ πολεμοῦντες τύχοιτε. τοὺς
δὲ Θηβαίους ἡγεῖτο, ὅπερ συνέβη, ἀντὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῖς
γιγνομένων τὰ λοιπὰ ἐάσειν ὅπως βούλεται πράττειν
ἑαυτόν, καὶ οὐχ ὅπως ἀντιπράξειν καὶ διακωλύσειν,
[68] ἀλλὰ καὶ συστρατεύσειν, ἂν αὐτοὺς κελεύῃ.
καὶ νῦν τοὺς Μεσσηνίους καὶ τοὺς Ἀργείους
ταὔθ᾿ ὑπειληφὼς εὖ ποιεῖ. ὃ καὶ μέγιστόν ἐστι
10 καθ᾿ ὑμῶν ἐγκώμιον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι· κέκρισθε
γὰρ ἐκ τούτων τῶν ἔργων μόνοι τῶν πάντων
μηδενὸς ἂν κέρδους τὰ κοινὰ δίκαια τῶν Ἑλλήνων
προέσθαι, μηδ᾿ ἀνταλλάξασθαι μηδεμιᾶς χάριτος
μηδ᾿ ὠφελείας τὴν εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας εὔνοιαν. καὶ
ταῦτ᾿ εἰκότως καὶ περὶ ὑμῶν οὕτως ὑπείληφε καὶ
κατ᾿ Ἀργείων καὶ Θηβαίων ὡς ἑτέρως, οὐ μόνον
εἰς τὰ παρόνθ᾿ ὁρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ πρὸ τούτων
11 λογιζόμενος. εὑρίσκει γάρ, οἶμαι, καὶ ἀκούει τοὺς
μὲν ὑμετέρους προγόνους, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς τῶν λοιπῶν
ἄρχειν Ἑλλήνων ὥστ᾿ αὐτοὺς ὑπακούειν βασιλεῖ,
οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀνασχομένους τὸν λόγον τοῦτον,
ἡνίκ᾿ ἦλθεν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ τούτων πρόγονος περὶ
τούτων κῆρυξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκλιπεῖν προελομένους
καὶ παθεῖν ὁτιοῦν ὑπομείναντας, καὶ
μετὰ ταῦτα πράξαντας ταῦθ᾿ ἃ πάντες ἀεὶ γλίχονται
λέγειν, ἀξίως δ᾿ οὐδεὶς εἰπεῖν δεδύνηται, διόπερ

to our city and our national character he could offer nothing, he could do nothing, that would tempt you from selfish motives to sacrifice to him any of the other Greek states, but that you, reverencing justice, shrinking from the discredit involved in such transactions, and exercising due and proper forethought, would resist any such attempt on his part as stoutly as if you were actually at war with him. But as to the Thebans, he believed—and the event justified him—that in return for benefits received they would give him a free hand for the future and, so far from opposing or thwarting him, would even join forces with him, if he so ordered. To-day, on the same assumption, he is doing the Messenians and the Argives a good turn. That, men of Athens, is the highest compliment he could pay you. For by these very acts you stand judged the one and only power in the world incapable of abandoning the common rights of the Greeks at any price, incapable of bartering your devotion to their cause for any favour or any profit. And it was natural that he should form this opinion of you and the contrary opinion of the Argives and Thebans, because he not merely looks to the present, but also draws a lesson from the past. For I suppose he learns from history and from report that your ancestors, when they might, at the price of submission to the Great King, have become the paramount power in Greece, not only refused to entertain that proposal, conveyed to them by Alexander, an ancestor of Philip's line, but chose to quit their homes and endure every hardship, and thereafter wrought those deeds which all men are always eager to relate, though no one has ever been able to tell them worthily ; and

κἀγὼ παραλείψω δικαίως (ἔστι γὰρ μείζονα τἀκείνων ἔργα ἢ ὡς τῷ λόγῳ τις ἂν εἴποι), τοὺς δὲ Θηβαίων καὶ Ἀργείων προγόνους τοὺς μὲν συστρατεύσαντας τῷ βαρβάρῳ, τοὺς δ' οὐκ ἐναν-
12 τιωθέντας. οἶδεν οὖν ἀμφοτέρους ἰδίᾳ τὸ λυσιτελοῦν ἀγαπήσοντας, οὐχ ὅ τι συνοίσει κοινῇ τοῖς Ἕλλησι σκεψομένους. ἡγεῖτ' οὖν, εἰ μὲν ὑμᾶς ἕλοιτο, φίλους ἐπὶ τοῖς δικαίοις αἱρήσεσθαι, εἰ δ' ἐκείνοις προσθεῖτο, συνεργοὺς ἕξειν τῆς αὑτοῦ πλεονεξίας. διὰ ταῦτ' ἐκείνους ἀνθ' ὑμῶν καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν αἱρεῖται. οὐ γὰρ δὴ τριήρεις γ' ὁρᾷ
[69] πλείους αὐτοῖς ἢ ὑμῖν οὔσας· οὐδ' ἐν μὲν τῇ μεσογείᾳ τιν' ἀρχὴν εὕρηκε, τῆς δ' ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ καὶ τῶν ἐμπορίων ἀφέστηκεν· οὐδ' ἀμνημονεῖ τοὺς λόγους οὐδὲ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἐφ' αἷς τῆς εἰρήνης ἔτυχεν.

13 Ἀλλὰ νὴ Δί', εἴποι τις ἂν ὡς πάντα ταῦτ' εἰδώς, οὐ πλεονεξίας ἕνεκ' οὐδ' ὧν ἐγὼ κατηγορῶ τότε ταῦτ' ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ τῷ δικαιότερα τοὺς Θηβαίους ἢ ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦν. ἀλλὰ τοῦτον καὶ μόνον πάντων τῶν λόγων οὐκ ἔνεστιν αὐτῷ νῦν εἰπεῖν· ὁ γὰρ Μεσσήνην Λακεδαιμονίους ἀφιέναι κελεύων πῶς ἂν Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ Κορώνειαν τότε Θηβαίοις παραδοὺς τῷ δίκαια νομίζειν ταῦτ' εἶναι πεποιηκέναι σκήψαιτο;

14 Ἀλλ' ἐβιάσθη νὴ Δία (τοῦτο γάρ ἐσθ' ὑπόλοιπον) καὶ παρὰ γνώμην, τῶν Θετταλῶν ἱππέων καὶ τῶν

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[a] Had Philip renounced his hope of founding a maritime and commercial state and confined himself to extending his empire north and west of Macedonia, his rejection of Athenian

therefore I shall not be wrong in passing them over, for they are indeed great beyond any man's power of speech. On the other hand, he learns that the ancestors of these Thebans and Argives either fought for the barbarians or did not fight against them. He knows, then, that they both will pursue their private interests, irrespective of the common advantage of the Greeks. So he thought that if he chose you, he would be choosing friends, and that your friendship would be based on justice; but that if he attached himself to the others, he would find in them the tools of his own ambition. That is why, now as then, he chooses them rather than you. For surely it is not that he regards their fleets as superior to ours, nor that, having discovered some inland empire, he has abandoned the seaboard with its harbours, nor yet that he has a short memory for the speeches and the promises that gained for him the Peace.[a]

But it may be urged, by someone who claims to know all about it, that he acted on that occasion, not from ambition or from any of those motives with which I find fault, but because the claims of the Thebans were more just than ours. Now that is precisely the one argument that he cannot use now. What! The man who orders the Lacedaemonians to give up their claims to Messene, how could he pretend that he handed over Orchomenus and Coronea to Thebes because he thought it an act of justice?

"But," it will be urged (for there is this excuse left), "he was forced to yield against his better judgement, finding himself hemmed in between the

friendship would be intelligible. As it is, it must be otherwise explained.

Θηβαίων ὁπλιτῶν ἐν μέσῳ ληφθείς, συνεχώρησε
ταῦτα. καλῶς. οὐκοῦν φασὶ μὲν μέλλειν πρὸς
τοὺς Θηβαίους αὐτὸν ὑπόπτως ἔχειν, καὶ
15 λογοποιοῦσι περιιόντες τινὲς ὡς Ἐλάτειαν τειχιεῖ. ὁ
δὲ ταῦτα μὲν μέλλει καὶ μελλήσει γ', ὡς ἐγὼ
κρίνω, τοῖς Μεσσηνίοις δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀργείοις ἐπὶ
τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους συλλαμβάνειν[1] οὐ μέλλει,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ξένους εἰσπέμπει καὶ χρήματ' ἀποστέλλει
καὶ δύναμιν μεγάλην ἔχων αὐτός ἐστι προσδόκιμος.
τοὺς μὲν ὄντας ἐχθροὺς Θηβαίων Λακεδαιμονίους
ἀναιρεῖ, οὓς δ' ἀπώλεσεν αὐτὸς πρότερον Φωκέας
16 νῦν σῴζει; καὶ τίς ἂν ταῦτα πιστεύσειεν; ἐγὼ
μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦμαι Φίλιππον, οὔτ' εἰ τὰ
πρῶτα βιασθεὶς ἄκων ἔπραξεν, οὔτ' ἂν εἰ νῦν
ἀπεγίγνωσκε Θηβαίους, τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐχθροῖς
συνεχῶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν νῦν ποιεῖ,
[70] κἀκεῖν' ἐκ προαιρέσεως δῆλός ἐστι ποιήσας, ἐκ
πάντων δ', ἄν τις ὀρθῶς θεωρῇ, πάνθ' ἃ[2]
17 πραγματεύεται κατὰ τῆς πόλεως συντάττων. καὶ τοῦτ'
ἐξ ἀνάγκης τρόπον τιν' αὐτῷ νῦν γε δὴ συμβαίνει.
λογίζεσθε γάρ. ἄρχειν βούλεται, τούτου δ'
ἀνταγωνιστὰς μόνους ὑπείληφεν ὑμᾶς. ἀδικεῖ πολὺν
ἤδη χρόνον, καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸς ἄριστα σύνοιδεν αὑτῷ·
οἷς γὰρ οὖσιν ὑμετέροις ἔχει, τούτοις πάντα τἄλλ'
ἀσφαλῶς κέκτηται· εἰ γὰρ Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ
Ποτείδαιαν προεῖτο, οὐδ' ἂν οἴκοι μένειν βεβαίως

[1] So Weil, supported by Schol. on Aristoph. *Ach.* 206: συνεισβάλλειν vulg.: συμβάλλειν Dindorf with S and two other MSS.

[2] So Loertsch, followed by most recent edd.: πάντα Dindorf with S: ὅτι πάντα vulg.

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[a] To rebuild the walls of Elatea, destroyed in 346, would

Thessalian cavalry and the Theban heavy infantry." Good! So they say he is waiting to regard the Thebans with suspicion, and some circulate a rumour that he will fortify Elatea.[a] That is just what he is "waiting" to do, and will go on "waiting," in my opinion. But he is not "waiting" to help the Messenians and Argives against the Lacedaemonians: he is actually dispatching mercenaries and forwarding supplies, and he is expected in person with a large force. What! The Lacedaemonians, the surviving enemies of Thebes, he is engaged in destroying; the Phocians, whom he has himself already destroyed, he is now engaged in preserving! And who is prepared to believe that? For my part I do not believe that Philip, if he acted in the first place reluctantly and under compulsion, or if he were now inclined to throw the Thebans over, would be persistently opposing their enemies. But if we may judge from his present conduct, it is plain that on that occasion also he acted from deliberate choice, and everything, if correctly observed, points to the fact that all his intrigues are directed against Athens. And to-day at any rate this policy is in a measure forced upon him. For observe! He wants to rule, and he has made up his mind that you, and you only, are his rivals. He has long injured you; of nothing is he more conscious than of that. For it is by holding the cities which are really yours that he retains safe possession of all the rest, and he feels that if he gave up Amphipolis and Potidaea, his own country would

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be a check to the Thebans, as barring their way to Phocis. Philip's occupation of Elatea in 339 is the theme of the well-known passage in *De Cor.* 169 foll.

Demosthenes is playing on the two meanings of μέλλει, "he is likely to" and "he is delaying to."

18 ἡγεῖται.[1] ἀμφότερ' οὖν οἶδε, καὶ αὑτὸν ὑμῖν ἐπιβουλεύοντα καὶ ὑμᾶς αἰσθανομένους· εὖ φρονεῖν δ' ὑμᾶς ὑπολαμβάνων, δικαίως ἂν αὑτὸν μισεῖν νομίζει,[2] καὶ παρώξυνται, πείσεσθαί τι προσδοκῶν, ἂν καιρὸν λάβητε, ἂν μὴ φθάσῃ ποιήσας πρότερος.
19 διὰ ταῦτ' ἐγρήγορεν, ἐφέστηκεν, ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει θεραπεύει τινάς, Θηβαίους καὶ Πελοποννησίων τοὺς ταὐτὰ βουλομένους τούτοις, οὓς διὰ μὲν πλεονεξίαν τὰ παρόντ' ἀγαπήσειν οἴεται, διὰ δὲ σκαιότητα τρόπων τῶν μετὰ ταῦτ' οὐδὲν προόψεσθαι. καίτοι σωφρονοῦσί γε καὶ μετρίως ἐναργῆ παραδείγματ' ἔστιν ἰδεῖν, ἃ καὶ πρὸς Μεσσηνίους καὶ πρὸς Ἀργείους ἔμοιγ' εἰπεῖν συνέβη, βέλτιον δ' ἴσως καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐστιν εἰρῆσθαι.

20 "Πῶς γὰρ οἴεσθ'," ἔφην, "ὦ ἄνδρες Μεσσήνιοι, δυσχερῶς ἀκούειν Ὀλυνθίους, εἴ τίς τι λέγοι κατὰ Φιλίππου κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους, ὅτ' Ἀνθεμοῦντα μὲν αὐτοῖς ἀφίει, ἧς πάντες οἱ πρότερον Μακεδονίας βασιλεῖς ἀντεποιοῦντο, Ποτείδαιαν δ'
[71] ἐδίδου τοὺς Ἀθηναίων ἀποίκους ἐκβάλλων, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτὸς ἀνῄρητο, τὴν χώραν δ' ἐκείνοις ἐδεδώκει καρποῦσθαι; ἆρα προσδοκᾶν αὐτοὺς τοιαῦτα πείσεσθαι, ἢ λέγοντος
21 ἄν τινος πιστεῦσαι οἴεσθε; ἀλλ' ὅμως," ἔφην ἐγώ, "μικρὸν χρόνον τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν καρπωσάμενοι πολὺν τῆς αὑτῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου στέρονται, αἰσχρῶς ἐκπεσόντες, οὐ κρατηθέντες μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ προδοθέντες ὑπ' ἀλλήλων καὶ πραθέντες· οὐ γὰρ ἀσφαλεῖς ταῖς πολιτείαις αἱ πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους

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[1] Cobet's correction: ἡγεῖτο Dindorf with S, etc.

[2] So F^1: νομίζοι Dindorf with S, vulg.: most recent edd. also omit ἄν.

not be safe for him. He knows, then, these two facts—that he is intriguing against you and that you are aware of it. Assuming that you are intelligent, he thinks you are bound to hate him, and he is on the alert, expecting some blow to fall, if you can seize an opportunity and if he cannot get in his blow first. That is why he is wide awake and ready to strike, and why he is courting certain people to the detriment of our city—Thebans, I mean, and those Peloponnesians who share their views. He imagines that their cupidity will lead them to accept the present situation, while their natural dullness will prevent them from foreseeing anything that may follow. Yet men of even moderate intelligence might perceive some clear indications, which I had occasion to point out to the Messenians and the Argives, and which may perhaps with advantage be repeated to you.

"Can you not imagine," I said, addressing the Messenians, "how annoyed the Olynthians would have been to hear a word said against Philip in the days when he was handing over to them Anthemus, to which all the former kings of Macedonia laid claim, when he was making them a present of Potidaea, expelling the Athenian settlers, and when he had taken upon himself the responsibility of a quarrel with us and had given them the territory of Potidaea for their own use? Do you imagine they expected to be treated as they have been, or would have believed anyone who suggested it? Nevertheless," said I, "after a brief enjoyment of other men's territory, they have long been robbed by Philip of their own, expelled with contumely, not merely vanquished but betrayed, bought and sold by their own countrymen. For truly such close communications with

22 αὗται λίαν ὁμιλίαι. τί δ' οἱ Θετταλοί; ἆρ' οἴεσθ'," ἔφην, "ὅτ' αὐτοῖς τοὺς τυράννους ἐξέβαλλε καὶ πάλιν Νίκαιαν καὶ Μαγνησίαν ἐδίδου, προσδοκᾶν τὴν καθεστῶσαν νῦν δεκαδαρχίαν ἔσεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς; ἢ τὸν τὴν Πυλαίαν ἀποδόντα, τοῦτον τὰς ἰδίας αὐτῶν προσόδους παραιρήσεσθαι; οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα. ἀλλὰ μὴν γέγονε ταῦτα καὶ πᾶσιν ἔστιν
23 εἰδέναι. ὑμεῖς δ'," ἔφην ἐγώ, "διδόντα μὲν καὶ ὑπισχνούμενον θεωρεῖτε Φίλιππον, ἐξηπατηκότα δ' ἤδη καὶ παρακεκρουμένον ἀπεύχεσθε, εἰ σωφρονεῖτε δή, ἰδεῖν. ἔστι τοίνυν νὴ Δί'," ἔφην ἐγώ, "παντοδαπὰ εὑρημένα ταῖς πόλεσι πρὸς φυλακὴν καὶ σωτηρίαν, οἷον χαρακώματα καὶ τείχη καὶ
24 τάφροι καὶ τἄλλ' ὅσα τοιαῦτα. καὶ ταῦτα μέν ἐστιν ἅπαντα χειροποίητα καὶ δαπάνης προσδεῖται· ἓν δέ τι κοινὸν ἡ φύσις τῶν εὖ φρονούντων ἐν αὑτῇ κέκτηται φυλακτήριον, ὃ πᾶσι μέν ἐστ' ἀγαθὸν καὶ σωτήριον, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς πλήθεσι πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους. τί οὖν ἐστι τοῦτο; ἀπιστία. ταύτην φυλάττετε, ταύτης ἀντέχεσθε· ἂν ταύτην σῴζητε,
25 οὐδὲν μὴ δεινὸν πάθητε. τί ζητεῖτε;" ἔφην.
[72] "ἐλευθερίαν. εἶτ' οὐχ ὁρᾶτε Φίλιππον ἀλλοτριωτάτας ταύτῃ καὶ τὰς προσηγορίας ἔχοντα; βασιλεὺς γὰρ καὶ τύραννος ἅπας ἐχθρὸς ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ νόμοις ἐναντίος. οὐ φυλάξεσθ' ὅπως," ἔφην, "μὴ πολέμου ζητοῦντες ἀπαλλαγῆναι δεσπότην εὕρητε;"

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[a] According to *Phil.* iii. 26 Philip set up *tetrarchies* in Thessaly. The two accounts may be reconciled by assuming that he retained the old fourfold division of the country, but set up an oligarchy of ten in each division. Philip, whose policy was to divide and conquer, would be unlikely to cen-

tyranny corrupt good constitutions. And what of the Thessalians? Do you imagine," I said, "that when he was expelling their despots, or again when he was presenting them with Nicaea and Magnesia, they ever dreamed that a Council of Ten [a] would be established among them, as it is to-day, or that the same man who restored to them the Amphictyonic meeting at Thermopylae would also appropriate their own peculiar revenues? Impossible! But so it came to pass, as all men may know. You," I said, "gaze with wonder at Philip as he gives away this and promises that, but if you are truly wise, pray that you may never find that he has deceived and cozened you. Verily," I said, "there are manifold means devised by states for protection and safety—stockades, ramparts, fosses and the like. And all these are wrought by hand and entail expense. But there is one common bulwark which the instinct of sensible men possesses within itself, a good and safe one for all, but invaluable for democracies against tyrants. And what is that bulwark? It is mistrust. Guard that; hold fast to that. If you preserve it, no harm can touch you. What is your object?" I said. "Freedom. Then do you not see that Philip's very titles are utterly irreconcilable with that? For every king, every despot is the sworn foe of freedom and of law. Beware," said I, "lest, seeking to be rid of war, you find a master."

tralize the government. It is just possible that δεκαδαρχίαν may be a mistaken amplification of Δ'αρχίαν = τετραρχίαν, but in that case the singular would be strange. Owing to the decarchies which Lysander imposed on so many free cities at the end of the Peloponnesian war, the number ten would have the same sinister associations in Greece as it had at Rome and at Venice.

26 Ταῦτ᾽ ἀκούσαντες ἐκεῖνοι, καὶ θορυβοῦντες ὡς
ὀρθῶς λέγεται, καὶ πολλοὺς ἑτέρους λόγους παρὰ
τῶν πρέσβεων καὶ παρόντος ἐμοῦ καὶ πάλιν
ὕστερον, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἀποσχήσονται
27 τῆς Φιλίππου φιλίας οὐδ᾽ ὧν ἐπαγγέλλεται. καὶ
οὐ τοῦτ᾽ ἔστ᾽ ἄτοπον, εἰ Μεσσήνιοι καὶ Πελοποννησίων
τινὲς παρ᾽ ἃ τῷ λογισμῷ βέλτισθ᾽ ὁρῶσί
τι πράξουσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑμεῖς οἱ καὶ συνιέντες αὐτοὶ
καὶ τῶν λεγόντων ἀκούοντες ἡμῶν, ὡς ἐπιβουλεύεσθε,
ὡς περιτειχίζεσθε, ἐκ τοῦ μηδὲν ἤδη
ποιῆσαι λήσεθ᾽, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, πάνθ᾽ ὑπομείναντες·
οὕτως ἡ παραυτίχ᾽ ἡδονὴ καὶ ῥᾳστώνη μεῖζον
ἰσχύει τοῦ ποθ᾽ ὕστερον συνοίσειν μέλλοντος.
28 Περὶ μὲν δὴ τῶν ὑμῖν πρακτέων καθ᾽ ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς
ὕστερον βουλεύσεσθε, ἂν σωφρονῆτε· ἃ δὲ νῦν
ἀποκρινάμενοι τὰ δέοντ᾽ ἂν εἴητ᾽ ἐψηφισμένοι,
ταῦτ᾽ ἤδη λέξω.

Ἦν μὲν οὖν δίκαιον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς
ἐνεγκόντας τὰς ὑποσχέσεις, ἐφ᾽ αἷς ἐπείσθητε
29 ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, καλεῖν· οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὸς
ἂν ποθ᾽ ὑπέμεινα πρεσβεύειν, οὔτ᾽ ἂν ὑμεῖς οἶδ᾽
ὅτι ἐπαύσασθε πολεμοῦντες, εἰ τοιαῦτα πράξειν
τυχόντ᾽ εἰρήνης Φίλιππον ᾤεσθε· ἀλλ᾽ ἦν πολὺ
τούτων ἀφεστηκότα τὰ τότε λεγόμενα. καὶ πάλιν
γ᾽ ἑτέρους καλεῖν. τίνας; τοὺς ὅτ᾽ ἐγὼ γεγονυίας
ἤδη τῆς εἰρήνης ἀπὸ τῆς ὑστέρας ἥκων πρεσβείας

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[a] *i.e.* when the foreign envoys have withdrawn. At this point, if not at the end of the speech, the proposed answer was read. This is not indicated in the MSS.

[b] The audience might fairly call upon men like Aristodemus, Ctesiphon, and Neoptolemus (*Fals. Leg.* 13, 315) to explain how they came to make themselves responsible for

That is what I said to them, and they shouted their approval; and they heard many other speeches from the envoys, both in my presence and again later, as it seems; but they are none the more likely to do without Philip's friendship and Philip's promises. And, indeed, it is not strange that Messenians and other Peloponnesians should sometimes act against their better judgement; but you, who know, both from your own intelligence and from our speeches, how you are compassed about with plots and snares, you will, as it seems to me, find to your surprise that through having done nothing in time, you have submitted to everything. So much does the pleasure and ease of the moment prevail over that which at some future time is likely to be advantageous.

On your practical measures you will, if you are wise, deliberate hereafter by yourselves [a]; at present I will suggest the immediate answer which it would be proper for you to adopt.

It would indeed have been fair, men of Athens, to call upon those who conveyed to you Philip's promises,[b] on the strength of which you were induced to conclude the Peace. For I should never myself have consented to serve on the embassy, nor would you, I am sure, have suspended military operations, if you had imagined that Philip after securing peace would act as he has done; but his words at the time were very different from his present actions. Yes, and there are others who ought to be called upon. Whom do I mean? The men who, when peace was made and when I, returning from the second embassy

these promises, to which Philip had not actually committed himself.

[73] τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὅρκους, αἰσθόμενος φενακιζομένην
τὴν πόλιν, προὔλεγον καὶ διεμαρτυρόμην καὶ οὐκ
30 εἴων προέσθαι Πύλας οὐδὲ Φωκέας, λέγοντας ὡς
ἐγὼ μὲν ὕδωρ πίνων εἰκότως δύστροπος καὶ
δύσκολός εἰμί τις ἄνθρωπος, Φίλιππος δ', ἅπερ
εὔξαισθ' ἂν ὑμεῖς, ἐὰν παρέλθῃ, πράξει, καὶ
Θεσπιὰς μὲν καὶ Πλαταιὰς τειχιεῖ, Θηβαίους δὲ
παύσει τῆς ὕβρεως, Χερρόνησον δὲ τοῖς αὑτοῦ
τέλεσι διορύξει, Εὔβοιαν δὲ καὶ τὸν Ὠρωπὸν ἀντ'
Ἀμφιπόλεως ὑμῖν ἀποδώσει· ταῦτα γὰρ ἅπαντ'
ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἐνταῦθα μνημονεύετ' οἶδ' ὅτι
ῥηθέντα, καίπερ ὄντες οὐ δεινοὶ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας
31 μεμνῆσθαι. καὶ τὸ πάντων αἴσχιστον, καὶ τοῖς
ἐκγόνοις πρὸς τὰς ἐλπίδας τὴν αὐτὴν εἰρήνην εἶναι
ταύτην ἐψηφίσασθε· οὕτω τελέως ὑπήχθητε. τί
δὴ ταῦτα νῦν λέγω καὶ καλεῖν φημὶ δεῖν τούτους;
ἐγὼ νὴ τοὺς θεοὺς τἀληθῆ μετὰ παρρησίας ἐρῶ
32 πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι· οὐχ ἵν' εἰς
λοιδορίαν ἐμπεσὼν ἐμαυτῷ μὲν ἐξ ἴσου λόγον παρ'
ὑμῖν ποιήσω, τοῖς δ' ἐμοὶ προσκρούσασιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς
καὶ νῦν παράσχω πρόφασιν τοῦ πάλιν τι λαβεῖν
παρὰ Φιλίππου, οὐδ' ἵν' ὡς ἄλλως ἀδολεσχῶ· ἀλλ'
οἴομαί ποθ' ὑμᾶς λυπήσειν ἃ Φίλιππος πράττει
33 μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ νυνί· τὸ γὰρ πρᾶγμ' ὁρῶ προβαῖνον,
καὶ οὐχὶ βουλοίμην ἂν εἰκάζειν ὀρθῶς, φοβοῦμαι
δὲ μὴ λίαν ἐγγὺς ᾖ τοῦτ' ἤδη. ὅταν οὖν μηκέθ'
ὑμῖν ἀμελεῖν ἐξουσία γίγνηται τῶν συμβαινόντων,

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[a] Aeschines and, in particular, Philocrates (*Fals. Leg.* 46).

[b] To protect the Greek cities from the raids of the Thracians.

[c] The Greek is difficult, and editors are of many minds. The usual meaning of λόγον ποιεῖν, "to grant a hearing,"

—that sent to administer the oaths—found that the state was being imposed upon, and spoke out and protested and refused to give up Thermopylae and the Phocians—the men,[a] I say, who told you that I, being a water-drinker, was naturally a disagreeable, cross-grained fellow, and that Philip, if he got through the Pass, would do just what you would pray for, would fortify Thespiae and Plataea, and humble the Theban pride, and dig a trench across the Chersonese[b] at his own charges, and restore to you Euboea and Oropus in lieu of Amphipolis. All this was said from this very platform, as I am sure you recollect, although you are not remarkable for keeping in mind those who injure you. And the crowning disgrace is that your posterity also is bound by the same peace which these hopes prompted you to conclude; so completely were you led astray. Why do I mention this now and assert that these men ought to be called upon? I vow that I will boldly tell you the whole truth and keep nothing back. It is not that by descending to abuse I may lay myself open to retaliation in your presence,[c] while I give those who from the first have fallen foul of me an excuse for making further profit out of Philip. Nor do I wish to indulge in idle talk. But I think that one day Philip's policy will cause you more distress than it does now, for I see the plot thickening. I hope I may prove a false prophet, but I fear the catastrophe is even now only too near. So when you can no longer shut your eyes to what is happening,

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seems impossible here. Perhaps the literal meaning is "cause speech against myself in your presence on equal terms," *i.e.* give my enemies an opening to reply in the same style, which, Demosthenes hints, would be an insult to his audience.

μηδ’ ἀκούηθ’ ὅτι ταῦτ’ ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς ἐστιν ἐμοῦ μηδὲ
τοῦ δεῖνος, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶ πάντες ὁρᾶτε καὶ εὖ εἰδῆτε,
ὀργίλους καὶ τραχεῖς ὑμᾶς ἔσεσθαι νομίζω.
34 φοβοῦμαι δὴ μή, τῶν πρέσβεων σεσιωπηκότων
[74] ἐφ’ οἷς αὐτοῖς συνίσασι δεδωροδοκηκότες, τοῖς
ἐπανορθοῦν τι πειρωμένοις τῶν διὰ τούτους
ἀπολωλότων τῇ παρ’ ὑμῶν ὀργῇ περιπεσεῖν
συμβῇ· ὁρῶ γὰρ ὡς τὰ πόλλ’ ἐνίους οὐκ εἰς τοὺς
αἰτίους, ἀλλ’ εἰς τοὺς ὑπὸ χεῖρα μάλιστα τὴν
35 ὀργὴν ἀφιέντας. ἕως οὖν ἔτι μέλλει καὶ συνίσταται
τὰ πράγματα καὶ κατακούομεν ἀλλήλων, ἕκαστον
ὑμῶν καίπερ ἀκριβῶς εἰδόθ’ ὅμως ἐπαναμνῆσαι
βούλομαι, τίς ὁ Φωκέας πείσας καὶ Πύλας προέσθαι,
ὧν καταστὰς ἐκεῖνος κύριος τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν
’Αττικὴν ὁδοῦ καὶ τῆς εἰς Πελοπόννησον κύριος
γέγονε, καὶ πεποίηχ’ ὑμῖν μὴ περὶ τῶν δικαίων
μηδ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἔξω πραγμάτων εἶναι τὴν βουλήν,
ἀλλ’ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τὴν
’Αττικὴν πολέμου, ὃς λυπήσει μὲν ἕκαστον,
36 ἐπειδὰν παρῇ, γέγονε δ’ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. εἰ
γὰρ μὴ παρεκρούσθητε τόθ’ ὑμεῖς, οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν
τῇ πόλει πρᾶγμα· οὔτε γὰρ ναυσὶ δήπου κρατήσας
εἰς τὴν ’Αττικὴν ἦλθεν ἄν ποτε στόλῳ Φίλιππος,
οὔτε πεζῇ βαδίζων ὑπὲρ τὰς Πύλας καὶ Φωκέας,
ἀλλ’ ἢ τὰ δίκαι’ ἂν ἐποίει καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγων
ἡσυχίαν εἶχεν, ἢ παραχρῆμ’ ἂν ἦν ἐν ὁμοίῳ
πολέμῳ δι’ ὃν τότε τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπεθύμησεν.

37 Ταῦτ’ οὖν, ὡς μὲν ὑπομνῆσαι, νῦν ἱκανῶς

when you do not need me or someone else to tell you, but can all see for yourselves and be quite certain that all this is directed against you, then I expect you will be angry and exasperated. Yes, I am afraid that, since the ambassadors have kept silence about the services for which they know they have been bribed, those who are trying to repair some of the losses that these men have caused may chance to fall under your displeasure ; for I observe that people vent their wrath as a rule, not on those who are to blame, but chiefly on those who are within their reach. Now therefore, while the danger is in the future and is gathering head, while we can still hear one another speak, I want to remind each one of you, however clearly he knows it, who it is that persuaded you to abandon the Phocians and Thermopylae, the command of which gave Philip the command also of the road to Attica and the Peloponnesus, and who it is that has forced you to take counsel, not for your rights and interests abroad, but for your possessions here at home and for the war in Attica, a war which will bring distress on every one of us, when it does come, but which really dates from that very day. For if you had not been hoodwinked then, there would be no anxiety in Athens, because Philip could never, of course, have gained command of the sea and reached Attica with his fleet, nor could he have marched past Thermopylae and Phocis, but either he would have acted fairly and observed the Peace by keeping quiet, or he would have been instantly engaged in a war similar to that which made him so anxious for the Peace.

Enough has now been said by way of reminder.

εἴρηται, ὡς δ᾽ ἂν ἐξετασθείη μάλιστ᾽ ἀκριβῶς, μὴ γένοιτ᾽, ὦ πάντες θεοί· οὐδένα γὰρ βουλοίμην ἔγωγ᾽ ἄν, οὐδ᾽ εἰ δίκαιός ἐστ᾽ ἀπολωλέναι, μετὰ τοῦ πάντων κινδύνου καὶ τῆς ζημίας δίκην ὑποσχεῖν.

May all the gods forbid that my warnings should ever be brought to the sternest test! For I would not willingly see one man suffer, even though he deserve to perish, if his punishment involves the danger and the damage of all.

ON HALONNESUS

INTRODUCTION

Halonnesus, an insignificant island off the coast of Thessaly, belonged with others of the same group to Athens. Soon after the Peace of Philocrates it was seized by a pirate named Sostratus. Philip turned out the pirate and kept the island. In 343 the Athenians sent an embassy, which included Hegesippus, a violent supporter of Demosthenes, to demand restoration. Philip in turn sent envoys to Athens with a letter, in which he offered to *give* (not *restore*) the island to Athens, or to submit the case to arbitration. In reply this speech was delivered, perhaps early in 342. It is vigorous and one-sided enough to charm an Athenian audience, but its style has none of the variety and the fire of Demosthenes, who, moreover, had not been, like the speaker (§ 2), a member of the embassy. Dionysius of Halicarnassus quotes it without question as the Eighth Philippic, but Libanius in his introduction rejects it and definitely states that critics recognized it as the work of Hegesippus from its style and subject matter. It certainly expressed the views of Demosthenes, and has probably taken the place of his own speech in the Demosthenic *corpus.*

To complete the history of this dispute: the men of the neighbouring island of Peparethus drove the Macedonian garrison out of Halonnesus; Philip attacked Peparethus, and the Athenians directed their generals to retaliate. Thus hostilities between Athens and Philip began before war was declared.

VII. ΠΕΡΙ ΑΛΟΝΝΗΣΟΥ

Ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως αἱ αἰτίαι, ἃς Φίλιππος αἰτιᾶται τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν δικαίων πρὸς ὑμᾶς λέγοντας, κωλύσουσι συμβούλους ἡμᾶς γίγνεσθαι ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑμῖν συμφερόντων· δεινὸν γὰρ [77] ἂν εἴη, εἰ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος παρρησίαν αἱ παρ᾽ ἐκείνου πεμπόμεναι ἐπιστολαὶ ἀνέλοιεν. ἐγὼ δ᾽ ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, βούλομαι πρῶτον μὲν περὶ ὧν Φίλιππος ἐπέσταλκε, περὶ τούτων διεξελθεῖν· ὕστερον δέ, περὶ ὧν οἱ πρέσβεις λέγουσι, καὶ ἡμεῖς λέξομεν.

2 Φίλιππος γὰρ ἄρχεται μὲν περὶ Ἁλοννήσου λέγων ὡς ὑμῖν δίδωσιν ἑαυτοῦ οὖσαν, ὑμᾶς δ᾽ οὔ φησι δικαίως αὐτὸν ἀπαιτεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ὑμετέραν οὖσαν οὔτε λαβεῖν οὔτε νῦν ἔχειν. ἔλεγε δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς τοιούτους λόγους, ὅτε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπρεσβεύσαμεν, ὡς λῃστὰς ἀφελόμενος ταύτην τὴν νῆσον κτήσαιτο, καὶ προσήκειν αὐτὴν ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι.

3 τοῦτον δὲ τὸν λόγον, ὡς οὐκ ἔστι δίκαιος, οὐ χαλεπόν ἐστιν αὐτοῦ ἀφελέσθαι. ἅπαντες γὰρ οἱ λῃσταὶ τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους τόπους καταλαμβάνοντες καὶ τούτους ἐχυροὺς ποιούμενοι, ἐντεῦθεν τοὺς ἄλλους κακῶς ποιοῦσιν. ὁ δὴ τοὺς λῃστὰς τιμωρησάμενος καὶ κρατήσας οὐκ ἂν δήπου εἰκότα λέγοι, εἰ φαίη, ἃ ἐκεῖνοι ἀδίκως καὶ ἀλλότρια

VII. ON HALONNESUS

Men of Athens, the charges that Philip brings against the speakers who here uphold your claims shall never deter us from offering our advice on what concerns your interests; for it would be monstrous if the freedom of utterance which is the privilege of this platform should be stifled by dispatches from him. But for myself, men of Athens, I wish first to touch upon the different points of his letter, and then to add my comments on the speeches of his ambassadors.

Philip begins by saying that he offers you Halonnesus as his own property, but that you have no right to demand it of him, because it was not yours when he took it, and is not yours now that he holds it. Moreover, when we ambassadors visited him, he used similar language, to the effect that he had captured the island from pirates and that therefore it belonged absolutely to him. It is not difficult to refute this claim on the ground of its unfairness. For all pirates seize places belonging to others and turn them into strongholds from which to harry their neighbours. But a man who should defeat and punish pirates would surely be unreasonable, if he said that the stolen property wrongfully held by

4 εἶχον, ταῦθ' ἑαυτοῦ γίγνεσθαι. εἰ γὰρ ταῦτα
συγχωρήσετε, τί κωλύει, καὶ εἴ τινα τῆς Ἀττικῆς
λῃσταὶ τόπον καταλάβοιεν ἢ Λήμνου ἢ Ἴμβρου
ἢ Σκύρου, καί τινες τούτους τοὺς λῃστὰς ἐκκόψαιεν,
εὐθὺς καὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον, οὗ ἦσαν οἱ λῃσταί,
τὸν ὄντα ἡμέτερον, τῶν τιμωρησαμένων τοὺς
5 λῃστὰς γίγνεσθαι; Φίλιππος δ' οὐκ ἀγνοεῖ ταῦτ'
οὐ δίκαια λέγων, ἀλλ' εἰ καί τις ἄλλος ἐπιστάμενος
παρακρουσθῆναι ἂν ὑμᾶς οἴεται ὑπὸ τῶν τἀνταῦθα
διοικήσειν, ὡς ἂν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος βούληται, καὶ
πρὶν ὑπεσχημένων καὶ νῦν δὲ πραττόντων. ἀλλὰ
[78] μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνό γε λανθάνει αὐτόν, ὅτι δι'
ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ὀνομάτων, ὁποτέρῳ ἂν χρῆσθε,
ὑμεῖς ἕξετε τὴν νῆσον, ἄν τε λάβητε ἄν τ' ἀπολάβητε.
6 τί οὖν αὐτῷ διαφέρει, μὴ τῷ δικαίῳ
ὀνόματι χρησάμενον ἀποδοῦναι ὑμῖν, ἀλλὰ δωρειὰν
δεδωκέναι, τῷ ἀδίκῳ; οὐχ ἵν' εὐεργέτημά τι
καταλογίσηται πρὸς ὑμᾶς (γέλοιον γὰρ ἂν εἴη
τοῦτο τὸ εὐεργέτημα), ἀλλ' ἵν' ἐνδείξηται ἅπασι
τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὅτι Ἀθηναῖοι τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ
χωρία ἀγαπῶσι παρὰ τοῦ Μακεδόνος λαμβάνοντες.
τοῦτο δ' ὑμῖν οὐ ποιητέον ἐστίν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι.

7 Ὅταν δὲ λέγῃ περὶ τούτων ὡς ἐθέλει διαδικάσασθαι,
οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ χλευάζει ὑμᾶς, πρῶτον μὲν
ἀξιῶν Ἀθηναίους ὄντας πρὸς τὸν ἐκ Πέλλης
ὁρμώμενον περὶ τῶν νήσων διαδικάζεσθαι, πότερ'
ὑμέτεραι ἢ ἐκείνου εἰσίν. ὁπότε γὰρ ἡ μὲν δύναμις
ἡ ὑμετέρα, ἡ ἐλευθερώσασα τοὺς Ἕλληνας, μὴ
δύναται ὑμῖν τὰ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ χωρία σῴζειν, οἱ
δὲ δικασταί, οἷς ἂν ἐπιτρέψητε, οἱ κύριοι τῆς
ψήφου, οὗτοι ὑμῖν σώσουσιν, ἐὰν μὴ Φίλιππος
8 αὐτοὺς πρίηται, πῶς ὑμεῖς οὐχ ὁμολογουμένως,

them passed thereby into his own possession. For, that plea once granted, if some pirates seize a strip of Attic territory, or a part of Lemnos or Imbros or Scyros, and if someone dislodges these pirates, what is to prevent this place, where the pirates are established and which is really ours, from becoming the property of those who chastised them? Philip is quite aware that his claim is unjust, but, though he knows this as well as anyone, he thinks that you may be hoodwinked by the men who have engaged, and are now fulfilling their engagement, to direct Athenian policy in accordance with his own desires. Nor again does he fail to see that in either case, however you dub the transaction, the island will be yours, whether it is presented or restored to you. Then what does he gain by using the wrong term and making a present of it to you, instead of using the right term and restoring it? It is not that he wants to debit you with a benefaction received, for such a benefaction would be a farce; but that he wants all Greece to take notice that the Athenians are content to receive maritime strongholds from the man of Macedon. And that is just what you, men of Athens, must not do.

But when he says that he is willing to arbitrate, he is merely mocking you. In the first place, he expects Athenians to refer to arbitration, as against this upstart from Pella, the question whether the islands are yours or his. If you cannot preserve your maritime possessions by your might that once saved Hellas, but rely on any jury to whom you refer it, and whose verdict is final, to preserve them for you, provided always that Philip does not buy their votes, is it not an open confession, when you adopt this

ὅταν ταῦτα διαπράττησθε, τῶν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ
ἁπάντων ἀφεστήκατε, καὶ ἐπιδείκνυτε ἅπασιν
ἀνθρώποις ὅτι οὐδὲ περὶ ἑνὸς αὐτῷ διαγωνιεῖσθε,
εἴγε περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ, οὗ φατὲ ἰσχύειν, μὴ
διαγωνιεῖσθε, ἀλλὰ δικάσεσθε;

9 Ἔτι περὶ συμβόλων φησὶ πεπομφέναι πρὸς
ὑμᾶς τοὺς ποιησομένους, ταῦτα δὲ κύρια ἔσεσθαι,
οὐκ ἐπειδὰν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τῷ παρ' ὑμῖν
κυρωθῇ, ὥσπερ ὁ νόμος κελεύει, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν
ὡς ἑαυτὸν ἐπανενεχθῇ, ἐφέσιμον τὴν παρ' ὑμῶν
[79] γενομένην γνῶσιν ὡς ἑαυτὸν ποιούμενος. βούλεται
γὰρ ὑμῶν τοῦτο προλαβεῖν καὶ ὁμολογούμενον ἐν
τοῖς συμβόλοις καταστῆσαι, ὅτι τῶν περὶ Ποτείδαιαν
γεγενημένων ἀδικημάτων οὐδὲν ἐγκαλεῖτε
αὐτῷ ὡς ἀδικούμενοι, ἀλλὰ βεβαιοῦτε δικαίως
10 αὐτὴν ἐκεῖνον καὶ λαβεῖν καὶ κεκτῆσθαι. καίτοι
Ἀθηναίων οἱ ἐν Ποτειδαίᾳ κατοικοῦντες, οὐκ
ὄντος αὐτοῖς πολέμου πρὸς Φίλιππον, ἀλλὰ συμμαχίας,
καὶ ὅρκων ὀμωμοσμένων, οὓς Φίλιππος
τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν ἐν Ποτειδαίᾳ ὤμοσεν, ἀφῃρέθησαν
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὰ κτήματα. ταῦτα δὴ βούλεται τἀδικήματα
πολλάκις πανταχόσε παρ' ὑμῖν βεβαιώσασθαι,
ὅτι οὔτ' ἐγκαλεῖτε οὔθ' ἡγεῖσθε ἀδικεῖσθαι·
11 ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε συμβόλων οὐδὲν δέονται Μακεδόνες
πρὸς Ἀθηναίους, ὁ παρεληλυθὼς ὑμῖν χρόνος
τεκμήριον γενέσθω· οὔτε γὰρ Ἀμύντας ὁ πατὴρ
ὁ Φιλίππου οὔθ' οἱ ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς οὐδεπώποτε

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[a] Agreements between two Greek states, laying down the conditions under which their nationals might mutually obtain legal redress, were called σύμβολα. The cases were tried in the courts of the defendant's state. The terms of the compact with Macedonia were to be ratified by the

policy, that you have abandoned everything on the mainland, and are you not advertising to the world that there is not a single thing for the sake of which you will appeal to arms, if indeed for your possessions on the sea, where you say your strength lies, you shall appeal, not to arms, but to the law-courts?

Then again he says that he has sent envoys to arrange with you an inter-state legal compact, and that this compact will be valid, not as soon as it is ratified by the body of Athenian jurors, as the law directs, but only after it has been referred to him, thus constituting himself a court of appeal from your decision.[a] His object, of course, is to steal a march on you, and to insert in the compact an admission on your part that none of the wrongs committed at Potidaea are charged against him by you as the injured party, but that you confirm his seizure and retention of that city as lawful. Yet Athenians, settled at Potidaea, were robbed of their property by Philip, though they were not at war but in alliance with him, and though he had duly pledged his word to all the inhabitants of that city. Of course he wants to get his many illegal acts everywhere confirmed by a declaration on your part that you bring no charge against him and do not consider yourselves wronged; for that Macedonians need no inter-state compact with Athenians let past history be your witness, since neither Amyntas, the father of Philip, nor the earlier kings ever made any

heliastic court of Athens, but Philip claimed the right of final ratification. Others explain it to mean that Philip demanded that the verdicts of the Athenian juries in cases under this pact (δίκαι ἀπὸ συμβόλων) should be confirmed by him.

σύμβολα ἐποιήσαντο πρὸς τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν.
12 καίτοι πλείους γε ἦσαν αἱ ἐπιμειξίαι τότε πρὸς
ἀλλήλους ἢ νῦν εἰσίν· ἐφ' ἡμῖν γὰρ ἦν ἡ Μακεδονία
καὶ φόρους ἡμῖν ἔφερον, καὶ τοῖς ἐμπορίοις τότε
μᾶλλον ἢ νῦν ἡμεῖς τοῖς ἐκεῖ κἀκεῖνοι τοῖς παρ'
ἡμῖν ἐχρῶντο, καὶ ἐμπορικαὶ δίκαι οὐκ ἦσαν,
ὥσπερ νῦν, ἀκριβεῖς, αἱ κατὰ μῆνα, ποιοῦσαι
μηδὲν δεῖσθαι συμβόλων τοὺς τοσοῦτον ἀλλήλων
13 ἀπέχοντας. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὐδενὸς τοιούτου ὄντος
τότε, οὐκ ἐλυσιτέλει σύμβολα ποιησαμένους οὔτ'
ἐκ Μακεδονίας πλεῖν Ἀθήναζε δίκας ληψομένους,
οὔθ' ἡμῖν εἰς Μακεδονίαν, ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς τε τοῖς ἐκεῖ
νομίμοις ἐκεῖνοί τε τοῖς παρ' ἡμῖν τὰς δίκας
[80] ἐλάμβανον. μὴ οὖν ἀγνοεῖτε ὅτι τὰ σύμβολα
ταῦτα γίγνεται εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ μηδ' ἀμφισβητῆσαι
εὐλόγως ὑμᾶς ἔτι Ποτειδαίας.

14 Περὶ δὲ τῶν λῃστῶν δίκαιόν φησιν εἶναι κοινῇ
φυλάττειν τοὺς ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ κακουργοῦντας
ὑμᾶς τε καὶ αὐτόν, οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦτ' ἀξιῶν, ὑφ'
ὑμῶν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν κατασταθῆναι, καὶ ὁμολογῆσαι
ὑμᾶς ὡς ἄνευ Φιλίππου οὐδὲ τὴν ἐν τῇ
15 θαλάττῃ φυλακὴν δυνατοί ἐστε φυλάττειν, ἔτι δὲ
καὶ δοθῆναι αὐτῷ ταύτην τὴν ἄδειαν, περιπλέοντι
καὶ ὁρμιζομένῳ εἰς τὰς νήσους ἐπὶ προφάσει τῇ
τῶν λῃστῶν φυλακῇ διαφθείρειν τοὺς νησιώτας
καὶ ἀφιστάναι ὑμῶν, καὶ μὴ μόνον τοὺς φυγάδας
τοὺς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ εἰς Θάσον κεκομικέναι διὰ τῶν
ὑμετέρων στρατηγῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας νήσους
οἰκειώσασθαι, συμπέμπων τοὺς συμπλευσομένους

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[a] The speaker is improving on the claim made by Demo-

such compact with our city, though intercourse between the two nations was more frequent then than now. For Macedonia was under our sway and tributary to us,[a] and we used each other's markets more freely then than at present, and mercantile suits[b] were not then, as now, settled strictly every month, making a formal compact between such distant parties unnecessary. However, there *was* no such compact, and it would not have paid to make one which would entail a voyage from Macedonia to Athens or from Athens to Macedonia in order to obtain satisfaction. Instead, we sought redress in Macedonia under their laws and they at Athens under ours. So do not forget that the real object of this proposed compact is to get your admission that you have no reasonable claim to Potidaea.

As for the pirates, he says that it is only fair that we should join him in clearing the sea of these depredators, who injure you as much as himself; which amounts to a claim that you should set him up as a maritime power and confess that without Philip's help you cannot keep the high seas safe, and furthermore that he should have a free hand to cruise about and anchor off the different islands and, under pretence of protecting them from pirates, bribe the islanders to revolt from you. Not content with getting your commanders to carry refugees from Macedonia to Thasos, he claims the right to appropriate the other islands also, and sends agents

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sthenes in *Ol.* iii. 24. Macedonia was never really subject or tributary to Athens.

[b] Also called ἔμμηνοι δίκαι, because they had to be settled within a month. They were heard, under the presidency of the Thesmothetae, during the six winter months, when the seas were closed to commerce.

μετὰ τῶν στρατηγῶν τῶν ὑμετέρων ὡς κοινωνήσοντας
16 τῆς κατὰ θάλατταν φυλακῆς. καίτοι οὔ
φασί τινες αὐτὸν προσδεῖσθαι τῆς θαλάττης. ὁ
δ' οὐδὲν δεόμενος τριήρεις κατασκευάζεται καὶ
νεωσοίκους οἰκοδομεῖται, καὶ ἀποστόλους ἀποστέλλειν
βούλεται καὶ δαπάνας οὐ μικρὰς δαπανᾶν
εἰς τοὺς κατὰ θάλατταν κινδύνους, ὧν οὐδὲν
προτιμᾷ.

17 Ταῦτ' οἴεσθ' ἄν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Φίλιππον
ἀξιῶσαι ὑμᾶς συγχωρῆσαι αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ ὑμῶν μὲν
κατεφρόνει, οὓς δ' ἐνθάδε προῄρηται φίλους κεκτῆσθαι,
τούτοις διεπίστευεν; οἳ οὐκ αἰσχύνονται
Φιλίππῳ ζῶντες καὶ οὐ τῇ αὐτῶν πατρίδι, καὶ
τὰς παρ' ἐκείνου δωρειὰς λαμβάνοντες οἴονται
οἴκαδε λαμβάνειν, τὰ οἴκοι πωλοῦντες.

18 Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐπανορθώσεως[1] τῆς εἰρήνης, ἣν
[81] ἔδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ παρ' ἐκείνου πεμφθέντες
ἐπανορθώσασθαι, ὅτι ἐπηνωρθωσάμεθα, ὃ
παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὁμολογεῖται δίκαιον εἶναι,
ἑκατέρους ἔχειν τὰ ἑαυτῶν, ἀμφισβητεῖ μὴ δεδωκέναι
μηδὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις ταῦτ' εἰρηκέναι πρὸς
ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ πεπεισμένος ὑπὸ τούτων, οἷς
χρῆται φίλοις, ὡς ὑμεῖς οὐ μνημονεύετε τὰ ἐν τῷ
19 δήμῳ εἰρημένα. μόνον δὲ τοῦτο οὐχ οἷόν τε ὑμῖν
ἐστιν ἀμνημονῆσαι· ἐν γὰρ τῇ αὐτῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ
οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ παρ' ἐκείνου ἥκοντες ὑμῖν διελέγοντο
καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα ἐγράφη, ὥστ' οὐχ οἷόν τε,
παραχρῆμα τῶν λόγων εἰρημένων καὶ εὐθὺς τοῦ
ψηφίσματος ἐπαναγιγνωσκομένου, τὴν καταψευδομένην
γνώμην τῶν πρέσβεων, ταύτην ὑμᾶς χειρο-

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[1] Dindorf omits τῆς ἐπ. with SL, but the tautology is in the style of the writer.

to accompany your commanders, as if to share with you the task of policing the seas. And yet some people say that he has no use for the sea! Why, this man who has no use for the sea is laying down war-ships and building docks, and is ready to send out fleets and incur considerable expense in facing risks at sea, and all for objects that he does not value!

Men of Athens, do you suppose that Philip would insist on your making such concessions to him, if he did not despise you and put complete confidence in his friends here, whom he has made it his policy to conciliate? They are not ashamed to devote their lives to Philip rather than to their own country, and they think that when they take his gifts they are taking them home—though they are selling everything at home.

With regard to the amendment of the peace, Philip's ambassadors conceded to us the right to amend it, and our amendment, universally admitted to be fair, was that each side should retain its own possessions. But he now contends that he never agreed to this, and that his ambassadors never even raised the point. This simply means that his friends here have persuaded him that you have no memory for what has been stated publicly in the Assembly. But that is just the one thing that you cannot have forgotten; for at the same meeting of the Assembly Philip's ambassadors put his case before you and the decree was duly proposed, so that, as the decree was recited immediately after the conclusion of the speeches, it was impossible for you to pass at once a resolution which gives the lie to the ambassadors.

τονῆσαι· ὥστε τοῦτο μὲν οὐ κατ’ ἐμοῦ, ἀλλὰ καθ’
ὑμῶν ἐπέσταλκεν, ὡς ὑμεῖς περὶ ὧν οὐκ ἠκούσατε,
περὶ τούτων ἀποκρινάμενοι τὴν γνώμην ἀπεστείλατε.
20 καὶ οἱ μὲν πρέσβεις αὐτοί, ὧν κατεψεύδετο τὸ
ψήφισμα, ὅτ’ ἀπεκρίνεσθε αὐτοῖς ἀναγιγνώσκοντες
καὶ ἐπὶ ξένια αὐτοὺς ἐκαλεῖτε, οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν
παρελθεῖν οὐδ’ εἰπεῖν ὅτι “ καταψεύδεσθε ἡμῶν,
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ φατὲ ἡμᾶς εἰρηκέναι ἃ
οὐκ εἰρήκαμεν,” ἀλλὰ σιωπῇ ἀπιόντες ᾤχοντο.
βούλομαι δ’ ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι (καὶ γὰρ
ηὐδοκίμησεν ὁ Πύθων παρ’ ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ δημηγορίᾳ,
ὁ τότε πρεσβεύων) αὐτοὺς τοὺς λόγους οὓς ἔλεγεν
21 ὑπομνῆσαι· οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι μέμνησθε. παραπλήσιοι
δ’ ἦσαν οἷς καὶ νῦν ἐπέσταλκε Φίλιππος· ἐγκαλῶν
γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῖς διαβάλλουσι τὸν Φίλιππον, καὶ ὑμῖν
ἐμέμφετο ὅτι ὡρμηκότος αὐτοῦ εὖ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς
[82] καὶ προῃρημένου μάλιστα τῶν Ἑλλήνων φίλους
κεκτῆσθαι αὐτοὶ κωλύετε, ἀποδεχόμενοι τῶν
συκοφαντούντων καὶ χρήματα ἐκεῖνον αἰτούντων
καὶ διαβαλλόντων· τοὺς γὰρ τοιούτους λόγους,
ὅταν ἀπαγγελλόντων ἀκούῃ, ὅτι κακῶς ἤκουεν,
ὑμεῖς δ’ ἀπεδέχεσθε, μεταβάλλειν αὐτοῦ τὴν
γνώμην, ὅταν ἄπιστος φαίνηται τούτοις ὧν
22 προῄρηται εὐεργέτης εἶναι. ἐκέλευεν οὖν τοὺς
λέγοντας ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τῇ μὲν εἰρήνῃ μὴ ἐπιτιμᾶν·
οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον εἶναι εἰρήνην λύειν· εἰ δέ τι μὴ καλῶς
γέγραπται ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ, τοῦτ’ ἐπανορθώσασθαι,
ὡς ἅπαντα Φίλιππον ποιήσοντα ὅσ’ ἂν ὑμεῖς
ψηφίσησθε. ἂν δὲ διαβάλλωσι μέν, αὐτοὶ δὲ μηδὲν
γράφωσι δι’ οὗ ἡ μὲν εἰρήνη ἔσται, παύσεται δ’
ἀπιστούμενος ὁ Φίλιππος, μὴ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν

So it is not against me but against you that his letter is aimed, alleging that you have sent back to him your decision on questions that were never put before you. Why, the ambassadors themselves, whom your resolution flatly contradicted, when you read them your answer and offered them hospitality, did not venture to come forward and say, "You misrepresent us, men of Athens; you say we have said something that we never did say." No; they held their tongues and took their leave. But I want, men of Athens—for Pytho, who was one of the ambassadors, made an excellent impression on you by his address—I want to recall to you the exact words he used, for I am sure you must remember them. His language was pretty much that of Philip's present letter. For while accusing those of us who misrepresent Philip, he at the same time blamed you because, though Philip is eager to benefit you and prefers your friendship to that of any other state, you constantly thwart him, lending an ear to false accusers, who both beg money of him and slander him; for tales of that sort, when he is told that he was traduced and that you believed what was said, make him change his mind, since he finds himself distrusted by the very people whom it has been his aim to benefit. Pytho therefore urged public speakers not to attack the peace, because it was not good policy to rescind it, but to amend any unsatisfactory clause, on the understanding that Philip was prepared to fall in with your suggestions. If, however, the speakers confined themselves to abusing Philip without drafting any proposals which, while preserving the terms of peace, might clear Philip of suspicion, he asked you to pay no attention

23 τοῖς τοιούτοις ἀνθρώποις. καὶ τούτους τοὺς λό-
γους ὑμεῖς ἀκούοντες ἀπεδέχεσθε, καὶ δίκαια
ἔφατε τὸν Πύθωνα λέγειν· καὶ ἦν δίκαια. ἔλεγε
δὲ τούτους τοὺς λόγους, οὐχ ὅπως λυθείη ἐκ τῆς
εἰρήνης ἃ ἦν ἐκείνῳ συμφέροντα καὶ ὧν πολλὰ
χρήματα ἀνηλώκει ὥστε γενέσθαι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν
ἐνθάδε διδασκάλων προδεδιδαγμένος, οἳ οὐκ ᾤοντο
εἶναι τὸν γράψοντα ἐναντία τῷ Φιλοκράτους ψηφί-
24 σματι, τῷ ἀπολλύντι Ἀμφίπολιν. ἐγὼ δ', ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παράνομον μὲν οὐδὲν ἐτόλμησα
γράψαι, τῷ δὲ Φιλοκράτους ψηφίσματι οὐκ ἦν
παράνομον τἀναντία γράφειν, ὡς ἐγὼ ἐπιδείξω·
τὸ γὰρ ψήφισμα τὸ Φιλοκράτους, καθ' ὃ ὑμεῖς
ἀπώλλυτε Ἀμφίπολιν, ἐναντίον ἦν τοῖς προτέροις
ψηφίσμασι, καθ' ἃ ὑμεῖς ἐκτήσασθε ταύτην τὴν
25 χώραν. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν παράνομον ἦν τὸ ψή-
[83] φισμα, τὸ τοῦ Φιλοκράτους, καὶ οὐχ οἷόν τ' ἦν
τὸν τὰ ἔννομα γράφοντα ταὐτὰ τῷ παρανόμῳ
ψηφίσματι γράφειν. ἐκείνοις δὲ τοῖς προτέροις
ψηφίσμασι, τοῖς οὖσιν ἐννόμοις καὶ σῴζουσι τὴν
ὑμετέραν χώραν, ταὐτὰ γράφων ἔννομά τ' ἔγραψα
καὶ ἐξήλεγχον τὸν Φίλιππον, ὅτι ἐξηπάτα ὑμᾶς καὶ
οὐκ ἐπανορθώσασθαι ἐβούλετο τὴν εἰρήνην, ἀλλὰ
τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν λέγοντας ἀπίστους καταστῆσαι.
26 καὶ ὅτι μὲν δοὺς τὴν ἐπανόρθωσιν νῦν ἔξαρνός
ἐστιν, ἅπαντες ἴστε. φησὶ δ' Ἀμφίπολιν ἑαυτοῦ
εἶναι· ὑμᾶς γὰρ ψηφίσασθαι ἐκείνου εἶναι, ὅτ'
ἐψηφίσασθε ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἃ εἶχεν. ὑμεῖς δὲ τὸ μὲν
ψήφισμα τοῦτ' ἐψηφίσασθε, οὐ μέντοι γ' ἐκείνου
εἶναι Ἀμφίπολιν. ἔστι γὰρ ἔχειν καὶ τἀλλότρια,
καὶ οὐχ ἅπαντες οἱ ἔχοντες τὰ αὑτῶν ἔχουσιν,

to such fellows. And you approved these arguments and said that Pytho was right, as indeed he was. He made these statements, however, not in order that all those advantages that Philip had paid so much money to secure might be struck out of the treaty, but because he had been so instructed by his schoolmasters here in Athens, who did not imagine that anyone would propose to annul the decree of Philocrates, which lost us Amphipolis.

As for me, men of Athens, I did not venture to propose anything that was unconstitutional, but it was not so to propose the direct contrary of Philocrates' decree, as I can prove to you. For the decree of Philocrates, through which you lost Amphipolis, was itself contrary to the earlier decrees by which you claimed possession of that territory. So it was this decree of Philocrates that was unconstitutional, nor would it have been possible to draft a constitutional proposal in conformity with his unconstitutional decree. By drafting mine to agree with the earlier decrees, which were constitutional and which also kept your territory intact, I both kept within the constitution and was able to convict Philip of trying to deceive you and of wishing, not to amend the peace, but to bring discredit on those who were pleading your cause. You are all aware that, after conceding the right to amend the peace, he now denies it. He says that Amphipolis is his, because your decree that he should keep what he held confirmed his right. It is true that you passed that decree, but you never admitted his right to Amphipolis, for it is possible to "hold" what belongs to another, and it is not all "holders" who hold what is their own, but many are in possession of

ἀλλὰ πολλοὶ καὶ ἀλλότρια κέκτηνται· ὥστε τοῦτό
27 γε τὸ σοφὸν αὐτοῦ ἠλίθιόν ἐστιν. καὶ τοῦ μὲν
Φιλοκράτους ψηφίσματος μέμνηται, τῆς δ' ἐπιστολῆς,
ἣν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἔπεμψεν ὅτ' Ἀμφίπολιν
ἐπολιόρκει, ἐπιλέλησται, ἐν ᾗ ὡμολόγει τὴν Ἀμφίπολιν
ὑμετέραν εἶναι· ἔφη γὰρ ἐκπολιορκήσας
ὑμῖν ἀποδώσειν, ὡς οὖσαν ὑμετέραν καὶ οὐ τῶν
28 ἐχόντων. κἀκεῖνοι μέν, ὡς ἔοικεν, οἱ πρότερον
ἐν Ἀμφιπόλει οἰκοῦντες πρὶν Φίλιππον λαβεῖν,
τὴν Ἀθηναίων χώραν εἶχον, ἐπειδὴ δὲ Φίλιππος
αὐτὴν εἴληφεν, οὐ τὴν Ἀθηναίων χώραν ἀλλὰ τὴν
ἑαυτοῦ ἔχει· οὐδ' Ὄλυνθόν γε οὐδ' Ἀπολλωνίαν οὐδὲ
Παλλήνην, οὐκ[1] ἀλλοτρίας ἀλλὰ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ χώρας
29 κέκτηται. ἆρ' ὑμῖν δοκεῖ πεφυλαγμένως ἅπαντα
πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐπιστέλλειν, ὅπως ἂν φαίνηται καὶ λέγων
[84] καὶ πράττων ἃ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὁμολογεῖται
δίκαια εἶναι, ἀλλ' οὐ σφόδρα καταπεφρονηκέναι,
ὃς τὴν χώραν, ἣν οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ βασιλεὺς ὁ
Περσῶν ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ ὡμολογήκασιν ὑμετέραν
εἶναι, ταύτην φησὶν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ οὐχ ὑμετέραν εἶναι;

30 Περὶ δὲ τοῦ ἑτέρου ἐπανορθώματος, ὃ ὑμεῖς ἐν
τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐπανορθοῦσθε, τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας,
ὅσοι μὴ κοινωνοῦσι τῆς εἰρήνης, ἐλευθέρους καὶ
αὐτονόμους εἶναι, καὶ ἐάν τις ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατεύῃ,
31 βοηθεῖν τοὺς κοινωνοῦντας τῆς εἰρήνης, ἡγούμενοι
καὶ δίκαιον τοῦτο καὶ φιλάνθρωπον, μὴ μόνον
ἡμᾶς καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους τοὺς ἡμετέρους καὶ
Φίλιππον καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους τοὺς ἐκείνου ἄγειν
τὴν εἰρήνην, τοὺς δὲ μήθ' ἡμετέρους ὄντας μήτε
Φιλίππου συμμάχους ἐν μέσῳ κεῖσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ
τῶν κρειττόνων ἀπόλλυσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτοις

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[1] Dindorf omits οὐκ.

what is really another's. So his clever quibble is merely foolish. Moreover he remembers the decree of Philocrates, but he has quite forgotten the letter sent to you when he was besieging Amphipolis, in which he admitted that Amphipolis was yours; for he said that when he had taken it he would "restore" it to you, implying that it was your property, and not that of the holders. Apparently those who inhabited Amphipolis, before Philip took it, were holding Athenian territory; but when he has taken it, it is no longer our territory, but his own, that he holds; and in the same way at Olynthus and Apollonia and Pallene he is in possession of his own property, not that of others. Do you not see that his letter to you is all carefully calculated, so that his words and his actions may appear to conform to the universal standard of justice, while he has really shown supreme contempt for it in claiming for himself and denying to you territory which is yours by common consent and decree of the Greeks and of the King of Persia?[a]

As for the other amendment which you propose to introduce, that all the Greeks who are not parties to the peace should remain free and independent, and that if they are attacked, the signatories should unite to defend them, you considered it both fair and generous that the peace should not be confined to Athens and her allies on the one side and Philip and his allies on the other, while those who are allies of neither are exposed to ruin at the hands of their stronger neighbours, but rather that your peace

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[a] This refers to the amended rescript obtained by the Athenians from the king in 366. See *De Fals. Leg.* 137.

διὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν εἰρήνην ὑπάρχειν σωτηρίαν, καὶ
τῷ ὄντι εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἡμᾶς καταθεμένους τὰ ὅπλα,
32 τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἐπανόρθωμα ὁμολογῶν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ,
ὡς ἀκούετε, δίκαιόν τ' εἶναι καὶ δέχεσθαι, Φεραίων
μὲν ἀφῄρηται τὴν πόλιν καὶ φρουρὰν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει
κατέστησεν, ἵνα δὴ αὐτόνομοι ὦσιν, ἐπὶ δ'
Ἀμβρακίαν στρατεύεται, τὰς δ' ἐν Κασσωπίᾳ
τρεῖς πόλεις, Πανδοσίαν καὶ Βούχετα καὶ Ἐλάτειαν,
Ἠλείων ἀποικίας, κατακαύσας τὴν χώραν
καὶ εἰς τὰς πόλεις βιασάμενος παρέδωκεν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ
τῷ κηδεστῇ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ δουλεύειν. σφόδρα
γε βούλεται τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐλευθέρους εἶναι καὶ
αὐτονόμους, ὡς δηλοῖ τὰ ἔργα.

33 Περὶ δὲ τῶν ὑποσχέσεων ὧν ὑμῖν διατελεῖ
ὑπισχνούμενος ὡς μεγάλα ὑμᾶς εὐεργετήσων,
[85] καταψεύδεσθαί μέ φησιν αὐτοῦ διαβάλλοντα
πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας· οὐδὲν γὰρ ὑμῖν πώποτέ
φησιν ὑπεσχῆσθαι. οὕτως ἀναιδής ἐστιν ὁ ἐν
ἐπιστολῇ γεγραφώς, ἥ ἐστι νῦν ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ,
ὅσ'[1] ἐπιστομιεῖν ἡμᾶς, ἔφη, τοὺς αὑτῷ
ἀντιλέγοντας, ἐὰν ἡ εἰρήνη γένηται, τοσαῦτα ὑμᾶς
ἀγαθὰ ποιήσειν· ἃ γράφειν ἂν ἤδη, εἰ ᾔδει τὴν
εἰρήνην ἐσομένην, δῆλον ὡς προκεχειρισμένων καὶ
ἑτοίμων ὄντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἃ ἐμέλλομεν πείσεσθαι
34 τῆς εἰρήνης γενομένης. γενομένης δὲ τῆς εἰρήνης,
ἃ μὲν ἡμεῖς ἐμέλλομεν ἀγαθὰ πείσεσθαι, ἐκποδών
ἐστι, φθορὰ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοσαύτη γέγονεν
ὅσην ὑμεῖς ἴστε. ὑμῖν δ' ἐν τῇ νῦν ἐπιστολῇ
ὑπισχνεῖται, ἐὰν τοῖς μὲν ἑαυτοῦ φίλοις καὶ ὑπὲρ
αὐτοῦ λέγουσι πιστεύητε, ἡμᾶς δὲ τοὺς δια-

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[1] ὅσ' Tournier: ὅτ Dindorf with mss.

should extend its protection to them also, and that we should disarm and observe a real peace. But Philip, although, as you have heard from his letter, he admits the justice of this amendment and consents to accept it, has robbed the Pheraeans of their city, placing a garrison in their citadel, in order, I suppose, to ensure their independence; he is even now engaged in an expedition against Ambracia, and as for the three Elean colonies in Cassopia[a]—Pandosia, Bucheta, and Elatea—he has wasted their land with fire, stormed their cities, and handed them over to be the slaves of his own kinsman, Alexander. How zealous he is for the freedom and independence of the Greeks, you may judge from his acts.

With regard to his repeated promises to you of substantial benefits, he complains that I am slandering and defaming him in the ears of the Greeks, for he says that he has never made you any promises at all. Such is the shamelessness of the man who stated in his letter, which is still to be seen in the Council House, that if peace was made he would confer such benefits on you as would stop the mouths of us, his opponents, benefits which he said he would put down in writing, if he were sure that the peace would be made. The inference was that all the good things that we were to enjoy on the conclusion of peace were ready for immediate delivery. Peace has been concluded, but all the good things that we were to enjoy are still to seek, and upon the Greeks has come such ruin as you well know. Yet he promises in the present letter that if you will only trust his friends and advocates and will punish the

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[a] A district of Epirus, just north of the Ambracian Gulf.

βάλλοντας αὐτὸν πρὸς ὑμᾶς τιμωρήσησθε, ὡς μεγάλα
35 *εὐεργετήσει. τὰ μέντοι εὐεργετήματα τοιαῦτα*
ἔσται· οὔτε τὰ ὑμέτερα ὑμῖν ἀποδώσει (αὑτοῦ γάρ
φησιν εἶναι), οὔτ᾿ ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ αἱ δωρειαὶ
ἔσονται, ἵνα μὴ διαβληθῇ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας,
ἀλλ᾿ ἄλλη τις χώρα καὶ ἄλλος, ὡς ἔοικε, τόπος
φανήσεται, οὗ ὑμῖν αἱ δωρειαὶ δοθήσονται.

36 *Περὶ δ᾿ ὧν ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ εἴληφε χωρίων, ὑμῶν*
ἐχόντων, παρασπονδῶν καὶ λύων τὴν εἰρήνην,
ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἔχει ὅ τι εἴπῃ, ἀλλ᾿ ἀδικῶν φανερῶς
ἐξελέγχεται, ἐπιτρέπειν φησὶ περὶ τούτων ἕτοιμος
εἶναι ἴσῳ καὶ κοινῷ δικαστηρίῳ· περὶ ὧν μόνων
οὐδὲν δεῖ ἐπιτροπῆς, ἀλλ᾿ ἀριθμὸς ἡμερῶν ἐστιν ὁ
κρίνων. ἅπαντες γὰρ ἴσμεν τίνι μηνὶ καὶ τίνι
37 *ἡμέρᾳ ἡ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο. ὥσπερ δὲ ταῦτα ἴσμεν,*
κἀκεῖνα ἴσμεν, τίνι μηνὶ καὶ τίνι ἡμέρᾳ Σέρρειον
τεῖχος καὶ Ἐργίσκη καὶ Ἱερὸν ὄρος ἑάλω. οὐ δὴ
[86] *ἀφανῆ ἐστι τὰ οὕτω πραχθέντα, οὐδὲ κρίσεως δεόμενα,*
ἀλλὰ πᾶσι γνώριμα πότερος πρότερος ὁ μήν
ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ ἡ εἰρήνη ἐγένετο ἢ ἐν ᾧ τὰ χωρία ἑάλω.

38 *Φησὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἡμῶν, ὅσοι ἐν*
τῷ πολέμῳ ἑάλωσαν, ἀποδεδωκέναι· ὃς τὸν μὲν
Καρύστιον, τὸν πρόξενον τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως,
ὑπὲρ οὗ ὑμεῖς τρεῖς πρέσβεις ἐπέμψατε ἀπαιτοῦντες,
τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα ἐκεῖνος οὕτω σφόδρα ὑμῖν
ἐβούλετο χαρίσασθαι, ὥστ᾿ ἀπέκτεινε καὶ οὐδ᾿
ἀναίρεσιν ἔδωκεν, ἵνα ταφῇ.

39 *Περὶ δὲ Χερρονήσου, ἅ τ᾿ ἐπιστέλλει πρὸς ὑμᾶς*
ἄξιόν ἐστιν ἐξετάσαι, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἃ πράττει, καὶ

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[a] As if unduly favouring the Athenians.

[b] Three small places on the Thracian Coast of the Aegean, taken by Philip from Cersobleptes, after the Athenians had

wicked men who traduce him to you, he will confer substantial benefits. His benefits, however, will amount to this: he will not restore your possessions, for he claims them as his own, and his rewards will not be delivered in this part of the world, for fear his motive should be misrepresented to the Greeks[a]; some other country, it seems, some new quarter will be assigned for the bestowal of your rewards.

As for the places held by you which he took in time of peace, violating the terms and breaking his engagements, since he has not a word to say but is clearly convicted of injustice, he expresses his willingness to refer the question to a fair and impartial court. But this is the only question that needs no such reference; the calendar is sufficient to decide it. For we all know in what month and on what day the peace was made, and as surely also do we know in what month and on what day Fort Serreum and Ergisce and the Sacred Mount[b] were captured. Surely these things were not done in a corner; they need no judicial inquiry; everyone can find out which came first, the month in which the peace was made or that in which the places were taken.

Again, he says that he has restored all the prisoners that were taken in the war. Yet the man of Carystus,[c] the agent of our city, for whose recovery you sent three embassies—Philip was so anxious to oblige you that he killed him and did not even allow you to recover his corpse for burial.

With regard to the Chersonese, it is important to examine the terms of his dispatch to you and also to know what he is actually doing in the matter.

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accepted the peace of Philocrates (346), but before Philip had taken the oath.

[c] A town in the south of Euboea.

ταῦτ᾽ εἰδέναι. τὸν μὲν γὰρ τόπον ἅπαντα τὸν
ἔξω Ἀγορᾶς ὡς ἑαυτοῦ ὄντα καὶ ὑμῖν οὐδὲν
προσήκοντα δέδωκε καρποῦσθαι Ἀπολλωνίδῃ τῷ
Καρδιανῷ. καίτοι Χερρονήσου οἱ ὅροι εἰσίν, οὐκ
Ἀγορά, ἀλλὰ βωμὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ὁρίου, ὅς ἐστι
40 μεταξὺ Πτελεοῦ καὶ Λευκῆς ἀκτῆς, ᾗ ἡ διορυχὴ
ἔμελλε Χερρονήσου ἔσεσθαι, ὥς γε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα
τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ὁρίου δηλοῖ. ἔστι
δὲ τουτί·

Τόνδε καθιδρύσαντο θεῷ περικαλλέα βωμὸν
  Λευκῆς καὶ Πτελεοῦ μέσσον ὅρον θέμενοι
ἐνναέται, χώρης σημήϊον· ἀμμορίης δὲ
  αὐτὸς ἄναξ μακάρων ἐστὶ μέσος Κρονίδης.

41 ταύτην μέντοι τὴν χώραν, τοσαύτην οὖσαν ὅσην
οἱ πολλοὶ ὑμῶν ἴσασιν, ὡς ἑαυτοῦ οὖσαν τὴν
μὲν αὐτὸς καρποῦται, τὴν δ᾽ ἄλλοις δωρειὰν δέδωκε,
καὶ ἅπαντα τὰ κτήματα τὰ ὑμέτερα ὑφ᾽
αὑτῷ ποιεῖται. καὶ οὐ μόνον τὴν ἔξω Ἀγορᾶς
[87] χώραν σφετερίζεται, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς Καρδιανούς,
οἳ οἰκοῦσιν εἴσω Ἀγορᾶς, ἐπιστέλλει ἐν τῇ νῦν
ἐπιστολῇ ὡς δεῖ ὑμᾶς διαδικάζεσθαι, πρὸς Καρδιανοὺς
τοὺς κατοικοῦντας ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ, εἴ τι πρὸς
42 αὐτοὺς διαφέρεσθε. διαφέρονται δὲ πρὸς ὑμᾶς,
σκέψασθε εἰ περὶ μικροῦ. ἑαυτῶν φασι τὴν χώραν
οὖσαν οἰκεῖν καὶ οὐχ ὑμετέραν, καὶ τὰ μὲν ὑμέτερα
εἶναι ἐγκτήματα ὡς ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ, τὰ δὲ ἑαυτῶν
κτήμαθ᾽ ὡς ἐν οἰκείᾳ, καὶ ταῦθ᾽ ὑμέτερον πολίτην
43 γράψαι ἐν ψηφίσματι, Κάλλιππον Παιανιέα. καὶ
τοῦτό γ᾽ ἀληθὲς λέγουσιν· ἔγραψε γάρ, καὶ ἐμοῦ

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[a] If the reading is correct, ἀμμορίη will be the marches,

For the whole of the land north of Agora, as being his own property and no concern of yours, he has handed over as a private estate to Apollonides of Cardia. Yet the boundary of the Chersonese is not Agora, but the altar of Zeus of the Marches, half way between Pteleum and the White Strand, where there was going to be a canal across the peninsula. This is proved by the inscription on the altar of Zeus, which runs thus :

> The dwellers here have set this boundary-stone
> Midway 'twixt Pteleum and the Silver Strand,
> And raised this altar fair, that men may own
> That Zeus is Warden of our No Man's Land.[a]

This district, however, of whose extent most of you are aware, he treats as his own, enjoying part himself and bestowing part on others, and so he brings all your property under his own control. Not only does he appropriate the land north of Agora, but he also orders you in his present letter to settle by arbitration any disputes you have with the Cardians to the south of Agora—the Cardians, who are settlers in your own territory ! They have a dispute with you ; see whether it is about a trifle. They say that the land they live in is not yours, but their own, and that while your possessions there are held by grace in a foreign country, theirs are their own property on their own soil, and that this is admitted in a decree of your countryman, Callippus of the Paeanian deme. And there they speak truth, for he did propose such a decree, and when I indicted

which belong to no one and are therefore put under the protection of Zeus. Blass reads *μοίρης σημήϊον ἀμμορίης τε·* which leaves the last line rather in the air.

γ' αὐτὸν γραψαμένου παρανόμων γραφὴν ὑμεῖς ἀπεψηφίσασθε· τοιγάρτοι ἀμφισβητήσιμον ὑμῖν τὴν χώραν κατεσκεύακεν. ὁπότε δὲ περὶ τούτου τολμήσετε πρὸς Καρδιανοὺς διαδικάζεσθαι, εἴθ' ὑμετέρα ἐστὶν εἴτ' ἐκείνων ἡ χώρα, διὰ τί οὐ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους Χερρονησίτας τὸ αὐτὸ δίκαιον ἔσται;
44 καὶ οὕτως ὑβριστικῶς ὑμῖν κέχρηται ὥστε φησίν, ἂν μὴ θέλωσι διαδικάζεσθαι οἱ Καρδιανοί, αὐτὸς ἀναγκάσειν, ὡς ὑμῶν γ' οὐκ ἂν δυναμένων οὐδὲν ἀναγκάσαι Καρδιανοὺς ὑμῖν ποιῆσαι· ἐπειδὴ δ' ὑμεῖς οὐ δύνασθε, αὐτός φησι τοῦτ' ἀναγκάσειν αὐτοὺς ποιῆσαι. ἆρ' οὐ μεγάλα φαίνεται ὑμᾶς
45 εὐεργετῶν; καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολήν τινες εὖ ἔφασαν γεγράφθαι, οἳ πολὺ ἂν δικαιότερον ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἢ Φίλιππος μισοῖντο. ἐκεῖνος μέν γ' ἑαυτῷ κτώμενος δόξαν καὶ μεγάλ' ἀγαθὰ ἅπαντα καθ' ὑμῶν πράττει· ὅσοι δ' Ἀθηναῖοι ὄντες μὴ τῇ πατρίδι, ἀλλὰ Φιλίππῳ εὔνοιαν ἐνδείκνυνται, προσήκει αὐτοὺς ὑφ' ὑμῶν κακοὺς κακῶς ἀπολωλέναι,
[88] εἴπερ ὑμεῖς τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ἐν τοῖς κροτάφοις καὶ μὴ ἐν ταῖς πτέρναις καταπεπατημένον φορεῖτε.

46 Ὑπόλοιπόν μοί ἐστιν ἔτι πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τὴν εὖ ἔχουσαν καὶ τοὺς λόγους τῶν πρέσβεων γράψαι τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, ἣν ἡγοῦμαι δικαίαν τ' εἶναι καὶ συμφέρουσαν ὑμῖν.

him for a breach of the constitution, you acquitted him; that is how he has brought your claim into dispute. But if and when you submit your dispute with the Cardians to arbitration, to decide whether the land is yours or theirs, why not extend the principle to the other states of the Chersonese also? Philip's insolence is carried so far that he says that if the Cardians decline arbitration, he will be responsible for coercing them; as if you could not compel Cardians to do anything you wanted! He will make them do it, he says, since you cannot. Are not his favours to you great and manifest? And this letter was actually commended by some Athenians, who merit your hatred much more than Philip. For whatever Philip does to thwart you, he is only aiming at advantage and glory for himself, but Athenians who make a parade of their goodwill to Philip, rather than to their own country, are wretches who deserve to perish at your hands unpitied, if you carry your brains in your heads and not trodden down in your heels.[a]

It now remains for me, in answer to this precious letter and to the speeches of the ambassadors, to propose the resolution which I conceive to be in accordance with justice and your interests.

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[a] Libanius finds in this ugly metaphor an indication of the spuriousness of this speech. "Longinus" also condemns it (*De subl.* 38), but we cannot say to whom he attributed it, as his text here is mutilated.

ON THE CHERSONESE

INTRODUCTION

Ever since the days of Pisistratus,[a] Athens had had a direct interest in the Thracian Chersonese (Gallipoli), which commanded the route of the corn-ships from the Euxine. For two centuries its history is the confused record of the "scuffling of kites and crows," Persian satraps, Athenian cleruchs, Thracian princes, and companies of free lances contending for the mastery. Soon after the Social War of 357 the Athenians found themselves once more in possession, thanks to the ability of their general, Chares ; but it was not long before Philip began to fish in these troubled waters. When Cotys, the chief king in Thrace, was assassinated, three claimants scrambled for his power, until in 358 they agreed by treaty upon a division of the territory. These were Cersobleptes, son of Cotys, Berisades, who died shortly afterwards, and Amadocus. Philip started by allying himself with Cersobleptes, but the Athenians by judicious flattery won over the mercenary leader, Charidemus, who had married the sister of Cersobleptes, and the latter shifted to the Athenian side. Philip now backed Amadocus, and before the peace of Philocrates had been ratified, he had succeeded in reducing Cersobleptes to vassalage.

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[a] The military importance of the Chersonese, if we may trust Thucydides (i. 11), commences with the Trojan War, when the Achaeans cultivated it to ensure a supply of provisions. The more recent fame of Gallipoli has obscured the memory of its occupation by a large force of French and British at the beginning of the Crimean War. Their encampment was not far from the site of Cardia.

Some years after the peace, perhaps in 342, Athens sent a military force to the Chersonese under Diopithes who was not more scrupulous than other unpaid generals, and appears to have encroached on the territory of Cardia, a town situated on the western shore of the neck of the peninsula, and allied with Philip. When the Athenians declined Philip's offer to submit the dispute to arbitration, he sent troops to support the Cardians, and Diopithes retaliated by invading parts of Thrace which were subject to Macedonia. In 341 Philip lodged a formal complaint at Athens, where his sympathisers expressed their virtuous indignation and demanded the recall of the filibuster. Demosthenes replied in a speech of extraordinary vigour, and persuaded the Athenians not to repudiate Diopithes.

Apart from this speech, Diopithes has some claim upon our interest as being the father of Menander.

VIII. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΧΕΡΡΟΝΗΣΩΙ

[90] Ἔδει μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς λέγοντας
ἅπαντας μήτε πρὸς ἔχθραν ποιεῖσθαι λόγον μηδένα
μήτε πρὸς χάριν, ἀλλ’ ὃ βέλτιστον ἕκαστος
ἡγεῖτο, τοῦτ’ ἀποφαίνεσθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ
κοινῶν πραγμάτων καὶ μεγάλων ὑμῶν βουλευομένων·
ἐπειδὴ δ’ ἔνιοι τὰ μὲν φιλονικίᾳ, τὰ δ’
ᾑτινιδήποτ’ αἰτίᾳ προάγονται λέγειν, ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς πολλοὺς δεῖ πάντα τἄλλ’
ἀφελόντας, ἃ τῇ πόλει νομίζετε συμφέρειν, ταῦτα
2 καὶ ψηφίζεσθαι καὶ πράττειν. ἡ μὲν οὖν σπουδὴ
περὶ τῶν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ πραγμάτων ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς
στρατείας, ἣν ἑνδέκατον μῆνα τουτονὶ Φίλιππος
ἐν Θρᾴκῃ ποιεῖται· τῶν δὲ λόγων οἱ πλεῖστοι
περὶ ὧν Διοπείθης πράττει καὶ μέλλει ποιεῖν
εἴρηνται. ἐγὼ δ’ ὅσα μέν τις αἰτιᾶταί τινα τούτων,
οὓς κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ἐφ’ ὑμῖν ἐστιν, ὅταν
βούλησθε, κολάζειν, κἂν ἤδη δοκῇ κἂν ἐπισχοῦσι
περὶ αὐτῶν σκοπεῖν ἐγχωρεῖν ἡγοῦμαι, καὶ οὐ
πάνυ δεῖ περὶ τούτων οὔτ’ ἔμ’ οὔτ’ ἄλλον οὐδέν’
3 ἰσχυρίζεσθαι· ὅσα δ’ ἐχθρὸς ὑπάρχων τῇ πόλει
καὶ δυνάμει πολλῇ περὶ Ἑλλήσποντον ὢν πειρᾶται
προλαβεῖν, κἂν ἅπαξ ὑστερήσωμεν, οὐκέθ’
ἕξομεν σῶσαι, περὶ τούτων δ’ οἴομαι τὴν ταχίστην
[91] συμφέρειν καὶ βεβουλεῦσθαι καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι,

VIII. ON THE CHERSONESE

It should be the duty of all speakers, men of Athens, to give no expression to their hatred or their partiality, but to put forward just what each thinks the best counsel, especially when you are debating a question of urgent public importance. But since there are speakers who are impelled to address you, either as partisans or from some other motive, whatever it may be, you citizens who form the majority ought to dismiss all else from your minds, and vote and act in such a way as you think will best serve our city. The really serious problem is the state of the Chersonese and Philip's Thracian campaign, now in its eleventh month; yet most of the speeches have been confined to what Diopithes is doing or what he is going to do. For my part, when charges are brought against any of those whom you can legally punish whenever you like, I hold that it is open to you either to deal with their case at once or to postpone it; and it is quite unnecessary for me or anyone else to take a strong line on the subject of such charges. But when our national enemy, with a strong force, is trying to forestall us in the neighbourhood of the Hellespont, and when, if we are once too late, we shall never again be able to save the situation, then I think it is to our interest to complete our plans and preparations as quickly as we can, and not

καὶ μὴ τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἄλλων θορύβοις καὶ ταῖς
κατηγορίαις ἀπὸ τούτων ἀποδρᾶναι.
4 Πολλὰ δὲ θαυμάζων τῶν εἰωθότων λέγεσθαι
παρ᾽ ὑμῖν, οὐδενὸς ἧττον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
τεθαύμακα, ὃ καὶ πρῴην τινὸς ἤκουσ᾽ εἰπόντος
ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, ὡς ἄρα δεῖ τὸν συμβουλεύοντ᾽ ἢ
πολεμεῖν ἁπλῶς ἢ τὴν εἰρήνην ἄγειν συμβουλεύειν.
5 ἔστι δέ· εἰ μὲν ἡσυχίαν Φίλιππος ἄγει
καὶ μήτε τῶν ἡμετέρων ἔχει παρὰ τὴν εἰρήνην
μηδὲν μήτε συσκευάζεται πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐφ᾽
ἡμᾶς, οὐκέτι δεῖ λέγειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἁπλῶς εἰρήνην
ἀκτέον, καὶ τά γ᾽ ἀφ᾽ ὑμῶν ἕτοιμ᾽ ὑπάρχονθ᾽
ὁρῶ· εἰ δ᾽ ἃ μὲν ὠμόσαμεν καὶ ἐφ᾽ οἷς τὴν εἰρήνην
ἐποιησάμεθα, ἔστιν ἰδεῖν καὶ γεγραμμένα κεῖται,
6 φαίνεται δ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ἀρχῆς ὁ Φίλιππος, πρὶν Διοπείθην
ἐκπλεῦσαι καὶ τοὺς κληρούχους, οὓς νῦν αἰτιῶνται
πεποιηκέναι τὸν πόλεμον, πολλὰ μὲν τῶν ἡμετέρων
ἀδίκως εἰληφώς, ὑπὲρ ὧν ψηφίσμαθ᾽ ὑμέτερ᾽
ἐγκαλοῦντα κύρια ταυτί, πάντα δὲ τὸν χρόνον
συνεχῶς τὰ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων
λαμβάνων καὶ ἐφ᾽ ἡμᾶς συσκευαζόμενος, τί τοῦτο
7 λέγουσιν, ὡς πολεμεῖν ἢ ἄγειν εἰρήνην δεῖ; οὐ
γὰρ αἵρεσίς ἐστιν ἡμῖν τοῦ πράγματος, ἀλλ᾽
ὑπολείπεται τὸ δικαιότατον καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον τῶν
ἔργων, ὃ ὑπερβαίνουσιν ἑκόντες οὗτοι. τί οὖν
ἐστι τοῦτο; ἀμύνεσθαι τὸν πρότερον πολεμοῦνθ᾽
ἡμῖν. πλὴν εἰ τοῦτο λέγουσι νὴ Δί᾽, ὡς, ἂν
ἀπέχηται τῆς Ἀττικῆς καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς Φίλιππος,
8 οὔτ᾽ ἀδικεῖ τὴν πόλιν οὔτε ποιεῖ πόλεμον. εἰ
δ᾽ ἐκ τούτων τὰ δίκαια τίθενται καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην
[92] ταύτην ὁρίζονται, ὅτι μὲν δήπουθεν οὔθ᾽ ὅσι᾽

be diverted from our purpose by clamorous accusations about extraneous matters.

I often wonder at the sort of speeches that are delivered here, but nothing, men of Athens, has surprised me more than what I heard uttered in the Council the other day, that your advisers are bound to put before you the plain alternative of fighting or observing the peace. But the fact is, if Philip keeps quiet and does not retain any of our territory contrary to the terms of peace, and does not form a general coalition against us, there is nothing more to be said and we must simply observe the peace, and I perceive a readiness to do so on your part at any rate; but if the oath that we took and the terms on which we made peace are published for all men to read, and if it is proved that from the first, even before Diopithes set sail with colonists, whom they now accuse of having started hostilities, Philip has unfairly taken much that is ours, about which your decrees denouncing him still stand good, and that he is all the time repeatedly seizing the property of the other Greeks and of the barbarians, and so equipping himself for an attack upon us, what do they mean by saying that we must either make war or keep peace? For we have no choice in the matter, but there remains the most righteous and most necessary task of all, which these gentlemen deliberately pass over in silence. What then is that task? To defend ourselves against the aggressor. Or perhaps they mean that if Philip keeps his hands off Attica and the Piraeus, he is neither injuring our city nor provoking hostilities. But if they ground their plea upon this principle, if this is their interpretation of the peace, it is obvious to all that their argument is assuredly

οὔτ᾿ ἀνεκτὰ λέγουσιν οὔθ᾿ ὑμῖν ἀσφαλῆ, δῆλόν ἐστιν ἅπασιν, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾿ ἐναντία συμβαίνει ταῖς κατηγορίαις ἃς Διοπείθους κατηγοροῦσι καὶ αὐτὰ ταῦτα λέγειν αὐτούς. τί γὰρ δήποτε τῷ μὲν Φιλίππῳ πάντα τἄλλα ποιεῖν ἐξουσίαν δώσομεν, ἂν τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀπέχηται, τῷ Διοπείθει δ᾿ οὐδὲ βοηθεῖν τοῖς Θρᾳξὶν ἐξέσται, ἢ πόλεμον ποιεῖν 9 αὐτὸν φήσομεν; ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία, ταῦτα μὲν ἐξελέγχονται, δεινὰ ποιοῦσι δ᾿ οἱ ξένοι περικόπτοντες τὰ ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ, καὶ Διοπείθης ἀδικεῖ κατάγων τὰ πλοῖα, καὶ δεῖ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ. ἔστω, 10 γιγνέσθω ταῦτα, οὐδὲν ἀντιλέγω. οἶμαι μέντοι δεῖν, εἴπερ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικαίοις ταῦτα συμβουλεύουσιν, ὥσπερ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν τῇ πόλει δύναμιν καταλῦσαι ζητοῦσι, τὸν ἐφεστηκότα καὶ πορίζοντα χρήματα ταύτῃ διαβάλλοντες ἐν ὑμῖν, οὕτω τὴν Φιλίππου δύναμιν δεῖξαι διαλυθησομένην, ἂν ὑμεῖς ταῦτα πεισθῆτε. εἰ δὲ μή, σκοπεῖθ᾿ ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιοῦσιν ἢ καθιστᾶσι τὴν πόλιν εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον δι᾿ οὗ τὰ παρόντα πράγμαθ᾿ 11 ἅπαντ᾿ ἀπολώλεκεν. ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ᾿, ὅτι οὐδενὶ τῶν πάντων πλέον κεκράτηκε Φίλιππος ἢ τῷ πρότερος πρὸς τοῖς πράγμασι γίγνεσθαι. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἔχων δύναμιν συνεστηκυῖαν ἀεὶ περὶ αὑτὸν καὶ προειδὼς ἃ βούλεται πρᾶξαι, ἐξαίφνης ἐφ᾿ οὓς ἂν αὐτῷ δόξῃ πάρεστιν· ἡμεῖς δ᾿ ἐπειδὰν πυθώμεθά τι γιγνόμενον, τηνικαῦτα θορυβούμεθα 12 καὶ παρασκευαζόμεθα. εἶτ᾿ οἶμαι συμβαίνει τῷ μὲν ἐφ᾿ ἃ ἂν ἔλθῃ, ταῦτ᾿ ἔχειν κατὰ πολλὴν ἡσυχίαν, ἡμῖν δ᾿ ὑστερίζειν, καὶ ὅσ᾿ ἂν δαπανήσωμεν, [93] ἅπαντα μάτην ἀνηλωκέναι, καὶ τὴν μὲν

impious and intolerable and dangerous to Athens; and it follows besides that their own words flatly contradict their indictment of Diopithes. For why on earth are we to give Philip leave to do everything else, provided he keeps clear of Attica, while Diopithes is not allowed to help the Thracians, or else we shall have to admit that he is starting a war? Yes, you may say, as to that indeed the speakers are proved wrong, but the mercenaries are really acting abominably in ravaging the shores of the Hellespont, and Diopithes is wrong in detaining the merchantmen, and we must not sanction it. Very well; be it so. I have no objection. Only I think that, if their advice is really given in perfect good faith, even as they are trying to break up the force belonging to our city by bringing charges before you against the commander, who provides for its maintenance, so they are bound to show that Philip's force will also be disbanded, if you accept their advice. If not, you must observe that they are merely reducing our city to the same plight that has already caused her to forfeit all her existing advantages. For I need not tell you that Philip owes his successes to nothing in the world more than to his being the first in the field. For the man who always keeps a standing army by him, and who knows beforehand what he wants to do, is ready in an instant for anyone that he chooses to attack, while it is only after we have heard of something happening that we begin to bustle about and make our preparations. Hence, I believe, it results that Philip, quite at his leisure, keeps whatever he assails, while we are too late, and whatever we have spent has been lavished in vain; we have succeeded in showing our

ἔχθραν καὶ τὸ βούλεσθαι κωλύειν ἐνδεδεῖχθαι,
ὑστερίζοντας δὲ τῶν ἔργων αἰσχύνην προσοφλισκάνειν.
13 Μὴ τοίνυν ἀγνοεῖτ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι
καὶ τὰ νῦν τἄλλα μέν ἐστι λόγοι ταῦτα καὶ προφάσεις,
πράττεται δὲ καὶ κατασκευάζεται τοῦτο,
ὅπως ὑμῶν μὲν οἴκοι μενόντων, ἔξω δὲ μηδεμιᾶς
οὔσης τῇ πόλει δυνάμεως, μετὰ πλείστης ἡσυχίας
ἅπανθ' ὅσα βούλεται Φίλιππος διοικήσεται. θεωρεῖτε
14 γὰρ τὸ παρὸν πρῶτον, ὃ γίγνεται. νυνὶ
δύναμιν μεγάλην ἐκεῖνος ἔχων ἐν Θρᾴκῃ διατρίβει
καὶ μεταπέμπεται πολλήν, ὥς φασιν οἱ παρόντες,
ἀπὸ Μακεδονίας καὶ Θετταλίας. ἐὰν οὖν περιμείνας
τοὺς ἐτησίας ἐπὶ Βυζάντιον ἐλθὼν πολιορκῇ,
πρῶτον μὲν οἴεσθε τοὺς Βυζαντίους μενεῖν ἐπὶ
τῆς ἀνοίας τῆς αὐτῆς ὥσπερ νῦν, καὶ οὔτε παρακαλεῖν[1]
15 ὑμᾶς οὔτε βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς ἀξιώσειν; ἐγὼ
μὲν οὐκ οἴομαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τισι μᾶλλον ἀπιστοῦσιν
ἢ ἡμῖν, καὶ τούτους εἰσφρήσεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ
'κείνῳ παραδώσειν τὴν πόλιν, ἄν περ μὴ φθάσῃ
λαβὼν αὐτούς. οὐκοῦν ἡμῶν μὲν μὴ δυναμένων
ἐνθένδ' ἀναπλεῦσαι, ἐκεῖ δὲ μηδεμιᾶς ὑπαρχούσης
ἑτοίμου βοηθείας, οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς ἀπολωλέναι κωλύσει.
16 "νὴ Δία, κακοδαιμονῶσι[2] γὰρ ἄνθρωποι
καὶ ὑπερβάλλουσιν ἀνοίᾳ." πάνυ γε, ἀλλ' ὅμως
αὐτοὺς δεῖ σῶς εἶναι· συμφέρει γὰρ τῇ πόλει. καὶ
μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνό γε δῆλόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν, ὡς ἐπὶ
Χερρόνησον οὐχ ἥξει· ἀλλ' εἴγ' ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς
δεῖ σκοπεῖν ἧς ἔπεμψε πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἀμυνεῖσθαί
17 φησι τοὺς ἐν Χερρονήσῳ. ἂν μὲν τοίνυν ᾖ τὸ

enmity and our will to thwart him, but by being too late for action we only incur additional ignominy.

Do not, therefore, fail to observe, Athenians, that at present all else is mere talk and pretence ; the real object of this scheming and contriving is that you should stay at home, with no Athenian force in the field, while Philip, without the least trouble, settles everything to suit his wishes. For you must first note what is going on at the present moment. He is now established in Thrace with a large force, and is sending for considerable reinforcements from Macedonia and Thessaly, according to the statements of those on the spot. Now, if he waits for the Etesian winds to blow and marches to the siege of Byzantium, do you think that the Byzantines will remain in their present state of infatuation and will not call upon you and demand your help ? I think not. Nay, even if there are others whom they distrust more than us, I think they will rather admit such within their walls than surrender their city to Philip—if indeed he does not forestall them by capturing it. Therefore, if we cannot sail from Athens, and if there is no force ready to help them on the spot, their doom is sealed. "Because," you say, "the wretched creatures are infatuated and stupid beyond measure." Quite so, but still we are bound to preserve them in the interests of Athens. And then again we are not certain of another thing, that he will not attack the Chersonese. Indeed, if we may judge from the letter which he sent you, he means to take vengeance on the settlers there. If, therefore, our present force is still in being, it

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[1] So Cobet: *παρακαλέσειν* Dindorf with MSS.

[2] So Wolf, Lobeck, and Cobet: *-οῦσι* Dindorf with MSS.

[94] συνεστηκὸς στράτευμα, καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ βοηθῆσαι
δυνήσεται καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου τι κακῶς ποιῆσαι· εἰ
δ' ἅπαξ διαλυθήσεται, τί ποιήσομεν, ἂν ἐπὶ Χερρόνησον
ἴῃ; "κρινοῦμεν Διοπείθην νὴ Δία." καὶ
τί τὰ πράγματ' ἔσται βελτίω; "ἀλλ' ἐνθένδ' ἂν
βοηθήσαιμεν αὐτοί.[1]" ἂν δ' ὑπὸ τῶν πνευμάτων
μὴ δυνώμεθα; "ἀλλὰ μὰ Δί' οὐχ ἥξει." καὶ τίς
ἐγγυητής ἐστι τούτου; ἆρ' ὁρᾶτε καὶ λογίζεσθ',
18 ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν ὥραν τοῦ ἔτους,
εἰς ἣν ἔρημόν τινες οἴονται δεῖν τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον
ὑμῶν ποιῆσαι καὶ παραδοῦναι Φιλίππῳ; τί δ',
ἂν ἀπελθὼν ἐκ Θρᾴκης καὶ μηδὲ προσελθὼν Χερρονήσῳ
μηδὲ Βυζαντίῳ (καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα λογίζεσθε)
ἐπὶ Χαλκίδα καὶ Μέγαρ' ἥκῃ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον
ὅνπερ ἐπ' Ὠρεὸν πρῴην, πότερον κρεῖττον ἐνθάδ'
αὐτὸν ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ προσελθεῖν τὸν πόλεμον πρὸς
τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἐᾶσαι, ἢ κατασκευάζειν ἐκεῖ τιν'
ἀσχολίαν αὐτῷ; ἐγὼ μὲν οἴομαι τοῦτο.

19 Ταῦτα τοίνυν ἅπαντας εἰδότας καὶ λογιζομένους
χρὴ μὰ Δί' οὐχ ἣν Διοπείθης πειρᾶται τῇ πόλει
δύναμιν παρασκευάζειν, ταύτην βασκαίνειν καὶ
διαλῦσαι πειρᾶσθαι, ἀλλ' ἑτέραν αὐτοὺς προσπαρασκευάζειν
καὶ συνευποροῦντας ἐκείνῳ
20 χρημάτων καὶ τἄλλ' οἰκείως συναγωνιζομένους. εἰ
γάρ τις ἔροιτο Φίλιππον· "εἰπέ μοι, πότερ' ἂν
βούλοιο τούτους τοὺς στρατιώτας οὓς Διοπείθης
νῦν ἔχει, τοὺς ὁποιουστινασοῦν (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀντιλέγω)
εὐθενεῖν καὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις εὐδοξεῖν καὶ πλείους
γίγνεσθαι τῆς πόλεως συναγωνιζομένης, ἢ διαβαλλόντων
τινῶν καὶ κατηγορούντων διασπασθῆναι

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[1] αὐτῷ Dindorf with SL.

will be able both to save the Chersonese and to make raids upon Philip's territory. But if it is once disbanded, what shall we do if he marches against the Chersonese? "Bring Diopithes to trial," you say. And how will that help matters? "Well, then, we will set out from Athens ourselves." But suppose the winds will not let us? "But surely Philip will not attack." And who will go bail for that? Do you not observe and consider, men of Athens, what season[a] of the year is upon us—the season at which certain people think it their duty to keep the Hellespont clear of you and hand it over to Philip? What if he quits Thrace and never approaches the Chersonese or Byzantium—for you must take that also into your reckoning—but turns up at Chalcis and Megara, just as he did at Oreus not long ago? Will it be better to make our stand here and let the war spread to Attica, or to contrive some employment for him away yonder? I prefer the latter.

Therefore, knowing and weighing these facts, it is the duty of all of you, not surely to try to disparage and break up the force that Diopithes is doing his best to provide for the state, but to provide an additional force yourselves and to keep him well supplied with funds and in every way to give him your loyal co-operation. For suppose someone should ask Philip, "Tell me, which would you prefer? That the troops now serving with Diopithes, whatever their character may be"—for I am not discussing that—"should prosper and win credit at Athens and grow in numbers with the co-operation of the government, or that a few accusers and detractors should cause them to be broken up and destroyed?" I

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[a] The season of the Etesian winds; see § 14.

καὶ διαφθαρῆναι;" ταῦτ' ἂν οἶμαι φήσειεν. εἶθ' [95] ἃ Φίλιππος ἂν εὔξαιτο τοῖς θεοῖς, ταῦθ' ἡμῶν τινες ἐνθάδε πράττουσιν; εἶτ' ἔτι ζητεῖτε πόθεν τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀπόλωλεν ἅπαντα;

21 Βούλομαι τοίνυν [ὑμᾶς][1] μετὰ παρρησίας ἐξετάσαι τὰ παρόντα πράγματα τῇ πόλει, καὶ σκέψασθαι τί ποιοῦμεν αὐτοὶ νῦν καὶ ὅπως χρώμεθ' αὐτοῖς. ἡμεῖς οὔτε χρήματ' εἰσφέρειν βουλόμεθ' οὔτ' αὐτοὶ στρατεύεσθαι, οὔτε τῶν κοινῶν ἀπέχεσθαι δυνάμεθα, οὔτε τὰς συντάξεις Διοπείθει δίδομεν, οὔθ' ὅσ' ἂν αὐτὸς αὑτῷ πορίσηται 22 ἐπαινοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ βασκαίνομεν καὶ σκοποῦμεν πόθεν, καὶ τί μέλλει ποιεῖν, καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαυτί, οὔτ', ἐπειδήπερ οὕτως ἔχομεν, τὰ ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν πράττειν ἐθέλομεν, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τοῖς λόγοις τοὺς τῆς πόλεως λέγοντας ἄξι' ἐπαινοῦμεν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ἐναντιουμένοις τούτοις συναγωνιζόμεθα. 23 ὑμεῖς μὲν τοίνυν εἰώθαθ' ἑκάστοτε τὸν παριόντ' ἐρωτᾶν, τί οὖν χρὴ ποιεῖν; ἐγὼ δ' ὑμᾶς ἐρωτῆσαι βούλομαι, τί οὖν χρὴ λέγειν; εἰ γὰρ μήτ' εἰσοίσετε, μήτ' αὐτοὶ στρατεύσεσθε, μήτε τῶν κοινῶν ἀφέξεσθε, μήτε τὰς συντάξεις δώσετε, μήθ' ὅσ' ἂν αὐτὸς αὑτῷ πορίσηται ἐάσετε, μήτε τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν πράττειν ἐθελήσετε, οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω. οἱ γὰρ ἤδη τοσαύτην ἐξουσίαν τοῖς αἰτιᾶσθαι καὶ διαβάλλειν βουλομένοις διδόντες,[2] ὥστε καὶ περὶ ὧν φασι[3] μέλλειν αὐτὸν ποιεῖν, καὶ περὶ τούτων προκατηγορούντων ἀκροᾶσθαι[4]—τί ἄν τις λέγοι;

24 Ὅ τι τοίνυν δύναται ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ἐνίους μαθεῖν

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[1] ὑμᾶς nearly all MSS. : πρὸς ὑμᾶς Dindorf with one MS.

[2] εἰ γὰρ . . . δίδοτε Dindorf with vulg. : most modern edd. prefer the anacoluthon of SL.

think he would choose the latter. And what Philip would pray the gods to vouchsafe him, are some of us here trying to compass? And do you still ask how our interests are sacrificed everywhere?

I want therefore to examine frankly the present state of our affairs, and to find out what we are doing ourselves now and how we are dealing with the situation. We refuse to pay war-taxes or to serve in person; we cannot keep our hands off the public funds; we will not pay Diopithes the allowances agreed upon, nor sanction the sums that he raises for himself; but we grumble and criticize his methods, and ask what he intends to do, and all that sort of thing; and yet, while maintaining that attitude, we refuse to perform our own tasks; with our lips we praise those whose speeches are worthy of our city, but our actions serve only to encourage their opponents. Now, *you* have a habit of asking a speaker on every occasion, "What then must be done?"; but *I* prefer to ask you, "What then must be said?" Because, if you are not going to pay your contributions, nor serve in person, nor keep your hands off the public funds, nor grant Diopithes his allowances, nor sanction the sums that he raises for himself, nor consent to perform your own tasks, I have nothing to say. You who have gone so far in granting license to those whose object is fault-finding and calumny, that even about what they say he is going to do, even on that ground they accuse him in advance and you listen to them—what can anyone say?

Now, some of you ought to be told the possible

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[3] *ἂν φασι* S vulg.: *ἂν φῶσι* Dindorf.
[4] *ἀκροᾶσθε* Dindorf with SL.

ὑμῶν δεῖ. λέξω δὲ μετὰ παρρησίας· καὶ γὰρ
οὐδ' ἂν ἄλλως δυναίμην. πάντες ὅσοι ποτ' ἐκπεπλεύκασι
[96] παρ' ὑμῶν στρατηγοί (ἢ 'γὼ πάσχειν
ὁτιοῦν τιμῶμαι) καὶ παρὰ Χίων καὶ παρ' Ἐρυθραίων
καὶ παρ' ὧν ἂν ἕκαστοι δύνωνται (τούτων
τῶν τὴν Ἀσίαν οἰκούντων λέγω), χρήματα λαμβάνουσι.
25 λαμβάνουσι δ' οἱ μὲν ἔχοντες μίαν ἢ
δύο ναῦς ἐλάττονα, οἱ δὲ μείζω δύναμιν πλείονα.
καὶ διδόασιν οἱ διδόντες οὔτε τὰ μικρὰ οὔτε τὰ
πολλὰ ἀντ' οὐδενός (οὐ γὰρ οὕτω μαίνονται), ἀλλ'
ὠνούμενοι μὴ ἀδικεῖσθαι τοὺς παρ' αὑτῶν ἐκπλέοντας
ἐμπόρους, μὴ συλᾶσθαι, παραπέμπεσθαι
τὰ πλοῖα τὰ αὑτῶν, τὰ τοιαῦτα· φασὶ δ' εὐνοίας
διδόναι, καὶ τοῦτο τοὔνομ' ἔχει τὰ λήμματα ταῦτα.
26 καὶ δὴ καὶ νῦν τῷ Διοπείθει στράτευμ' ἔχοντι
σαφῶς ἐστι τοῦτο δῆλον ὅτι δώσουσι χρήματα
πάντες οὗτοι· πόθεν γὰρ οἴεσθ' ἄλλοθεν τὸν μήτε
λαβόντα παρ' ὑμῶν μηδὲν μήτ' αὐτὸν ἔχονθ'
ὁπόθεν μισθοδοτήσει, στρατιώτας τρέφειν; ἐκ
τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν
ἀγείρει καὶ προσαιτεῖ καὶ δανείζεται, ἀπὸ τούτων
27 διάγει. οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλλο ποιοῦσιν οἱ κατηγοροῦντες
ἐν ὑμῖν ἢ προλέγουσιν ἅπασι μηδ' ὁτιοῦν ἐκείνῳ
διδόναι, ὡς καὶ τοῦ μελλῆσαι δώσοντι δίκην, μή
τι ποιήσαντί γ' ἢ καταπραξαμένῳ. τοῦτ' εἰσὶν
οἱ λόγοι· “μέλλει πολιορκεῖν,” “τοὺς Ἕλληνας
ἐκδίδωσιν.” μέλει γάρ τινι τούτων τῶν τὴν
Ἀσίαν οἰκούντων Ἑλλήνων; ἀμείνους μεντἂν
28 εἶεν τῶν ἄλλων ἢ τῆς πατρίδος κήδεσθαι. καὶ τό
γ' εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον εἰσπέμπειν ἕτερον στρατηγὸν
τοῦτ' ἐστίν. εἰ γὰρ δεινὰ ποιεῖ Διοπείθης

result of all this. I shall speak freely, for indeed I could not speak otherwise. All the generals that have ever set sail from your land—if I am wrong, I submit myself to any penalty—raise money from the Chians, from the Erythraeans, from whatever people they can, I mean of the Greeks of Asia Minor. Generals with only one or two ships raise less; those with a larger fleet raise more. Also those who pay do not pay the sum, be it large or small, for nothing; they are not such madmen. No, they purchase for the merchants sailing from their own harbours immunity from injury or robbery, or a safe conduct for their own ships, or something of that sort. They say that they are granting "benevolences." That is the name for these exactions. And so too in this case, while Diopithes has a force with him, it is perfectly plain that all these people will pay up. For where else do you suppose that he looks for the maintenance of his troops, if he gets nothing from you and has no private fortune to furnish their pay? To the sky? No, indeed; it is from what he can collect or beg or borrow that he keeps things going. So those who denounce him to you are simply warning everybody not to grant him a penny, because he will be punished for what he intends to do, apart from what he has done or what he has acquired for himself. That is what they mean when they cry, "He intends to besiege the towns! He is betraying the Greeks!" Do any of these gentlemen really care about the Asiatic Greeks?—and yet they would, I expect, be better champions of other countries than of their own. That, too, is the meaning of the dispatch of a second general to the Hellespont. For if Diopithes

καὶ κατάγει τὰ πλοῖα, μικρόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
μικρὸν πινάκιον ταῦτα πάντα κωλῦσαι δύναιτ'
[97] ἄν, καὶ λέγουσιν οἱ νόμοι, ταῦτα τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας
εἰσαγγέλλειν, οὐ μὰ Δία δαπάναις καὶ τριήρεσι
τοσαύταις ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς φυλάττειν, ἐπεὶ τοῦτό γ'
29 ἐστὶν ὑπερβολὴ μανίας· ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ἐχθρούς,
οὓς οὐκ ἔστι λαβεῖν ὑπὸ τοῖς νόμοις, καὶ στρατιώτας
τρέφειν καὶ τριήρεις ἐκπέμπειν καὶ χρήματ'
εἰσφέρειν δεῖ καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν, ἐπὶ δ' ἡμᾶς
αὐτοὺς ψήφισμα, εἰσαγγελία, πάραλος, ταῦτ'
ἔστιν. ταῦτ' ἦν εὖ φρονούντων ἀνθρώπων, ἐπηρεαζόντων
δὲ καὶ διαφθειρόντων τὰ πράγμαθ' ἃ νῦν
30 οὗτοι ποιοῦσιν. καὶ τὸ μὲν τούτων τινὰς εἶναι
τοιούτους, δεινὸν ὂν οὐ δεινόν ἐστιν· ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς οἱ
καθήμενοι οὕτως ἤδη διάκεισθε, ὥστ', ἂν μέν τις
εἴπῃ παρελθὼν ὅτι Διοπείθης ἐστὶ τῶν κακῶν
πάντων αἴτιος ἢ Χάρης ἢ Ἀριστοφῶν ἢ ὃν ἂν τῶν
πολιτῶν εἴπῃ τις, εὐθέως φατὲ καὶ θορυβεῖθ' ὡς
31 ὀρθῶς λέγει· ἂν δὲ παρελθὼν λέγῃ τις τἀληθῆ, ὅτι
“ ληρεῖτ', Ἀθηναῖοι· πάντων τῶν κακῶν καὶ τῶν
πραγμάτων τούτων Φίλιππός ἐστ' αἴτιος· εἰ γὰρ
ἐκεῖνος ἦγεν ἡσυχίαν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἦν πρᾶγμα τῇ
πόλει,” ὡς μὲν οὐκ ἀληθῆ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν οὐκ ἔχετ'[1]
ἀντιλέγειν, ἄχθεσθαι δέ μοι δοκεῖτε καὶ ὥσπερ
32 ἀπολλύναι τι νομίζειν. αἴτιον δὲ τούτων (καί μοι
πρὸς θεῶν, ὅταν ἕνεκα τοῦ βελτίστου λέγω, ἔστω
παρρησία)· παρεσκευάκασιν ὑμᾶς τῶν πολιτευομένων
ἔνιοι ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις φοβεροὺς καὶ
χαλεπούς, ἐν δὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου
ῥᾳθύμους καὶ εὐκαταφρονήτους. ἂν μὲν οὖν τὸν

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[1] ἕξετε Dindorf with S.

is acting outrageously in detaining the merchantmen, a note, men of Athens, a brief note, could put a stop to all this at once; and there are the laws, which direct us to impeach such offenders, but not, of course, to mount guard over ourselves,[a] at such a cost and with so large a fleet; for that would be the height of madness. No, against our enemies, who are not amenable to the laws, it is right and necessary to maintain troops, to send out fleets, and to raise funds; but against ourselves we have these resources, a decree, an impeachment, and a dispatch-boat. Those are what right-minded citizens would employ; malignants, bent on the ruin of the State, would do as these men are doing. And that there are some men of this type among you, though bad enough, is not the real evil; but you who sit here are by now in such a mood that if anyone comes forward and asserts that the cause of all our evil is Diopithes or Chares or Aristophon, or any other citizen that he happens to name, you at once agree and applaud the truth of the remark. But if anyone rises and tells you the real truth and says, "Nonsense, Athenians! the cause of all these evils and all these troubles is Philip, for if he had kept quiet, our city would have been free from trouble," you cannot gainsay it, but you seem to me to be vexed and to feel that you are, as it were, losing something. But as to the reason for this—and in Heaven's name, when I am pleading for your best interests, allow me to speak freely—some of our politicians have been training you to be threatening and intractable in the meetings of the Assembly, but in preparing for war, careless and contemptible. If, then, the

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[a] *i.e.* to keep a jealous watch over our own officers.

αἴτιον εἴπῃ τις ὃν ἴσθ' ὅτι λήψεσθε παρ' ὑμῖν
αὐτοῖς, φατὲ καὶ βούλεσθε· ἂν δὲ τοιοῦτον λέγῃ
[98] τις, ὃν κρατήσαντας τοῖς ὅπλοις, ἄλλως δ' οὐκ
ἔστι κολάσαι, οὐκ ἔχετ', οἶμαι, τί ποιήσετε,
33 ἐξελεγχόμενοι δ' ἄχθεσθε. ἐχρῆν γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὐναντίον ἢ νῦν ἅπαντας τοὺς πολιτευομένους
ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις πράους καὶ
φιλανθρώπους ὑμᾶς ἐθίζειν εἶναι (πρὸς γὰρ ὑμᾶς
αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐν ταύταις ἐστὶ τὰ
δίκαια), ἐν δὲ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς ταῖς τοῦ πολέμου
φοβεροὺς καὶ χαλεποὺς ἐπιδεικνύναι· πρὸς γὰρ
τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀντιπάλους ἐκεῖνος ἔσθ' ὁ
34 ἀγών. νῦν δὲ δημαγωγοῦντες ὑμᾶς καὶ χαριζόμενοι
καθ' ὑπερβολὴν οὕτω διατεθήκασιν, ὥστ'
ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τρυφᾶν καὶ κολακεύεσθαι
πάντα πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἀκούοντας, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι
καὶ τοῖς γιγνομένοις περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἤδη
κινδυνεύειν. φέρε γὰρ πρὸς Διός, εἰ λόγον ὑμᾶς
ἀπαιτήσειαν οἱ Ἕλληνες ὧν νυνὶ παρείκατε καιρῶν
35 διὰ ῥᾳθυμίαν, καὶ ἔροινθ' ὑμᾶς· “ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
πέμπεθ' ὡς ἡμᾶς ἑκάστοτε πρέσβεις, καὶ λέγεθ'
ὡς ἐπιβουλεύει Φίλιππος ἡμῖν καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς
Ἕλλησι, καὶ ὡς φυλάττεσθαι δεῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον,
καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαυτί;” ἀνάγκη φάσκειν καὶ
ὁμολογεῖν· ποιοῦμεν γὰρ ταῦτα. “εἶτ', ὦ πάντων
ἀνθρώπων φαυλότατοι, δέκα μῆνας ἀπογενομένου
τἀνθρώπου καὶ νόσῳ καὶ χειμῶνι καὶ πολέμοις
ἀποληφθέντος, ὥστε μὴ ἂν δύνασθαι ἐπανελθεῖν
36 οἴκαδε, οὔτε τὴν Εὔβοιαν ἠλευθερώσατε, οὔτε τῶν
ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν οὐδὲν ἐκομίσασθε, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος

culprit named is someone on whom you know you can lay hands in Athens, you agree and assent; but if it is someone whom you cannot chastise unless you overcome him by force of arms, you find yourselves helpless, I suppose, and to be proved so causes you annoyance. For it ought to have been the reverse, men of Athens; all your politicians should have trained you to be gentle and humane in the Assembly, for there you are dealing with rights that concern yourselves and your allies, but in preparing for war they should have made you threatening and intractable, because there you are pitted against your enemies and rivals. As it is, by persuasive arts and caresses they have brought you to such a frame of mind that you are elated by their flattery and have no ear but for compliments, while in your policy and your practice you are at this moment running the gravest risks. For tell me, in Heaven's name, if the Greeks should call you to account for the opportunities that your carelessness has already thrown away, and should question you thus: "Men of Athens, do you send us embassies on every occasion to explain how Philip is plotting against us and all the other Greeks, and how we must be on our guard against that man, and all that sort of thing?"—(we are bound to admit it and plead guilty, for that is just what we do)—"And yet, you most futile of mortals, when that man has been out of sight[a] for ten months, cut off from all chance of returning home by disease, by winter, and by war, have you neither liberated Euboea nor regained any of your lost possessions? On the other hand, while you stay at

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[a] As in § 2, he alludes to Philip's absence on his Thracian campaign.

μὲν ὑμῶν οἴκοι μενόντων, σχολὴν ἀγόντων,
ὑγιαινόντων (εἰ δὴ τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα ποιοῦντας
[99] ὑγιαίνειν φήσαιεν), δύ' ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ κατέστησε
τυράννους, τὸν μὲν ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς Ἀττικῆς
37 ἐπιτειχίσας, τὸν δ' ἐπὶ Σκίαθον, ὑμεῖς δ' οὐδὲ
ταῦτ' ἀπελύσασθε, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλ' ἐβούλεσθε, ἀλλ'
εἰάκατε; ἀφέστατε δῆλον ὅτι αὐτῷ, καὶ φανερὸν
πεποιήκατε ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν δεκάκις ἀποθάνῃ, οὐδὲν
μᾶλλον κινήσεσθε. τί οὖν πρεσβεύετε καὶ κατηγορεῖτε
καὶ πράγμαθ' ἡμῖν παρέχετε;" ἂν ταῦτα
λέγωσι, τί ἐροῦμεν ἢ τί φήσομεν, Ἀθηναῖοι; ἐγὼ
μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὁρῶ.

38 Εἰσὶ τοίνυν τινὲς οἳ τότ' ἐξελέγχειν τὸν παριόντ'
οἴονται, ἐπειδὰν ἐρωτήσωσι "τί οὖν χρὴ ποιεῖν;"
οἷς ἐγὼ μὲν τὸ δικαιότατον καὶ ἀληθέστατον τοῦτ'
ἀποκρινοῦμαι, ταῦτα μὴ ποιεῖν ἃ νυνὶ ποιεῖτε, οὐ
μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκριβῶς ἐρῶ. καὶ
ὅπως, ὥσπερ ἐρωτῶσι προθύμως, οὕτω καὶ ποιεῖν
39 ἐθελήσουσι. πρῶτον μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
τοῦτο παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς βεβαίως γνῶναι, ὅτι τῇ
πόλει Φίλιππος πολεμεῖ καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην λέλυκε
(καὶ παύσασθε περὶ τούτου κατηγοροῦντες ἀλλήλων)
καὶ κακόνους μέν ἐστι καὶ ἐχθρὸς ὅλῃ τῇ
40 πόλει καὶ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐδάφει, προσθήσω δὲ καὶ
τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ τοῖς μάλιστ'
οἰομένοις αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι (εἰ δὲ μή, σκεψάσθων
Εὐθυκράτη καὶ Λασθένη τοὺς Ὀλυνθίους, οἳ
δοκοῦντες οἰκειότατ' αὐτῷ διακεῖσθαι, ἐπειδὴ τὴν
πόλιν προὔδοσαν, πάντων κάκιστ' ἀπολώλασιν),
οὐδενὶ μέντοι μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ πολιτείᾳ πολεμεῖ οὐδ'
ἐπιβουλεύει, καὶ σκοπεῖ μᾶλλον οὐδὲ ἓν τῶν πάντων

home, at leisure and in health"—(if indeed they could say that men who behave thus are in health)—"Philip has set up two despots in Euboea, entrenching one right over against Attica and the other as a menace to Sciathus; but you—have you never cleared away these obstacles, even if you had no further ambitions, and have you tamely submitted? Undoubtedly you have stood aside from his path and made it abundantly clear that, were he to die ten times over, you at least will make no further move. Then why do you pester us with your embassies and your complaints?" If these are their words, what are we to say, Athenians? How are we to answer? For my part, I cannot tell.

Now there are some who think they confute a speaker the moment they ask, "What then ought we to do?" To these I will give the fairest and truest answer: not what you are doing now. I will not, however, shrink from going carefully into details; only they must be as willing to act as they are eager to question. First, men of Athens, you must fix this firmly in your minds, that Philip is at war with us and has broken the peace. Yes, let there be no more wrangling over that question. He is ill-disposed and hostile to the whole city and to the very soil on which the city stands, and, I will add, to every man in the city, even to those who imagine that they stand highest in his good graces. If they doubt it, let them look at Euthycrates and Lasthenes, the Olynthians, who thought they were such bosom-friends of his, and then, when they had betrayed their city, met the most ignominious fate of all. The chief object, however, of his arms and his diplomacy is our free constitution: on nothing in the world

41 ἢ πῶς ταύτην καταλύσει. καὶ τοῦτ᾽ εἰκότως
τρόπον τινὰ πράττει· οἶδε γὰρ ἀκριβῶς ὅτι οὐδ᾽
[100] ἂν πάντων τῶν ἄλλων γένηται κύριος, οὐδὲν
ἔστ᾽ αὐτῷ βεβαίως ἔχειν, ἕως ἂν ὑμεῖς δημοκρατῆσθε,
ἀλλ᾽ ἐάν ποτε συμβῇ τι πταῖσμα, ἃ
πολλὰ γένοιτ᾽ ἂν ἀνθρώπῳ, ἥξει πάντα τὰ νῦν
42 συμβεβιασμένα καὶ καταφεύξεται πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἐστὲ
γὰρ ὑμεῖς οὐκ αὐτοὶ πλεονεκτῆσαι καὶ κατασχεῖν
ἀρχὴν εὖ πεφυκότες, ἀλλ᾽ ἕτερον λαβεῖν κωλῦσαι
καὶ ἔχοντ᾽ ἀφελέσθαι δεινοί, καὶ ὅλως ἐνοχλῆσαι
τοῖς ἄρχειν βουλομένοις καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους
εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἀφελέσθαι ἕτοιμοι. οὔκουν βούλεται
τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καιροῖς τὴν παρ᾽ ὑμῶν ἐλευθερίαν
ἐφεδρεύειν, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ, οὐ κακῶς οὐδ᾽ ἀργῶς
43 ταῦτα λογιζόμενος. πρῶτον μὲν δὴ τοῦτο δεῖ,
ἐχθρὸν ὑπειληφέναι τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας
ἀδιάλλακτον ἐκεῖνον· εἰ γὰρ μὴ τοῦτο
πεισθήσεσθε ταῖς ψυχαῖς, οὐκ ἐθελήσεθ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῶν
πραγμάτων σπουδάζειν· δεύτερον δ᾽ εἰδέναι σαφῶς
ὅτι πάνθ᾽ ὅσα πραγματεύεται καὶ κατασκευάζεται
νῦν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν παρασκευάζεται, καὶ
ὅπου τις ἐκεῖνον ἀμύνεται, ἐνταῦθ᾽ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν
44 ἀμύνεται. οὐ γὰρ οὕτω γ᾽ εὐήθης ἐστὶν οὐδεὶς ὃς
ὑπολαμβάνει τὸν Φίλιππον τῶν μὲν ἐν Θρᾴκῃ
κακῶν (τί γὰρ ἄλλο τις ἂν εἴποι Δρογγίλον καὶ
Καβύλην καὶ Μάστειραν καὶ ἃ νῦν ἐξαιρεῖ καὶ
κατασκευάζεται;) τούτων μὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν καὶ ὑπὲρ
τοῦ ταῦτα λαβεῖν καὶ πόνους καὶ χειμῶνας καὶ τοὺς
45 ἐσχάτους κινδύνους ὑπομένειν, τῶν δ᾽ Ἀθηναίων
λιμένων καὶ νεωρίων καὶ τριήρων καὶ τῶν ἔργων
τῶν ἀργυρείων καὶ τοσούτων προσόδων οὐκ ἐπιθυμεῖν,
ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐάσειν ὑμᾶς ἔχειν, ὑπὲρ

is he more bent than on its destruction. And it is in a way natural that he should act thus. For he knows for certain that even if he masters all else, his power will be precarious as long as you remain a democracy; but if ever he meets with one of the many mischances to which mankind is liable, all the forces that are now under restraint will be attracted to your side. For nature has not equipped you to seek aggrandizement and secure empire, but you are clever at thwarting another's designs and wresting from him his gains, and quick to confound the plots of the ambitious and to vindicate the freedom of all mankind. Therefore he does not want to have the Athenian tradition of liberty watching to seize every chance against himself. Far from it! Nor is his reasoning here either faulty or idle. This, then, is the first thing needful, to recognize in Philip the inveterate enemy of constitutional government and democracy, for unless you are heartily persuaded of this, you will not consent to take your politics seriously. Your second need is to convince yourselves that all his activity and all his organization is preparing the way for an attack on our city, and that where any resistance is offered to him, that resistance is our gain. For no man is so simple as to believe that though Philip covets these wretched objects in Thrace—for what else can one call Drongilus and Cabyle and Mastira and the other places that he is now occupying and equipping?—and though he endures toil and winter storms and deadly peril for the privilege of taking them, yet he does not covet the Athenian harbours and dockyards and war-galleys and silver mines and the like sources of wealth, but will allow you to retain them, while he

δὲ τῶν μελινῶν καὶ τῶν ὀλυρῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς
[101] Θρᾳκίοις σιροῖς ἐν τῷ βαράθρῳ χειμάζειν. οὐκ
ἔστι ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖν' ὑπὲρ τοῦ τούτων γενέσθαι
46 κύριος καὶ τἄλλα πάντα πραγματεύεται. τί οὖν
εὖ φρονούντων ἀνθρώπων ἐστίν; εἰδότας ταῦτα
καὶ ἐγνωκότας τὴν μὲν ὑπερβάλλουσαν καὶ ἀνήκεστον
ταύτην ῥᾳθυμίαν ἀποθέσθαι, χρήματα δ'
εἰσφέρειν καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἀξιοῦν, καὶ ὅπως
τὸ συνεστηκὸς τοῦτο συμμενεῖ στράτευμ' ὁρᾶν
καὶ πράττειν, ἵν' ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος ἕτοιμον ἔχει
δύναμιν τὴν ἀδικήσουσαν καὶ καταδουλωσομένην
ἅπαντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὕτω τὴν σώσουσαν
ὑμεῖς καὶ βοηθήσουσαν ἅπασιν ἕτοιμον ἔχητε.
47 οὐ γὰρ ἔστι βοηθείαις χρωμένους οὐδέποτ' οὐδὲν
τῶν δεόντων πρᾶξαι, ἀλλὰ κατασκευάσαντας δεῖ
δύναμιν, καὶ τροφὴν ταύτῃ πορίσαντας καὶ ταμίας
καὶ δημοσίους, καὶ ὅπως ἔνι τὴν τῶν χρημάτων
φυλακὴν ἀκριβεστάτην γενέσθαι, οὕτω ποιήσαντας,
τὸν μὲν τῶν χρημάτων λόγον παρὰ τούτων λαμβάνειν,
τὸν δὲ τῶν ἔργων παρὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ.
κἂν οὕτω ποιήσητε καὶ ταῦτ' ἐθελήσηθ' ὡς
ἀληθῶς, ἄγειν εἰρήνην δικαίαν καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ τῆς
αὑτοῦ Φίλιππον ἀναγκάσετε, οὗ μεῖζον οὐδὲν ἂν
γένοιτ' ἀγαθόν, ἢ πολεμήσετ' ἐξ ἴσου.

48 Εἰ δέ τῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτα καὶ δαπάνης μεγάλης καὶ
πόνων πολλῶν καὶ πραγματείας εἶναι, καὶ μάλ'
ὀρθῶς δοκεῖ· ἀλλ' ἐὰν λογίζηται τὰ τῇ πόλει μετὰ
ταῦτα γενησόμενα, ἂν ταῦτα μὴ 'θέλῃ, εὑρήσει
49 λυσιτελοῦν τὸ ἑκόντας ποιεῖν τὰ δέοντα. εἰ μὲν
γάρ ἐστί τις ἐγγυητὴς θεῶν (οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων γ'
οὐδεὶς ἂν γένοιτ' ἀξιόχρεως τηλικούτου πράγματος)
ὡς, ἐὰν ἄγηθ' ἡσυχίαν καὶ ἅπαντα προῆσθε,

winters in that purgatory for the sake of the rye and millet of the Thracian store-pits. It is not so, but it is to win these prizes that he devotes his activities to all those other objects. What, then, is the task of sound patriots? To know and realize all this, to shake off our outrageous and incurable slothfulness, to contribute funds, to call upon our allies, and to provide and arrange for the permanent upkeep of our existing army, so that just as Philip has a force ready to attack and enslave all the Greek states, so you may have one ready to protect and assist them all. For if you trust to mere expeditions, you can never gain any of your essential objects. You must first levy a force and provide for its maintenance, and appoint paymasters and clerks, and arrange that there shall be the strictest watch kept over your expenditure, and afterwards you must demand from your paymasters an account of their moneys, and from the general an account of his campaign. If you do this, and if you are really in earnest about it, you will either compel Philip to keep the peace fairly and to abide within his own frontiers—and that would be the greatest blessing of all—or you will fight him on equal terms.

But if anyone thinks that all this means great expense and much toil and worry, he is quite correct, but if he reckons up what will hereafter be the result to Athens if she refuses to act, he will conclude that it is to our interest to perform our duty willingly. For if you have the guarantee of some god, since no mere mortal could be a satisfactory surety for such an event, that if you remain inactive and abandon

[102] οὐκ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς τελευτῶν ἐκεῖνος ἥξει,
αἰσχρὸν μὲν νὴ τὸν Δία καὶ πάντας θεοὺς καὶ
ἀνάξιον ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει καὶ
πεπραγμένων τοῖς προγόνοις, τῆς ἰδίας ἕνεκα
ῥᾳθυμίας τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας Ἕλληνας εἰς δουλείαν
προέσθαι, καὶ ἔγωγ' αὐτὸς μὲν τεθνάναι μᾶλλον
ἂν ἢ ταῦτ' εἰρηκέναι βουλοίμην· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἴ τις
ἄλλος λέγει καὶ ὑμᾶς πείθει, ἔστω, μὴ ἀμύνεσθε,
50 ἅπαντα πρόεσθε. εἰ δὲ μηδενὶ τοῦτο δοκεῖ, τοὐναντίον
δὲ πρόϊσμεν ἅπαντες, ὅτι ὅσῳ ἂν πλειόνων
ἐάσωμεν ἐκεῖνον γενέσθαι κύριον, τοσούτῳ χαλεπωτέρῳ
καὶ ἰσχυροτέρῳ χρησόμεθ' ἐχθρῷ, ποῖ
ἀναδυόμεθα; ἢ τί μέλλομεν; ἢ πότ', ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ἐθελήσομεν; “ὅταν
51 νὴ Δί' ἀναγκαῖον ᾖ.” ἀλλ' ἣν μὲν ἄν τις ἐλευθέρων
ἀνθρώπων ἀνάγκην εἴποι, οὐ μόνον ἤδη πάρεστιν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλαι παρελήλυθε, τὴν δὲ τῶν δούλων
ἀπεύχεσθαι δήπου μὴ γενέσθαι δεῖ. διαφέρει δὲ
τί; ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐλευθέρῳ μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ μεγίστη
ἀνάγκη ἡ ὑπὲρ τῶν γιγνομένων αἰσχύνη, καὶ μείζω
ταύτης οὐκ οἶδ' ἥντιν' ἂν εἴποιμεν· δούλῳ δὲ
πληγαὶ καὶ ὁ τοῦ σώματος αἰκισμός, ἃ μήτε
γένοιτο οὔτε λέγειν ἄξιον.

52 Πάντα τοίνυν τἄλλ' εἰπὼν ἂν ἡδέως, καὶ δείξας
ὃν τρόπον ὑμᾶς ἔνιοι καταπολιτεύονται, τὰ μὲν
ἄλλ' ἐάσω· ἀλλ' ἐπειδάν τι τῶν πρὸς Φίλιππον
ἐμπέσῃ, εὐθὺς ἀναστάς τις λέγει τὸ τὴν εἰρήνην
ἄγειν ὡς ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ τρέφειν δύναμιν μεγάλην
ὡς χαλεπὸν καὶ “διαρπάζειν τινὲς τὰ χρήματα
βούλονται,” καὶ τοιούτους λόγους, ἐξ ὧν ἀνα-

everything, Philip will not in the end march against yourselves, by Zeus and all the other gods, it would be disgraceful and unworthy of you and of the resources of your city and the record of your ancestors to abandon all the other Greeks to enslavement for the sake of your own ease, and I for one would rather die than be guilty of proposing such a policy. All the same, if someone else proposes it and wins your assent, so be it : offer no resistance, sacrifice everything. But if no one approves of this, and if on the contrary we all of us foresee that the more we allow him to extend his power, the stronger and more formidable we shall find him in war, what escape is open to us, or why do we delay ? When, men of Athens, shall we consent to do our duty ? "Whenever it is necessary," you will say. But what any free man would call necessity is not merely present now, but is long ago past, and from the necessity that constrains a slave we must surely pray to be delivered. Do you ask the difference ? The strongest necessity that a free man feels is shame for his own position, and I know not if we could name a stronger ; but for a slave necessity means stripes and bodily outrage, unfit to name here, from which Heaven defend us !

Therefore, although I would gladly touch on all the other topics and explain the way in which certain politicians are working your ruin, I will confine myself to pointing out that whenever any question arises that concerns Philip, instantly up jumps someone and tells you how good a thing it is to preserve peace, and what a bother it is to keep up a large army, and how certain persons want to plunder your wealth, and all that sort of thing ; and by these

βάλλουσι μὲν ὑμᾶς, ἡσυχίαν δὲ ποιοῦσιν ἐκείνῳ
53 πράττειν ὅ τι βούλεται. ἐκ δὲ τούτων περι-
[103] γίγνεται, ὑμῖν μὲν ἡ σχολὴ καὶ τὸ μηδὲν ἤδη
ποιεῖν, ἃ δέδοιχ᾽ ὅπως μή ποθ᾽ ἡγήσεσθ᾽ ἐπὶ
πολλῷ γεγενῆσθαι, τούτοις δ᾽ αἱ χάριτες καὶ ὁ
μισθὸς ὁ τούτων. ἐγὼ δ᾽ οἶομαι τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην
ἄγειν οὐχ ὑμᾶς δεῖν πείθειν, οἳ πεπεισμένοι κάθ-
ησθε, ἀλλὰ τὸν τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πράττοντα· ἂν γὰρ
54 ἐκεῖνος πεισθῇ, τά γ᾽ ἀφ᾽ ὑμῶν ὑπάρχει· νομίζειν
δ᾽ εἶναι χαλεπὰ οὐχ ὅσ᾽ ἂν εἰς σωτηρίαν δαπανῶμεν,
ἀλλ᾽ ἃ πεισόμεθα, ἂν ταῦτα μὴ ᾽θέλωμεν ποιεῖν·
καὶ τὸ "διαρπασθήσεται τὰ χρήματα" τῷ
φυλακὴν εἰπεῖν δι᾽ ἣν σωθήσεται κωλύειν, οὐχὶ
55 τῷ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἀφεστάναι. καίτοι ἔγωγ᾽
ἀγανακτῶ καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτ᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
εἰ τὰ μὲν χρήματα λυπεῖ τινας ὑμῶν εἰ δι-
αρπασθήσεται, ἃ καὶ φυλάττειν καὶ κολάζειν τοὺς
ἀδικοῦντας ἐφ᾽ ὑμῖν ἐστι, τὴν δ᾽ Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν
οὑτωσὶ Φίλιππος ἐφεξῆς ἁρπάζων οὐ λυπεῖ, καὶ
ταῦτ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ὑμᾶς ἁρπάζων.

56 Τί ποτ᾽ οὖν ἐστι τὸ αἴτιον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
τὸ τὸν μὲν οὕτω φανερῶς στρατεύοντα, ἀδικοῦντα,
πόλεις καταλαμβάνοντα, μηδένα τούτων πώποτ᾽
εἰπεῖν ὡς πόλεμον ποιεῖ, τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν
μηδὲ προΐεσθαι ταῦτα συμβουλεύοντας, τούτους
τὸν πόλεμον ποιήσειν αἰτιᾶσθαι; ἐγὼ διδάξω·
57 ὅτι τὴν ὀργὴν ἣν εἰκός ἐστι γενέσθαι παρ᾽ ὑμῖν,
ἄν τι λυπῆσθε τῷ πολέμῳ, εἰς τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
λέγοντας τὰ βέλτιστα τρέψαι βούλονται, ἵνα τού-

speeches they put you off and afford leisure for Philip to do whatever he wishes. But the result of this is for you indeed repose and idleness, for the present—blessings which I am afraid you will one day consider dearly purchased—but for the speakers the popularity and the payment. But in my view it is not to you that they should recommend peace, for you have taken the advice and there you sit: it is to the man who is even now on the war-path. For if Philip can be won over, your share of the compact is ready to hand. Again, they should reflect that the irksome thing is not the expense of securing our safety, but the doom that will be ours if we shrink from that expense. As for the "plunder of your wealth," they ought to prevent that by proposing some way of checking it and not by abandoning your interests. And yet, men of Athens, it is just this that rouses my indignation, that some of you should be distressed at the prospect of the plunder of your wealth, when you are quite competent to protect it and to punish any offender, but that you are not distressed at the sight of Philip thus plundering every Greek state in turn, the more so as he is plundering them to injure you.

What then is the reason, men of Athens, why these speakers never admit that Philip is provoking war, when he is thus openly conducting campaigns, violating rights, and subduing cities, but when others urge you not to give way to Philip nor submit to these losses, they accuse them of trying to provoke war? I will explain. It is because they want the natural anger that you would feel at any sufferings in the war to be diverted against your wisest counsel-

τους κρίνητε, μὴ Φίλιππον ἀμύνησθε, καὶ κατηγορῶσιν
αὐτοί, μὴ δίκην δῶσιν ὧν ποιοῦσι νῦν.
τοῦτ' αὐτοῖς δύναται τὸ λέγειν ὡς ἄρα βούλονται
58 πόλεμόν τινες ποιῆσαι παρ' ὑμῖν, καὶ περὶ τούτου
[104] ἡ διαδικασία αὕτη ἐστίν. ἐγὼ δ' οἶδ' ἀκριβῶς
ὅτι, οὐ γράψαντος Ἀθηναίων οὐδενός πω πόλεμον,
καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ Φίλιππος ἔχει τῶν τῆς πόλεως
καὶ νῦν εἰς Καρδίαν πέπομφε βοήθειαν. εἰ μέντοι
βουλόμεθ' ἡμεῖς μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι πολεμεῖν
αὐτὸν ἡμῖν, ἀνοητότατος πάντων ἂν εἴη τῶν
59 ὄντων ἀνθρώπων, εἰ τοῦτ' ἐξελέγχοι. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν
ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς ἴῃ, τί φήσομεν; ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ
οὐ πολεμεῖν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' Ὠρείταις, τῶν στρατιωτῶν
ὄντων ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, οὐδὲ Φεραίοις πρότερον,
πρὸς τὰ τείχη προσβάλλων αὐτῶν, οὐδ' Ὀλυνθίοις
ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἕως ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ τὸ στράτευμα
παρῆν ἔχων. ἢ καὶ τότε τοὺς ἀμύνεσθαι κελεύοντας
πόλεμον ποιεῖν φήσομεν; οὐκοῦν ὑπόλοιπον
δουλεύειν· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο γ' οὐδέν ἐστι μεταξὺ τοῦ
60 μήτ' ἀμύνεσθαι μήτ' ἄγειν ἡσυχίαν ἐᾶσθαι. καὶ
μὴν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἴσων ὑμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἔσθ'
ὁ κίνδυνος· οὐ γὰρ ὑφ' αὑτῷ τὴν πόλιν ποιήσασθαι
βούλεται Φίλιππος, ἀλλ' ὅλως ἀνελεῖν. οἶδε γὰρ
ἀκριβῶς ὅτι δουλεύειν μὲν ὑμεῖς οὔτ' ἐθελήσετε,
οὔτ', ἂν ἐθελήσητε, ἐπιστήσεσθε (ἄρχειν γὰρ εἰώθατε),
πράγματα δ' αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν, ἂν καιρὸν
λάβητε, πλείω τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων
δυνήσεσθε.

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[a] διαδικασία is a lawsuit between rival claimants to an estate, etc. The war-party and the peace-party are here rival claimants for the votes of the Athenians.

lors, so that you may bring them to trial instead of punishing Philip, and that they may themselves be the accusers instead of paying the penalty for their present wrong-doings. That is the meaning of their suggestion that there is a party among you that desires war, and that that is the issue you have to determine.[a] But I am absolutely certain that, without waiting for any Athenian to propose a declaration of war, Philip is in possession of much of our territory and has just dispatched a force against Cardia. If, however, we like to pretend that he is not at war with us, he would be the greatest fool alive if he tried to disprove that. But when our turn comes, what shall we say then ? For of course he will deny that he is attacking us, just as he denied that he was attacking the men of Oreus, when his troops were already in their territory, or the Pheraeans before that, when he was actually assaulting their walls, or the Olynthians at the start, until he was inside their frontiers with his army. Or shall we say, even at that hour, that those who bid us repel him are provoking war ? If so, there is nothing left but slavery ; for there is no alternative between that and being allowed neither to defend ourselves nor to remain at peace. Moreover, you have not the same interests at stake as the other cities, for it is not our subjection that Philip aims at, but our annihilation. He is well assured that you will not consent to be slaves ; or if you consent, will never learn how to be slaves, for you are accustomed to rule others ; but that you will be able, if you seize your opportunity, to cause him more trouble than all the rest of the world.

61 Ὡς οὖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐσχάτων ὄντος τοῦ ἀγῶνος, οὕτω προσήκει[1] γιγνώσκειν, καὶ τοὺς πεπρακότας αὑτοὺς ἐκείνῳ μισεῖν καὶ ἀποτυμπανίσαι· οὐ γάρ ἐστιν, οὐκ ἔστι τῶν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρῶν κρατῆσαι, πρὶν ἂν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει κολάσητ' ἐχθρούς [ὑπηρετοῦντας ἐκείνῳ, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη τούτοις ὥσπερ προβόλοις προσπταίοντας ὑστερίζειν
62 ἐκείνων].[2] πόθεν οἴεσθε νῦν αὐτὸν ὑβρίζειν ὑμᾶς
[105] (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλ' ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ποιεῖν ἢ τοῦτο) καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εὖ ποιοῦντα, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, ἐξαπατᾶν, ὑμῖν δ' ἀπειλεῖν ἤδη; οἷον Θετταλοὺς πολλὰ δοὺς ὑπηγάγετ' εἰς τὴν νῦν παροῦσαν δουλείαν· οὐδ' ἂν εἰπεῖν δύναιτ' οὐδεὶς ὅσα τοὺς ταλαιπώρους Ὀλυνθίους πρότερον δοὺς Ποτεί-
63 δαιαν ἐξηπάτησε καὶ πόλλ' ἕτερα· Θηβαίους νῦν ὑπάγει τὴν Βοιωτίαν αὐτοῖς παραδοὺς καὶ ἀπαλλάξας πολέμου πολλοῦ καὶ χαλεποῦ· ὥστε καρπωσάμενοί τιν' ἕκαστοι τούτων πλεονεξίαν οἱ μὲν ἤδη πεπόνθασιν ἃ δὴ πάντες ἴσασιν, οἱ δ' ὅταν ποτὲ συμβῇ πείσονται. ὑμεῖς δ' ὧν μὲν †ἀπεστέρησθε†, σιωπῶ· ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι, πόσ' ἐξηπάτησθε, πόσων ἀπεστέ-
64 ρησθε. οὐχὶ Φωκέας, οὐ Πύλας, οὐχὶ τἀπὶ Θρᾴκης, Δορίσκον, Σέρριον, τὸν Κερσοβλέπτην αὐτόν; οὐ νῦν τὴν πόλιν τὴν Καρδιανῶν ἔχει καὶ ὁμολογεῖ; τί ποτ' οὖν ἐκείνως τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ

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[1] So A and Y: προσήκει οὕτω Dindorf with most MSS.

[2] S and L omit: Dindorf retains with vulg.

Therefore you must needs bear in mind that this is a life-and-death struggle, and the men who have sold themselves to Philip must be abhorred and cudgelled to death, for it is impossible to quell the foes without, until you have punished those within your gates [who are Philip's servants; but if you are tripped by these stumbling-blocks, you are sure to be baulked of the others]. What do you imagine is his motive in outraging you now—I think no other term describes his conduct—or why is it that, in deceiving the others, he at least confers benefits upon them, but in your case he is already resorting to threats? For example, the Thessalians were beguiled by his generosity into their present state of servitude; no words can describe how he formerly deceived the miserable Olynthians by his gift of Potidaea and many other places; the Thebans he is now misleading, having handed over Boeotia to them and relieved them of a long and trying war. So each of these states has reaped some benefit from him; some of them have already paid the penalty, as all men know; the rest will pay it whenever the day of reckoning comes. As for you, I say nothing of your losses [in war],[a] but in the very act of accepting the peace, how completely you were deceived, how grievously you were robbed! Were you not deceived about Phocis, Thermopylae, the Thraceward districts, Doriscus, Serrium, Cersobleptes himself? Is not Philip now holding the city of the Cardians, and admitting that he holds it? Why then does he deal thus with the other Greeks, but

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[a] Some such words seem necessary to avoid a contradiction. The Greek is probably corrupt, though the same reading is found in *Phil.* iv. 65.

οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑμῖν προσφέρεται; ὅτι ἐν
μόνῃ τῶν πασῶν πόλεων τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἄδει᾽ ὑπὲρ
τῶν ἐχθρῶν λέγειν δέδοται, καὶ λαβόντα χρήματ᾽
αὐτὸν ἀσφαλές ἐστι λέγειν παρ᾽ ὑμῖν, κἂν ἀφηρημένοι
65 τὰ ὑμέτερ᾽ αὐτῶν ἦτε. οὐκ ἦν ἀσφαλὲς
λέγειν ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ τὰ Φιλίππου μὴ σὺν εὖ πεπονθότων
τῶν πολλῶν Ὀλυνθίων τῷ Ποτείδαιαν
καρποῦσθαι· οὐκ ἦν ἀσφαλὲς λέγειν ἐν Θετταλίᾳ
τὰ Φιλίππου μὴ σὺν εὖ πεπονθότος τοῦ πλήθους
τοῦ Θετταλῶν τῷ τοὺς τυράννους ἐκβαλεῖν Φίλιππον
αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν Πυλαίαν ἀποδοῦναι· οὐκ ἦν
ἐν Θήβαις ἀσφαλές, πρὶν τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀπέδωκε
66 καὶ τοὺς Φωκέας ἀνεῖλεν. ἀλλ᾽ Ἀθήνησιν, οὐ
[106] μόνον Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ τὴν Καρδιανῶν χώραν ἀπεστερηκότος
Φιλίππου, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατασκευάζοντος
ὑμῖν ἐπιτείχισμα τὴν Εὔβοιαν καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Βυζάντιον
παριόντος, ἀσφαλές ἐστι λέγειν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου.
καὶ γάρ τοι τούτων μὲν ἐκ πτωχῶν ἔνιοι
ταχὺ πλούσιοι γίγνονται καὶ ἐξ ἀνωνύμων καὶ
ἀδόξων ἔνδοξοι καὶ γνώριμοι, ὑμεῖς δὲ τοὐναντίον
ἐκ μὲν ἐνδόξων ἄδοξοι, ἐκ δ᾽ εὐπόρων ἄποροι·
πόλεως γὰρ ἔγωγε πλοῦτον ἡγοῦμαι συμμάχους,
πίστιν, εὔνοιαν, ὧν πάντων ἐσθ᾽ ὑμεῖς ἄποροι.
67 ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τούτων ὀλιγώρως ἔχειν καὶ ἐᾶν ταῦτα
φέρεσθαι ὁ μὲν εὐδαίμων καὶ μέγας καὶ φοβερὸς
πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις, ὑμεῖς δ᾽ ἔρημοι καὶ
ταπεινοί, τῇ τῶν ὠνίων ἀφθονίᾳ λαμπροί, τῇ δ᾽
ὧν προσῆκε παρασκευῇ καταγέλαστοι. οὐ τὸν
αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον περί θ᾽ ὑμῶν καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν
ἐνίους τῶν λεγόντων ὁρῶ βουλευομένους· ὑμᾶς

not with you in the same way? Because ours is the one city in the world where immunity is granted to plead on behalf of our enemies, and where a man who has been bribed can safely address you in person, even when you have been robbed of your own. It would not have been safe in Olynthus to plead Philip's cause, unless the Olynthian democracy had shared in the enjoyment of the revenues of Potidaea. It would not have been safe in Thessaly to plead Philip's cause, if the commoners of Thessaly had not shared in the advantages that Philip conferred when he expelled their tyrants and restored to them their Amphictyonic privileges. It would not have been safe at Thebes, until he gave them back Boeotia and wiped out the Phocians. But at Athens, though Philip has not only robbed you of Amphipolis and the Cardian territory, but is also turning Euboea into a fortress to overawe you, and is even now on his way to attack Byzantium, it is safe to speak on Philip's behalf. Indeed, of these politicians, some who were beggars are suddenly growing rich, some unknown to name and fame are now men of honour and distinction; while you, on the contrary, have passed from honour to dishonour, from affluence to destitution. For a city's wealth I hold to be allies, credit, goodwill, and of all these you are destitute. Because you are indifferent to these advantages and allow them to be taken from you, Philip is prosperous and powerful and formidable to Greeks and barbarians alike, while you are deserted and humiliated, famous for your well-stocked markets, but in provision for your proper needs, contemptible. Yet I observe that some of our speakers do not urge the same policy for you as for themselves; for

μὲν γὰρ ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν φασὶ δεῖν, κἄν τις ὑμᾶς
ἀδικῇ, αὐτοὶ δ' οὐ δύνανται παρ' ὑμῖν ἡσυχίαν
ἄγειν οὐδενὸς αὐτοὺς ἀδικοῦντος.
68 Εἶτά φησιν ὃς ἂν τύχῃ παρελθών, “ οὐ γὰρ
ἐθέλεις γράφειν, οὐδὲ κινδυνεύειν, ἀλλ' ἄτολμος
εἶ καὶ μαλακός.” ἐγὼ δὲ θρασὺς μὲν καὶ βδελυρὸς
καὶ ἀναιδὴς οὔτ' εἰμὶ μήτε γενοίμην, ἀνδρειότερον
μέντοι πολλῶν πάνυ τῶν ἰταμῶς πολιτευομένων
69 παρ' ὑμῖν ἐμαυτὸν ἡγοῦμαι. ὅστις μὲν γάρ, ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παριδὼν ἃ συνοίσει τῇ πόλει,
κρίνει, δημεύει, δίδωσι, κατηγορεῖ, οὐδεμιᾷ ταῦτ'
ἀνδρείᾳ ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' ἔχων ἐνέχυρον τῆς αὑτοῦ
[107] σωτηρίας τὸ πρὸς χάριν ὑμῖν λέγειν καὶ πολιτεύεσθαι
ἀσφαλῶς θρασύς ἐστιν· ὅστις δ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ
βελτίστου πολλὰ τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἐναντιοῦται βουλήμασι,
καὶ μηδὲν λέγει πρὸς χάριν, ἀλλὰ τὸ βέλτιστον
ἀεί, καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην πολιτείαν προαιρεῖται
ἐν ᾗ πλειόνων ἡ τύχη κυρία γίγνεται ἢ οἱ λογισμοί,
τούτων δ' ἀμφοτέρων ἑαυτὸν ὑπεύθυνον ὑμῖν
70 παρέχει, οὗτός ἐστ' ἀνδρεῖος, καὶ χρήσιμος πολίτης
ὁ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν, οὐχ οἱ τῆς παρ' ἡμέραν
χάριτος τὰ μέγιστα τῆς πόλεως ἀπολωλεκότες,
οὓς ἐγὼ τοσούτου δέω ζηλοῦν ἢ νομίζειν ἀξίους
πολίτας τῆς πόλεως εἶναι, ὥστ' εἴ τις ἔροιτό με,
“ εἰπέ μοι, σὺ δὲ δὴ τί τὴν πόλιν ἡμῖν ἀγαθὸν
πεποίηκας;” ἔχων, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ
τριηραρχίας εἰπεῖν καὶ χορηγίας καὶ χρημάτων
εἰσφορὰς καὶ λύσεις αἰχμαλώτων καὶ τοιαύτας
ἄλλας φιλανθρωπίας, οὐδὲν ἂν τούτων εἴποιμι,

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[a] They want you to remain passive, though they them-

you, they say, ought to remain quiet even when you are wronged; they themselves cannot remain quiet among you, though no man does them wrong.[a]

Then some irresponsible person comes forward and says, "Of course, you decline to make a definite proposal or to run any such risk. You are a coward and a milksop." I am not foolhardy, impudent, and shameless, and I pray that I may never be; nevertheless I think myself more truly brave than many of your neck-or-nothing politicians. For if anyone, Athenians, disregarding what will benefit the State, traffics in trials, confiscations, bribes, and indictments, he shows in this no true bravery, but, ensuring his own safety by the popularity of his speeches and measures, he is bold without risk. But whoever in your best interests often opposes your wishes, and never speaks to win favour, but always gives you of his best, and makes choice of that policy which is more under the dominion of chance than of calculation, and yet accepts the responsibility of either, he is the brave man. Yes, and it is he who is the useful citizen, not those who for a moment's popularity have made havoc of the chief resources of the State. These men I am so far from envying or deeming them worthy citizens of our city, that if a man should say to me, "Speak for yourself, and tell us what good you have ever done the State," though I might speak, men of Athens, of the equipment of war-galleys and of choruses, of money contributions and of the ransom of captives, and of other instances of liberality, I would say not

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selves lead an active political life, in Philip's interests. See the expansion of this passage in *Phil.* iv. 70-74.

71 ἀλλ᾿ ὅτι τῶν τοιούτων πολιτευμάτων οὐδὲν πολιτεύομαι,
ἀλλὰ δυνάμενος ἂν ἴσως, ὥσπερ καὶ
ἕτεροι, καὶ κατηγορεῖν καὶ χαρίζεσθαι καὶ δημεύειν
καὶ τἄλλ᾿ ἃ ποιοῦσιν οὗτοι ποιεῖν, οὐδ᾿ ἐφ᾿
ἓν τούτων πώποτ᾿ ἐμαυτὸν ἔταξα, οὐδὲ προήχθην
οὔθ᾿ ὑπὸ κέρδους οὔθ᾿ ὑπὸ φιλοτιμίας, ἀλλὰ
διαμένω λέγων ἐξ ὧν ἐγὼ μὲν πολλῶν ἐλάττων
εἰμὶ παρ᾿ ὑμῖν, ὑμεῖς δ᾿, εἰ πείσεσθέ[1] μοι, μείζους
72 ἂν εἴητε· οὕτω γὰρ ἴσως ἀνεπίφθονον εἰπεῖν. οὐδ᾿
ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ δικαίου τοῦτ᾿ εἶναι πολίτου, τοιαῦτα
πολιτεύμαθ᾿ εὑρίσκειν ἐξ ὧν ἐγὼ μὲν πρῶτος
ὑμῶν ἔσομαι εὐθέως, ὑμεῖς δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὕστατοι·
ἀλλὰ συναυξάνεσθαι δεῖ τὴν πόλιν τοῖς τῶν ἀγαθῶν
πολιτῶν πολιτεύμασι, καὶ τὸ βέλτιστον ἀεί, μὴ τὸ
ῥᾷστον ἅπαντας λέγειν· ἐπ᾿ ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ ἡ
[108] φύσις αὐτὴ βαδιεῖται, ἐπὶ τοῦτο δὲ τῷ λόγῳ δεῖ
προάγεσθαι διδάσκοντα τὸν ἀγαθὸν πολίτην.

73 Ἤδη τοίνυν τινὸς ἤκουσα τοιοῦτόν τι λέγοντος,
ὡς ἄρ᾿ ἐγὼ λέγω μὲν ἀεὶ τὰ βέλτιστα, ἔστι δ᾿
οὐδὲν ἀλλ᾿ ἢ λόγοι τὰ παρ᾿ ἐμοῦ, δεῖ δ᾿ ἔργων τῇ
πόλει καὶ πράξεώς τινος. ἐγὼ δ᾿ ὡς ἔχω περὶ
τούτων, λέξω πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι.
οὐδ᾿ εἶναι νομίζω τοῦ συμβουλεύοντος ὑμῖν ἔργον
οὐδὲν πλὴν εἰπεῖν τὰ βέλτιστα. καὶ τοῦθ᾿ ὅτι
τοῦτον ἔχει τὸν τρόπον ῥᾳδίως οἶμαι δείξειν.
74 ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ᾿, ὅτι Τιμόθεός ποτ᾿ ἐκεῖνος
ἐν ὑμῖν ἐδημηγόρησεν ὡς δεῖ βοηθεῖν καὶ τοὺς

[1] So Müller: πείθεσθε SL: πείθοισθε Dindorf with vulg.

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[a] One of the most successful of the Athenian generals, from 378 till his eclipse in 354, when he was condemned and fined for failure in the Social War. His intimacy with Isocrates had made him also an effective speaker. His

a word of them, but only reply that my policy has never been the policy of these men ; that though I could, perhaps as well as the rest, accuse and bribe and confiscate and act in general as they are acting, I have never applied myself to any of these arts nor obeyed the promptings of greed or ambition, but continue to offer advice which does indeed lower me in your esteem, but which, if you will follow it, would contribute to your greatness. So much perhaps I may say of myself without offence. Nor indeed does it seem to me the part of an honest citizen to devise political measures by which I shall at once take the highest place among you, but you the lowest among the nations. No, the advancement of the State must always go along with the measures proposed by good citizens, and they must always support the best and not the easiest policy ; for towards the latter nature herself will lead the way, but to instruct you by speech and guide you to the former is the duty of the good citizen.

Now I have even heard some such remark as this : that I, of course, always speak for the best, but that you get nothing from me except words, while what the city wants is deeds and a practical policy of some sort. I will myself explain how I stand in this matter, and I will be perfectly candid. I do not think that your adviser has any business except to make the best speeches he can, and I think I can easily prove that this is so. For you know, of course, that the famous Timotheus[a] once harangued you to the effect that you ought to send an expedition to save the

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biography is included in the collection of Cornelius Nepos. The occasion here referred to is the Euboean expedition of 357, when Demosthenes served as trierarch.

Εὐβοέας σῴζειν, ὅτε Θηβαῖοι κατεδουλοῦντ᾿ αὐτούς,
καὶ λέγων εἶπεν οὕτω πως· “εἰπέ μοι,
βούλευεσθε,” ἔφη, “Θηβαίους ἔχοντες ἐν νήσῳ,
τί χρήσεσθε καὶ τί δεῖ ποιεῖν; οὐκ ἐμπλήσετε
τὴν θάλατταν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τριήρων; οὐκ
ἀναστάντες ἤδη πορεύσεσθ᾿ εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ; οὐ
75 καθέλξετε τὰς ναῦς;” οὐκοῦν εἶπε μὲν ταῦθ᾿ ὁ
Τιμόθεος, ἐποιήσατε δ᾿ ὑμεῖς· ἐκ δὲ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων
τὸ πρᾶγμ᾿ ἐπράχθη. εἰ δ᾿ ὁ μὲν εἶπεν
ὡς οἷόν τε τὰ ἄριστα, ὥσπερ εἶπεν, ὑμεῖς δ᾿ ἀπερρᾳθυμήσατε
καὶ μηδὲν ὑπηκούσατε, ἆρ᾿ ἂν ἦν
γεγονός τι τῶν τότε συμβάντων τῇ πόλει; οὐχ
οἷόν τε. οὕτω τοίνυν καὶ περὶ ὧν ἂν ἐγὼ λέγω
καὶ περὶ ὧν ἂν ὁ δεῖν᾿ εἴπῃ, τὰ μὲν ἔργα παρ᾿
ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ζητεῖτε, †τὰ δὲ βέλτιστ᾿ ἐπιστήμῃ
λέγειν†[1] παρὰ τοῦ παριόντος.

76 Ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δ᾿ ἃ λέγω φράσας καταβῆναι
βούλομαι. χρήματ᾿ εἰσφέρειν φημὶ δεῖν· τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν
[109] δύναμιν συνέχειν, ἐπανορθοῦντας εἴ τι
δοκεῖ μὴ καλῶς ἔχειν, μὴ ὅσοις ἄν τις αἰτιάσηται
τὸ ὅλον καταλύοντας· πρέσβεις ἐκπέμπειν πανταχοῖ
τοὺς διδάξοντας, νουθετήσοντας, πράξοντας· παρὰ
πάντα ταῦτα τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασι δωροδοκοῦντας
κολάζειν καὶ μισεῖν πανταχοῦ, ἵν᾿ οἱ μέτριοι
καὶ δικαίους αὑτοὺς παρέχοντες εὖ βεβουλεῦσθαι
77 δοκῶσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ ἑαυτοῖς. ἂν οὕτω τοῖς
πράγμασι χρῆσθε καὶ παύσησθ᾿ ὀλιγωροῦντες
ἁπάντων, ἴσως ἄν, ἴσως καὶ νῦν ἔτι βελτίω γένοιτο.

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[1] Corrupt; no satisfactory emendation has been proposed.

Euboeans, when the Thebans were trying to enslave them, and his words ran something like this : " Tell me," he said, " when you have got the Thebans in the island, are you deliberating how you will deal with them and what you ought to do ? Will you not cover the sea with your war-galleys, men of Athens ? Will you not rise up at once and march down to the Piraeus and drag them down the slips ? " That, then, was what Timotheus said, and that was what you did, and the union of the two brought about the practical result. But if Timotheus had given you the best advice he could (as indeed he did), but you had shirked your duty and paid no heed to him, would the State have reaped any of the effects that then followed ? Not a bit of it. So the same applies to whatever I utter now and whatever this man or that utters. For deeds you must look to yourselves, but for advice, the best that skill in speech can command, look to the speaker who rises to address you.

Let me sum up before I leave the platform. I say that we must pay our contributions and keep together the force now in the field, rectifying whatever seems to be amiss, but not disbanding the whole for any adverse criticism. We must send ambassadors in every direction to instruct, to exhort, to act. While doing all this, we must also punish those politicians who take bribes, and we must hate them wherever found, in order that those who prove their own virtue and honesty may find that their advice has been beneficial to themselves as well as to the citizens at large. If you deal thus with public affairs and cease to neglect them entirely, perhaps, yes, perhaps even now there may be a change for the

εἰ μέντοι καθεδεῖσθε, ἄχρι τοῦ θορυβῆσαι καὶ ἐπαινέσαι σπουδάζοντες, ἐὰν δὲ δέῃ τι ποιεῖν ἀναδυόμενοι, οὐχ ὁρῶ λόγον ὅστις ἄνευ τοῦ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἃ προσήκει δυνήσεται τὴν πόλιν σῶσαι.

better. If, however, you sit here, confining your zeal to cries of dissent or approval, and drawing back from every call to duty, I see not that any words, divorced from the necessary action on your part, can ever save the State.

THIRD PHILIPPIC

INTRODUCTION

This speech was probably delivered soon after that *On the Chersonese* in the early summer of 341. Philip is still engaged in his Thracian expedition and is threatening the Chersonese and Byzantium. The proposed recall of Diopithes has been rejected, and the Assembly is discussing a fresh appeal from him for reinforcements. Demosthenes' speech in support of this appeal is such a consummate work of art, from its stately opening periods to the telling simplicity of its close, that it is worth while to give a brief summary to show its structure.

He begins with a protest against the speakers who habitually flatter their audience, and promises to give the citizens salutary, if unwelcome, advice. He refuses to discuss the question of peace or war; Philip himself has settled that by acts of hostility committed, as was his custom, without preliminary warning. He rapidly describes Philip's widespread activities, extending from the Chersonese to Elis, to show that he is a menace to all the Greek states, rendered helpless as they are by their disunion and by the prevalent corruption. Philip's improved methods of warfare have made him too formidable for Athens single-handed. The Athenians must at all costs keep him employed at a distance, while they first silence his agents, who have made so much mischief in many cities, and then persuade all the other states to sink their differences and make common cause with Athens, the hereditary champion of Greek liberty.

The speech was immediately successful. Euboea was purged of tyrants, and Byzantium drawn into the Athenian alliance. In 340 many of the states of central Greece joined Athens in a league against Philip, the peace of Philocrates was denounced, and Demosthenes, now controller of the navy, carried out his important reforms in the working of the trierarchy. In 339 Philip was foiled in his attack on Byzantium, and undertook the fresh "Sacred War" against the Locrians of Amphissa. After the dramatic seizure of Elatea, Demosthenes enjoyed his greatest diplomatic triumph in attaching Thebes to the Athenian league. The next year saw the tragedy of Chaeronea.

The text presents a curious problem. The Vulgate contains some thirteen passages, varying from three words to a couple of paragraphs, which are omitted in the best MSS., S and L, though added in their margin. Sometimes these passages seem to contain an alternative version of the context, sometimes a superfluous expansion. Which is the authentic tradition, the fuller or the more condensed?[a] An editor trying to condense would certainly have made more cuts; an expander would sooner or later have betrayed himself by his style, and there is nothing un-Demosthenic in the additions. Perhaps Demosthenes, for some unknown reason, published two slightly different versions, and our Vulgate is a conflation of these. The additions, with the translation, are here given between brackets in smaller type.

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[a] The reader will be reminded of the problem of the expanded text of *Acts* as shown in Codex Bezae.

IX. ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Γ

[110] Πολλῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λόγων γιγνομένων
ὀλίγου δεῖν καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἐκκλησίαν περὶ ὧν
Φίλιππος, ἀφ᾽ οὗ τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιήσατο, οὐ μόνον
ὑμᾶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀδικεῖ, καὶ πάντων
οἶδ᾽ ὅτι φησάντων γ᾽ ἄν, εἰ καὶ μὴ ποιοῦσι τοῦτο,
καὶ λέγειν δεῖν καὶ πράττειν ὅπως ἐκεῖνος παύσεται
τῆς ὕβρεως καὶ δίκην δώσει, εἰς τοῦθ᾽ ὑπηγμένα
πάντα τὰ πράγματα καὶ προειμέν᾽ ὁρῶ, ὥστε—
δέδοικα μὴ βλάσφημον μὲν εἰπεῖν, ἀληθὲς δ᾽ ᾖ—εἰ
καὶ λέγειν ἅπαντες ἐβούλονθ᾽ οἱ παριόντες καὶ
χειροτονεῖν ὑμεῖς ἐξ ὧν ὡς φαυλότατ᾽ ἔμελλε τὰ
πράγμαθ᾽ ἕξειν, οὐκ ἂν ἡγοῦμαι δύνασθαι χεῖρον
2 ἢ νῦν διατεθῆναι. πολλὰ μὲν οὖν ἴσως ἐστὶν αἴτια
τούτων, καὶ οὐ παρ᾽ ἓν οὐδὲ δύ᾽ εἰς τοῦτο τὰ
πράγματ᾽ ἀφῖκται, μάλιστα δ᾽, ἄνπερ ἐξετάζητ᾽
ὀρθῶς, εὑρήσετε διὰ τοὺς χαρίζεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ
βέλτιστα λέγειν προαιρουμένους· ὧν τινες μέν, ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν οἷς εὐδοκιμοῦσιν αὐτοὶ καὶ
δύνανται, ταῦτα φυλάττοντες οὐδεμίαν περὶ τῶν
μελλόντων πρόνοιαν ἔχουσιν, [οὐκοῦν οὐδ᾽ ὑμᾶς οἴονται
δεῖν ἔχειν,] ἕτεροι δὲ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὄντας
αἰτιώμενοι καὶ διαβάλλοντες οὐδὲν ἄλλο ποιοῦσιν

IX. THIRD PHILIPPIC

Many speeches are delivered, men of Athens, at almost every meeting of the Assembly, about the wrongs that Philip has been committing, ever since the conclusion of peace, not only against you but also against the other states, and all the speakers would, I am sure, admit in theory, though they do not put it in practice, that the object both of our words and deeds must be to check and chastise his arrogance ; yet I perceive that all our interests have been so completely betrayed and sacrificed, that—I am afraid it is an ominous thing to say, but yet the truth—even if all who address you had wanted to propose, and all of you had wanted to pass, measures that were bound to bring our affairs into the worst possible plight, I do not think they could have been in a worse condition than they are to-day. Perhaps, indeed, this condition of our affairs may be attributed to many causes and not just to one or two, but a careful examination will convince you that it is above all due to those who study to win your favour rather than to give you the best advice. Some of them, Athenians, interested in maintaining a system which brings them credit and influence, have no thought for the future [and therefore think you should have none either] ; while others, by blaming and traducing those in authority, make it their sole

[111] ἢ ὅπως ἡ πόλις αὐτὴ παρ᾽ αὑτῆς δίκην λήψεται
καὶ περὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἔσται, Φιλίππῳ δ᾽ ἐξέσται καὶ
3 λέγειν καὶ πράττειν ὅ τι βούλεται. αἱ δὲ τοιαῦται
πολιτεῖαι συνήθεις μέν εἰσιν ὑμῖν, αἴτιαι δὲ τῶν
κακῶν. ἀξιῶ δ᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἄν τι τῶν
ἀληθῶν μετὰ παρρησίας λέγω, μηδεμίαν μοι
διὰ τοῦτο παρ᾽ ὑμῶν ὀργὴν γενέσθαι. σκοπεῖτε
γὰρ ὡδί· ὑμεῖς τὴν παρρησίαν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων
οὕτω κοινὴν οἴεσθε δεῖν εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ
πόλει, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ξένοις καὶ τοῖς δούλοις αὐτῆς
μεταδεδώκατε, καὶ πολλοὺς ἄν τις οἰκέτας ἴδοι
παρ᾽ ἡμῖν μετὰ πλείονος ἐξουσίας ὅ τι βούλονται
λέγοντας ἢ πολίτας ἐν ἐνίαις τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων,
ἐκ δὲ τοῦ συμβουλεύειν παντάπασιν ἐξεληλάκατε.
4 εἶθ᾽ ὑμῖν συμβέβηκεν ἐκ τούτου ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις
τρυφᾶν καὶ κολακεύεσθαι πάντα πρὸς
ἡδονὴν ἀκούουσιν, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ τοῖς
γιγνομένοις περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἤδη κινδυνεύειν.
εἰ μὲν οὖν καὶ νῦν οὕτω διάκεισθε, οὐκ ἔχω τί
λέγω· εἰ δ᾽ ἃ συμφέρει χωρὶς κολακείας ἐθελήσετ᾽
ἀκούειν, ἕτοιμος λέγειν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ πάνυ φαύλως
τὰ πράγματ᾽ ἔχει καὶ πολλὰ προεῖται, ὅμως ἔστιν,
ἐὰν ὑμεῖς τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν βούλησθε, ἔτι πάντα
5 ταῦτ᾽ ἐπανορθώσασθαι. καὶ παράδοξον μὲν ἴσως
ἐστὶν ὃ μέλλω λέγειν, ἀληθὲς δέ· τὸ χείριστον ἐν
τοῖς παρεληλυθόσι, τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα βέλτιστον
ὑπάρχει. τί οὖν ἐστι τοῦτο; ὅτι οὔτε
μικρὸν οὔτε μέγ᾽ οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων ποιούντων
ὑμῶν κακῶς τὰ πράγματ᾽ ἔχει, ἐπεί τοι, εἰ πάνθ᾽
[112] ἃ προσῆκε πραττόντων οὕτω διέκειτο, οὐδ᾽ ἂν
ἐλπὶς ἦν αὐτὰ γενέσθαι βελτίω. νῦν δὲ τῆς
ῥᾳθυμίας τῆς ὑμετέρας καὶ τῆς ἀμελείας κεκράτηκε

aim that our city shall concentrate her attention on punishing her own citizens, while Philip shall be free to say and do whatever he pleases. But such methods of dealing with public affairs, familiar though they are to you, are the cause of your calamities. I claim for myself, Athenians, that if I utter some home-truths with freedom, I shall not thereby incur your displeasure. For look at it in this way. In other matters you think it so necessary to grant general freedom of speech to everyone in Athens that you even allow aliens and slaves to share in the privilege, and many menials may be observed among you speaking their minds with more liberty than citizens enjoy in other states; but from your deliberations you have banished it utterly. Hence the result is that in the Assembly your self-complacency is flattered by hearing none but pleasant speeches, but your policy and your practice are already involving you in the gravest peril. Therefore, if such is your temper now, I have nothing to say; but if, apart from flattery, you are willing to hear something to your advantage, I am ready to speak. For though the state of our affairs is in every way deplorable, and though much has been sacrificed, nevertheless it is possible, if you choose to do your duty, that all may yet be repaired. And what I am going to say may perhaps seem a paradox, but it is true. The worst feature of the past is our best hope for the future. What, then, is that feature? It is that your affairs go wrong because you neglect every duty, great or small; since surely, if they were in this plight in spite of your doing all that was required, there would not be even a hope of improvement. But in fact it is your indifference and carelessness

Φίλιππος, τῆς πόλεως δ' οὐ κεκράτηκεν· οὐδ'
ἥττησθ' ὑμεῖς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ κεκίνησθε.

6 [Εἰ μὲν οὖν ἅπαντες ὡμολογοῦμεν Φίλιππον τῇ πόλει
πολεμεῖν καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην παραβαίνειν, οὐδὲν ἄλλ' ἔδει
τὸν παριόντα λέγειν καὶ συμβουλεύειν ἢ ὅπως ἀσφαλέστατα
καὶ ῥᾷστ' αὐτὸν ἀμυνούμεθα· ἐπειδὴ δ' οὕτως
ἀτόπως ἔνιοι διάκεινται, ὥστε πόλεις καταλαμβάνοντος
ἐκείνου καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἔχοντος καὶ πάντας
ἀνθρώπους ἀδικοῦντος ἀνέχεσθαί τινων ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις
λεγόντων πολλάκις ὡς ἡμῶν τινές εἰσιν οἱ ποιοῦντες
τὸν πόλεμον, ἀνάγκη φυλάττεσθαι καὶ διορθοῦσθαι περὶ
7 τούτου· ἔστι γὰρ δέος μήποθ' ὡς ἀμυνούμεθα γράψας τις
καὶ συμβουλεύσας εἰς τὴν αἰτίαν ἐμπέσῃ τοῦ πεποιηκέναι
τὸν πόλεμον. ἐγὼ δὴ τοῦτο πρῶτον ἁπάντων λέγω
καὶ διορίζομαι, εἰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν ἐστι τὸ βουλεύεσθαι περὶ τοῦ
8 πότερον εἰρήνην ἄγειν ἢ πολεμεῖν δεῖ.] Εἰ μὲν οὖν
ἔξεστιν εἰρήνην ἄγειν τῇ πόλει καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῖν
ἐστι τοῦτο, ἵν' ἐντεῦθεν ἄρξωμαι, φήμ' ἔγωγ'
ἄγειν ἡμᾶς δεῖν, καὶ τὸν ταῦτα λέγοντα γράφειν
καὶ πράττειν καὶ μὴ φενακίζειν ἀξιῶ· εἰ δ' ἕτερος
τὰ ὅπλ' ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν ἔχων καὶ δύναμιν πολλὴν
περὶ αὐτὸν τοὔνομα μὲν τὸ τῆς εἰρήνης ὑμῖν προβάλλει,
τοῖς δ' ἔργοις αὐτὸς τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου
χρῆται, τί λοιπὸν ἄλλο πλὴν ἀμύνεσθαι; φάσκειν
δ' εἰρήνην ἄγειν εἰ βούλεσθε, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος, οὐ διαφέρομαι.
9 [113] εἰ δέ τις ταύτην εἰρήνην ὑπολαμβάνει,
ἐξ ἧς ἐκεῖνος πάντα τἆλλα λαβὼν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἥξει,
πρῶτον μὲν μαίνεται, ἔπειτ' ἐκείνῳ παρ' ὑμῶν,
οὐχ ὑμῖν παρ' ἐκείνου τὴν εἰρήνην λέγει· τοῦτο
δ' ἐστὶν ὃ τῶν ἀναλισκομένων χρημάτων πάντων

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[a] Probably the second clause has no connexion with the

that Philip has conquered; your city he has not conquered. Nor have *you* been defeated—no! you have not even made a move.

[If, then, we were all agreed that Philip is at war with Athens and is violating the peace, the only task of a speaker would be to come forward and recommend the safest and easiest method of defence; but since some of you are in such a strange mood that, though Philip is seizing cities, and retaining many of your possessions, and inflicting injury on everybody, you tolerate some speakers who repeatedly assert in the Assembly that the real aggressors are certain of ourselves, we must be on our guard and set this matter right. For there is grave danger that anyone who proposes and urges that we shall defend ourselves may incur the charge of having provoked the war. I therefore first of all state and define this question—whether it is in our power to discuss the alternative of peace or war.][a] If indeed Athens can remain at peace and if the choice rests with us—to take that point first—I personally feel that we are bound to do so; and if anyone says that we can, I call upon him to move a resolution and to do something and to play us no tricks; but if there is another person concerned, with sword in hand and a mighty force at his back, who imposes on you with the name of peace but himself indulges in acts of war, what is left but to defend ourselves? If you choose to follow his example and profess that you are at peace, I raise no objection. But if anyone mistakes for peace an arrangement which will enable Philip, when he has seized everything else, to march upon us, he has taken leave of his senses, and the peace that he talks of is one that you observe towards Philip, but not Philip towards you. That is the advantage which he is purchasing by all his expenditure of money—that he should be at war

first, but is an alternative form of the beginning of the next sentence.

Φίλιππος ὠνεῖται, αὐτὸς μὲν πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν, ὑφ'
ὑμῶν δὲ μὴ πολεμεῖσθαι.

10 Καὶ μὴν εἰ μέχρι τούτου περιμενοῦμεν, ἕως ἂν
ἡμῖν ὁμολογήσῃ πολεμεῖν, πάντων ἐσμὲν εὐηθέ-
στατοι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν αὐτὴν βαδίζῃ
καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ, τοῦτ' ἐρεῖ, εἴπερ οἷς πρὸς τοὺς
11 ἄλλους πεποίηκε δεῖ τεκμαίρεσθαι. τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ
Ὀλυνθίοις, τετταράκοντ' ἀπέχων τῆς πόλεως
στάδια, εἶπεν ὅτι δεῖ δυοῖν θάτερον, ἢ ἐκείνους
ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ μὴ οἰκεῖν ἢ αὐτὸν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, πάντα
τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον, εἴ τις αὐτὸν αἰτιάσαιτό τι τοιοῦ-
τον, ἀγανακτῶν καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπων τοὺς ἀπο-
λογησομένους· τοῦτο δ' εἰς Φωκέας ὡς πρὸς συμ-
μάχους ἐπορεύετο, καὶ πρέσβεις Φωκέων ἦσαν οἳ
παρηκολούθουν αὐτῷ πορευομένῳ, καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν
ἤριζον οἱ πολλοὶ Θηβαίοις οὐ λυσιτελήσειν τὴν
12 ἐκείνου πάροδον. καὶ μὴν καὶ Φερὰς πρῴην ὡς
φίλος καὶ σύμμαχος εἰς Θετταλίαν ἐλθὼν ἔχει
καταλαβών, καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα τοῖς ταλαιπώροις
Ὠρείταις τουτοισὶ ἐπισκεψομένους ἔφη τοὺς στρα-
τιώτας πεπομφέναι κατ' εὔνοιαν· πυνθάνεσθαι γὰρ
αὐτοὺς ὡς νοσοῦσι καὶ στασιάζουσι, συμμάχων
δ' εἶναι καὶ φίλων ἀληθινῶν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις
13 καιροῖς παρεῖναι. εἶτ' οἴεσθ' αὐτόν, οἳ ἐποίησαν
[114] μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν κακόν, μὴ παθεῖν δ' ἐφυλάξαντ' ἂν
ἴσως, τούτους μὲν ἐξαπατᾶν αἱρεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ
προλέγοντα βιάζεσθαι, ὑμῖν δ' ἐκ προρρήσεως

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[a] In July 346, when the Phocians were holding Thermopylae against Philip, the Athenians refused to help them, being misled by Aeschines and Philocrates, who represented

with you, but that you should not be at war with him.

If we are going to wait for him to acknowledge a state of war with us, we are indeed the simplest of mortals; for even if he marches straight against Attica and the Piraeus, he will not admit it, if we may judge from his treatment of the other states. For take the case of the Olynthians; when he was five miles from their city, he told them there must be one of two things, either they must cease to reside in Olynthus, or he in Macedonia, though on all previous occasions, when accused of hostile intentions, he indignantly sent ambassadors to justify his conduct. Again, when he was marching against the Phocians, he still pretended that they were his allies, and Phocian ambassadors accompanied him on his march, and most people here at Athens contended that his passage through Thermopylae [a] would be anything but a gain to the Thebans. And then again quite lately, after entering Thessaly as a friend and ally, he seized Pherae and still retains it; and lastly, he informed those poor wretches, the people of Oreus, that he had sent his soldiers to pay them a visit of sympathy in all goodwill, for he understood that they were suffering from acute internal trouble, and it was the duty of true friends and allies to be at their side on such occasions. And do you imagine that, while in the case of those who could have inflicted no harm, though they might perhaps have protected themselves against it, he preferred to deceive them rather than to crush them after due warning, in your case he will give warning of hos-

that Philip's real hostility was directed against the Thebans. See *De Cor.* 35 and *De Pace* 10.]

πολεμήσειν, καὶ ταῦθ᾽ ἕως ἂν ἑκόντες ἐξαπατᾶσθε;
14 οὐκ ἔστι ταῦτα· καὶ γὰρ ἂν ἀβελτερώτατος εἴη πάντων ἀνθρώπων, εἰ τῶν ἀδικουμένων ὑμῶν μηδὲν ἐγκαλούντων αὐτῷ, ἀλλ᾽ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν τινὰς αἰτιωμένων, ἐκεῖνος ἐκλύσας τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔριν ὑμῶν καὶ φιλονικίαν ἐφ᾽ αὑτὸν προείποι τρέπεσθαι, καὶ τῶν παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ μισθοφορούντων τοὺς λόγους ἀφέλοιτο, οἷς ἀναβάλλουσιν ὑμᾶς, λέγοντες ὡς ἐκεῖνός γ᾽ οὐ πολεμεῖ τῇ πόλει.

15 Ἀλλ᾽ ἔστιν, ὦ πρὸς τοῦ Διός, ὅστις εὖ φρονῶν ἐκ τῶν ὀνομάτων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων τὸν ἄγοντ᾽ εἰρήνην ἢ πολεμοῦνθ᾽ ἑαυτῷ σκέψαιτ᾽ ἄν; οὐδεὶς δήπου. ὁ τοίνυν Φίλιππος ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἄρτι τῆς εἰρήνης γεγονυίας, οὔπω Διοπείθους στρατηγοῦντος οὐδὲ τῶν ὄντων ἐν Χερρονήσῳ νῦν ἀπεσταλμένων, Σέρριον καὶ Δορίσκον ἐλάμβανε καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Σερρείου τείχους καὶ Ἱεροῦ ὄρους στρατιώτας ἐξέβαλλεν, οὓς ὁ ὑμέτερος στρατηγὸς
16 κατέστησεν. καίτοι ταῦτα πράττων τί ἐποίει; εἰρήνην μὲν γὰρ ὠμωμόκει[a]· καὶ μηδεὶς εἴπῃ· "τί δὲ ταῦτ᾽ ἐστίν, ἢ τί τούτων μέλει τῇ πόλει;" εἰ μὲν γὰρ μικρὰ ταῦτ᾽ ἢ μηδὲν ὑμῖν αὐτῶν ἔμελεν, ἄλλος ἂν εἴη λόγος οὗτος· τὸ δ᾽ εὐσεβὲς καὶ τὸ δίκαιον, ἄν τ᾽ ἐπὶ μικροῦ τις ἄν τ᾽ ἐπὶ μείζονος παραβαίνῃ, τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει δύναμιν. φέρε δὴ νῦν, ἡνίκ᾽ εἰς Χερρόνησον, ἣν βασιλεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ὑμετέραν ἐγνώκασιν εἶναι, ξένους εἰσπέμπει καὶ βοηθεῖν ὁμολογεῖ καὶ ἐπιστέλλει ταῦτα, τί ποιεῖ;
17 φησὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐ πολεμεῖν, ἐγὼ δὲ τοσούτου

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[a] Not strictly true; for Philip had not yet taken the oath, though the Athenians had. Hence Blass wished to read εἰρήνη . . . ὠμώμοτο.

tilities, especially when you are so eager to be deceived? Impossible! For indeed he would be the most fatuous man on earth if, when you, his victims, charge him with no crime, but throw the blame on some of your own fellow-citizens, he should compose your mutual differences and jealousies, and invite you to turn them against himself, and should deprive his own hirelings of the excuses with which they put you off, saying that at any rate it is not Philip who is making war on Athens.

But, in heaven's name, is there any intelligent man who would let words rather than deeds decide the question who is at peace and who is at war with him? Surely no one. Now it was Philip who at the very start, as soon as peace was concluded, before Diopithes was appointed general, before the force now in the Chersonese had been dispatched, proceeded to occupy Serrium and Doriscus and expelled from the Fort Serreum and the Sacred Mount the garrison which your own general had posted there. Yet what did that move of his mean? For it was peace that he had sworn [a] to observe; and let no one say, "What of all this? How do any of these things concern Athens?" For whether they were small things, or whether they were no concern of yours, may be another question. But religion and justice, whether a man violates them in a small matter or in a great, have the same importance. Tell me now: when he sends mercenaries to the Chersonese, your claim to which has been recognized by the king of Persia and by all the Greeks, when he admits that he is helping the Cardians and writes to tell you so, what does he mean? For he says that he is not at war, but for my part, so far from admitting that in

[115] δέω ταῦτα ποιοῦντ' ἐκεῖνον ἄγειν ὁμολογεῖν τὴν
πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρήνην, ὥστε καὶ Μεγάρων ἁπτόμενον
καὶ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ τυραννίδα κατασκευάζοντα καὶ
νῦν ἐπὶ Θρᾴκην παριόντα καὶ τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ
σκευωρούμενον καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα πράττει μετὰ τῆς
δυνάμεως ποιοῦντα, λύειν φημὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ
πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς τὰ μηχανήματ'
ἐφιστάντας εἰρήνην ἄγειν φήσετε, ἕως ἂν αὐτὰ τοῖς
τείχεσιν ἤδη προσαγάγωσιν. ἀλλ' οὐ φήσετε· ὁ
γὰρ οἷς ἂν ἐγὼ ληφθείην, ταῦτα πράττων καὶ
κατασκευαζόμενος, οὗτος ἐμοὶ πολεμεῖ, κἂν μήπω
18 βάλλῃ μηδὲ τοξεύῃ. τίσιν οὖν ὑμεῖς κινδυνεύσαιτ'
ἄν, εἴ τι γένοιτο; τῷ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἀλλοτριωθῆναι,
τῷ Μεγάρων καὶ τῆς Εὐβοίας τὸν
πολεμοῦνθ' ὑμῖν γενέσθαι κύριον, τῷ Πελοποννησίους
τἀκείνου φρονῆσαι. εἶτα τὸν τοῦτο τὸ
μηχάνημ' ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἱστάντα, τοῦτον εἰρήνην
19 ἄγειν ἐγὼ φῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ'
ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἀνεῖλε Φωκέας, ἀπὸ ταύτης ἔγωγ'
αὐτὸν πολεμεῖν ὁρίζομαι. ὑμᾶς δ', ἐὰν ἀμύνησθ'
ἤδη, σωφρονήσειν φημί, ἐὰν δ' ἐάσητε, οὐδὲ τοῦθ'
ὅταν βούλησθε δυνήσεσθαι[1] ποιῆσαι. καὶ τοσοῦτόν
γ' ἀφέστηκα τῶν ἄλλων, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν
συμβουλευόντων, ὥστ' οὐδὲ δοκεῖ μοι περὶ Χερρονήσου
20 νῦν σκοπεῖν οὐδὲ Βυζαντίου, ἀλλ' ἐπαμῦναι
μὲν τούτοις, καὶ διατηρῆσαι μή τι πάθωσι,
[καὶ τοῖς οὖσιν ἐκεῖ νῦν στρατιώταις πάνθ' ὅσων
ἂν δέωνται ἀποστεῖλαι,] βουλεύεσθαι μέντοι περὶ
[116] πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς ἐν κινδύνῳ μεγάλῳ
καθεστώτων. βούλομαι δ' εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐξ ὧν
ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων οὕτω φοβοῦμαι, ἵν', εἰ μὲν

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[1] So Reiske: δυνήσεσθε Dindorf with mss.

acting thus he is observing the peace with you, I assert that when he lays hands on Megara, sets up tyrannies in Euboea, makes his way, as now, into Thrace, hatches plots in the Peloponnese, and carries out all these operations with his armed force, he is breaking the peace and making war upon you—unless you are prepared to say that the men who bring up the siege-engines are keeping the peace until they actually bring them to bear on the walls. But you will not admit that; for he who makes and devises the means by which I may be captured is at war with me, even though he has not yet hurled a javelin or shot a bolt. In what then consists your danger, if anything should happen? In the alienation of the Hellespont, in the control of Megara and Euboea by one who is at war with you, and in the defection of the Peloponnesians to his side. And am I still to say that the man who brings this siege-engine to bear on your city is at peace with you? So far from saying that, I date his hostility from the very day when he wiped out the Phocians. I say that you will be wise if you defend yourselves now, but if you let the opportunity pass, you will not be able to act even when you desire to. I so far dissent, Athenians, from all your other counsellors that I do not think you ought to trouble yourselves now about the Chersonese or Byzantium. Help them, if you will, guard them from harm [supply the troops already there with all that they require], but let your deliberations embrace all the Greek states and the great danger that besets them. But I wish to tell you the grounds for my alarm about our condition, so that if my

ὀρθῶς λογίζομαι,[1] μετάσχητε τῶν λογισμῶν καὶ
πρόνοιάν τιν' ὑμῶν γ' αὐτῶν, εἰ μὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
ἄρα βούλεσθε, ποιήσησθε, ἐὰν δὲ ληρεῖν καὶ
τετυφῶσθαι δοκῶ, μήτε νῦν μήτ' αὖθις ὡς
ὑγιαίνοντί μοι προσέχητε.

21 Ὅτι μὲν δὴ μέγας ἐκ μικροῦ καὶ ταπεινοῦ τὸ κατ'
ἀρχὰς Φίλιππος ηὔξηται, καὶ ἀπίστως καὶ στασια-
στικῶς ἔχουσι πρὸς αὑτοὺς οἱ Ἕλληνες, καὶ ὅτι
πολλῷ παραδοξότερον ἦν τοσοῦτον αὐτὸν ἐξ
ἐκείνου γενέσθαι ἢ νῦν, ὅθ' οὕτω πολλὰ προείληφε,
καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὑφ' αὑτῷ ποιήσασθαι, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα
22 τοιαῦτ' ἂν ἔχοιμι διεξελθεῖν, παραλείψω. ἀλλ'
ὁρῶ συγκεχωρηκότας ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους, ἀφ'
ὑμῶν ἀρξαμένους, αὐτῷ, ὑπὲρ οὗ τὸν ἄλλον ἅπαντα
χρόνον πάντες οἱ πόλεμοι γεγόνασιν οἱ Ἑλληνικοί.
τί οὖν ἐστι τοῦτο; τὸ ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλεται, καὶ
καθ' ἕν' οὑτωσὶ περικόπτειν καὶ λωποδυτεῖν τῶν
Ἑλλήνων καὶ καταδουλοῦσθαι τὰς πόλεις ἐπιόντα.
23 καίτοι προστάται μὲν ὑμεῖς ἑβδομήκοντ' ἔτη καὶ
τρία τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐγένεσθε, προστάται δὲ
τριάκονθ' ἑνὸς δέοντα Λακεδαιμόνιοι· ἴσχυσαν δέ
τι καὶ Θηβαῖοι τουτουσὶ τοὺς τελευταίους χρόνους
μετὰ τὴν ἐν Λεύκτροις μάχην. ἀλλ' ὅμως οὔθ'
ὑμῖν οὔτε Θηβαίοις οὔτε Λακεδαιμονίοις οὐδεπώ-
ποτ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, συνεχωρήθη τοῦθ' ὑπὸ
τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλοισθε, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ
24 δεῖ· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὑμῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ τοῖς τότ' οὖσιν
[117] Ἀθηναίοις, ἐπειδή τισιν οὐ μετρίως ἐδόκουν
προσφέρεσθαι, πάντες ᾤοντο δεῖν, καὶ οἱ μηδὲν
ἐγκαλεῖν ἔχοντες αὐτοῖς, μετὰ τῶν ἠδικημένων
πολεμεῖν· καὶ πάλιν Λακεδαιμονίοις ἄρξασι καὶ
παρελθοῦσιν εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν δυναστείαν ὑμῖν, ἐπειδὴ

reasoning is sound, you may adopt it as your own and take forethought for yourselves, even if you refuse to take it for the others also; but if I seem to you a driveller and a dotard, neither now nor at any other time pay any heed to me as if I were in my senses.

As for the fact, then, that Philip rose to greatness from small and humble beginnings, that the Greek states are mutually disloyal and factious, and that the increase of Philip's power in the past was a far greater miracle than the completion of his conquests now that he has already gained so much, these and all such topics on which I might expatiate, I will pass over in silence. I observe, however, that all men, and you first of all, have conceded to him something which has been the occasion of every war that the Greeks have ever waged. And what is that? The power of doing what he likes, of calmly plundering and stripping the Greeks one by one, and of attacking their cities and reducing them to slavery. Yet your hegemony in Greece lasted seventy-five years, that of Sparta twenty-nine, and in these later times Thebes too gained some sort of authority after the battle of Leuctra. But neither to you nor to the Thebans nor to the Lacedaemonians did the Greeks ever yet, men of Athens, concede the right of unrestricted action, or anything like it. On the contrary, when you, or rather the Athenians of that day, were thought to be showing a want of consideration in dealing with others, all felt it their duty, even those who had no grievance against them, to go to war in support of those who had been injured; and again, when the Lacedaemonians had risen to power and succeeded to your position of supremacy, and when they set to

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[1] λογίζωμαι S: ἐὰν . . . λογίζωμαι Dindorf.

πλεονάζειν ἐπεχείρουν καὶ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου τὰ
καθεστηκότ᾽ ἐκίνουν, πάντες εἰς πόλεμον κατέστησαν,
25 καὶ οἱ μηδὲν ἐγκαλοῦντες αὐτοῖς. καὶ τί
δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους λέγειν; ἀλλ᾽ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ καὶ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οὐδὲν ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὅ
τι ἠδικούμεθ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἀλλήλων, ὅμως ὑπὲρ ὧν τοὺς
ἄλλους ἀδικουμένους ἑωρῶμεν, πολεμεῖν ᾠόμεθα
δεῖν. καίτοι πάνθ᾽ ὅσ᾽ ἐξημάρτηται καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις
ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντ᾽ ἐκείνοις ἔτεσι καὶ τοῖς
ἡμετέροις προγόνοις ἐν τοῖς ἑβδομήκοντα, ἐλάττον᾽
ἐστίν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὧν Φίλιππος ἐν τρισὶ
καὶ δέκ᾽ οὐχ ὅλοις ἔτεσιν, οἷς ἐπιπολάζει, ἠδίκηκε
τοὺς Ἕλληνας, μᾶλλον δ᾽ οὐδὲ μέρος[1] τούτων
26 ἐκεῖνα. [καὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἐκ βραχέος λόγου ῥᾴδιον δεῖξαι.]
Ὄλυνθον μὲν δὴ καὶ Μεθώνην καὶ Ἀπολλωνίαν
καὶ δύο καὶ τριάκοντα πόλεις ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης ἐῶ, ἃς
ἁπάσας οὕτως ὠμῶς ἀνῄρηκεν ὥστε μηδ᾽ εἰ πώποτ᾽
ᾠκήθησαν προσελθόντ᾽ εἶναι ῥᾴδιον εἰπεῖν· καὶ τὸ
Φωκέων ἔθνος τοσοῦτον ἀνῃρημένον σιωπῶ. ἀλλὰ
Θετταλία πῶς ἔχει; οὐχὶ τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὰς
πόλεις αὐτῶν παρῄρηται καὶ τετραρχίας κατέστησεν,
ἵνα μὴ μόνον κατὰ πόλεις ἀλλὰ καὶ κατ᾽
27 ἔθνη δουλεύωσιν; αἱ δ᾽ ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πόλεις οὐκ ἤδη
[118] τυραννοῦνται, καὶ ταῦτ᾽ ἐν νήσῳ πλησίον Θηβῶν
καὶ Ἀθηνῶν; οὐ διαρρήδην εἰς τὰς ἐπιστολὰς
γράφει "ἐμοὶ δ᾽ ἐστὶν εἰρήνη πρὸς τοὺς ἀκούειν
ἐμοῦ βουλομένους"; καὶ οὐ γράφει μὲν ταῦτα,
τοῖς δ᾽ ἔργοις οὐ ποιεῖ, ἀλλ᾽ ἐφ᾽ Ἑλλήσποντον
οἴχεται, πρότερον ἧκεν ἐπ᾽ Ἀμβρακίαν, Ἦλιν ἔχει

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[1] μέρος O corr. : πέμπτον μ. S^1 : πολλοστὸν μ. Dindorf, vulg.

work to encroach on others and interfered unduly with the established order of things, all the Greeks were up in arms, even those who had no grievance of their own. Why need I refer to the other states? Nay, we ourselves and the Lacedaemonians, though at the outset we could not have specified any wrong at each other's hands, thought it our duty to fight on account of wrongs which we saw the other states suffering. Yet all the faults committed by the Lacedaemonians in those thirty years, and by our ancestors in their seventy years of supremacy, are fewer, men of Athens, than the wrongs which Philip has done to the Greeks in the thirteen incomplete years in which he has been coming to the top—or rather, they are not a fraction of them. [And this is easily proved by a short calculation.] I pass over Olynthus and Methone and Apollonia and the two and thirty cities in or near Thrace, all of which Philip has destroyed so ruthlessly that a traveller would find it hard to say whether they had ever been inhabited. I say nothing of the destruction of the important nation of the Phocians. But how stands the case of the Thessalians? Has he not robbed them of their free constitutions and of their very cities, setting up tetrarchies in order to enslave them, not city by city, but tribe by tribe? Are not tyrannies already established in Euboea, an island, remember, not far from Thebes and Athens? Does he not write explicitly in his letters, "I am at peace with those who are willing to obey me"? And he does not merely write this without putting it into practice; but he is off to the Hellespont, just as before he hurried to Ambracia; in the Peloponnese he occupies the

τηλικαύτην πόλιν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, Μεγάροις
ἐπεβούλευσε πρῴην, οὔθ' ἡ Ἑλλὰς οὔθ' ἡ βάρβαρος
28 τὴν πλεονεξίαν χωρεῖ τἀνθρώπου. καὶ ταῦθ'
ὁρῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἅπαντες καὶ ἀκούοντες οὐ
πέμπομεν πρέσβεις περὶ τούτων πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ
ἀγανακτοῦμεν, οὕτω δὲ κακῶς διακείμεθα καὶ
διορωρύγμεθα κατὰ πόλεις ὥστ' ἄχρι τῆς τήμερον
ἡμέρας οὐδὲν οὔτε τῶν συμφερόντων οὔτε τῶν
δεόντων πρᾶξαι δυνάμεθα, οὐδὲ συστῆναι, οὐδὲ
κοινωνίαν βοηθείας καὶ φιλίας οὐδεμίαν ποιήσασθαι,
29 ἀλλὰ μείζω γιγνόμενον τὸν ἄνθρωπον περιορῶμεν,
τὸν χρόνον κερδᾶναι τοῦτον ὃν ἄλλος ἀπόλλυται
ἕκαστος ἐγνωκώς, ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, οὐχ ὅπως
σωθήσεται τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων σκοπῶν οὐδὲ πράττων,
ἐπεί, ὅτι γ' ὥσπερ περίοδος ἢ καταβολὴ πυρετοῦ ἢ
ἄλλου τινὸς κακοῦ καὶ τῷ πάνυ πόρρω δοκοῦντι νῦν
30 ἀφεστάναι προσέρχεται, οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ. καὶ μὴν
κἀκεῖνό γ' ἴστε, ὅτι ὅσα μὲν ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων
ἢ ὑφ' ἡμῶν ἔπασχον οἱ Ἕλληνες, ἀλλ' οὖν ὑπὸ
γνησίων γ' ὄντων τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἠδικοῦντο, καὶ τὸν
αὐτὸν τρόπον ἄν τις ὑπέλαβε τοῦθ', ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ
υἱὸς ἐν οὐσίᾳ πολλῇ γεγονὼς γνήσιος διῴκει τι μὴ
καλῶς μηδ' ὀρθῶς, κατ' αὐτὸ μὲν τοῦτ' ἄξιον
μέμψεως εἶναι καὶ κατηγορίας, ὡς δ' οὐ προσήκων
[119] ἢ ὡς οὐ κληρονόμος τούτων ὧν ταῦτ' ἐποίει, οὐκ
31 ἐνεῖναι λέγειν. εἰ δέ γε δοῦλος ἢ ὑποβολιμαῖος τὰ
μὴ προσήκοντ' ἀπώλλυε καὶ ἐλυμαίνετο, Ἡράκλεις
ὅσῳ μᾶλλον δεινὸν καὶ ὀργῆς ἄξιον πάντες ἂν
ἔφησαν εἶναι. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου καὶ ὧν
ἐκεῖνος πράττει νῦν, οὐχ οὕτως ἔχουσιν, οὐ μόνον
οὐχ Ἕλληνος ὄντος οὐδὲ προσήκοντος οὐδὲν τοῖς

important city of Elis; only the other day he intrigued against the Megarians. Neither the Greek nor the barbarian world is big enough for the fellow's ambition. And we Greeks see and hear all this, and yet we do not send embassies to one another and express our indignation. We are in such a miserable position, we have so entrenched ourselves in our different cities, that to this very day we can do nothing that our interest or our duty demands; we cannot combine, we cannot take any common pledge of help or friendship; but we idly watch the growing power of this man, each bent (or so it seems to me) on profiting by the interval afforded by another's ruin, taking not a thought, making not an effort for the salvation of Greece. For that Philip, like the recurrence or attack of a fever or some other disease, is threatening even those who think themselves out of reach, of that not one of you is ignorant. Ay, and you know this also, that the wrongs which the Greeks suffered from the Lacedaemonians or from us, they suffered at all events at the hands of true-born sons of Greece, and they might have been regarded as the acts of a legitimate son, born to great possessions, who should be guilty of some fault or error in the management of his estate: so far he would deserve blame and reproach, yet it could not be said that it was not one of the blood, not the lawful heir who was acting thus. But if some slave or supposititious bastard had wasted and squandered what he had no right to, heavens! how much more monstrous and exasperating all would have called it! Yet they have no such qualms about Philip and his present conduct, though he is not only no Greek, nor related to the Greeks, but not even a barbarian from any

Ἕλλησιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ βαρβάρου ἐντεῦθεν ὅθεν καλὸν
εἰπεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀλέθρου Μακεδόνος, ὅθεν οὐδ' ἀνδράποδον
σπουδαῖον οὐδὲν ἦν πρότερον πρίασθαι.
32 Καίτοι τί τῆς ἐσχάτης ὕβρεως ἀπολείπει; οὐ
πρὸς τῷ πόλεις ἀνῃρηκέναι τίθησι μὲν τὰ Πύθια,
τὸν κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀγῶνα, κἂν αὐτὸς μὴ
παρῇ, τοὺς δούλους ἀγωνοθετήσοντας πέμπει;
[κύριος δὲ Πυλῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας παρόδων
ἐστί, καὶ φρουραῖς καὶ ξένοις τοὺς τόπους τούτους κατέχει;
ἔχει δὲ καὶ τὴν προμαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ, παρώσας ἡμᾶς καὶ
Θετταλοὺς καὶ Δωριέας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἀμφικτύονας,
33 ἧς οὐδὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἅπασι μέτεστι;] γράφει δὲ
Θετταλοῖς ὃν χρὴ τρόπον πολιτεύεσθαι; πέμπει
δὲ ξένους τοὺς μὲν εἰς Πορθμόν, τὸν δῆμον
ἐκβαλοῦντας τὸν Ἐρετριέων, τοὺς δ' ἐπ' Ὠρεόν,
τύραννον Φιλιστίδην καταστήσοντας; ἀλλ' ὅμως
ταῦθ' ὁρῶντες οἱ Ἕλληνες ἀνέχονται, καὶ τὸν
αὐτὸν τρόπον ὥσπερ τὴν χάλαζαν ἔμοιγε δοκοῦσι
θεωρεῖν, εὐχόμενοι μὴ καθ' ἑαυτοὺς ἕκαστοι
34 γενέσθαι, κωλύειν δ' οὐδεὶς ἐπιχειρῶν. οὐ μόνον
δ' ἐφ' οἷς ἡ Ἑλλὰς ὑβρίζεται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, οὐδεὶς
ἀμύνεται, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὑπὲρ ὧν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος
ἀδικεῖται· τοῦτο γὰρ ἤδη τοὔσχατόν ἐστιν. οὐ
[120] Κορινθίων ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν ἐλήλυθε καὶ Λευκάδα;
οὐκ Ἀχαιῶν Ναύπακτον ὀμώμοκεν Αἰτωλοῖς παραδώσειν;
οὐχὶ Θηβαίων Ἐχῖνον ἀφῄρηται, καὶ νῦν
35 ἐπὶ Βυζαντίους πορεύεται συμμάχους ὄντας; οὐχ
ἡμῶν, ἐῶ τἄλλα, ἀλλὰ Χερρονήσου τὴν μεγίστην
ἔχει πόλιν Καρδίαν; ταῦτα τοίνυν πάσχοντες

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[a] This translation is justified by *De Cor.* 87. Others "their allies," since the Byzantines are known to have helped the Thebans with money in the Sacred War. (Cauer, *Del. Inscr. Gr.* 353.)

place that can be named with honour, but a pestilent knave from Macedonia, whence it was never yet possible to buy a decent slave.

Yet what is wanting to crown his insolence? Not content with the destruction of cities, is he not organizing the Pythian games, the common festival of the Greeks, and if he cannot be present in person, sending his menials to act as stewards? [Is he not master of Thermopylae and the passes into Greece, holding those places with his garrisons and his mercenaries? Has he not the right of precedence at the Oracle, ousting us and the Thessalians and the Dorians and the rest of the Amphictyons from a privilege which not even all Greek states can claim?] Does he not dictate to the Thessalians their form of government? Does he not send mercenaries, some to Porthmus to expel the Eretrian democracy, others to Oreus to set up the tyranny of Philistides? Yet the Greeks see all this and suffer it. They seem to watch him just as they would watch a hailstorm, each praying that it may not come their way, but none making any effort to stay its course. And it is not only his outrages on Greece that go unavenged, but even the wrongs which each suffers separately. For nothing can go beyond that. Are not the Corinthians hit by his invasion of Ambracia and Leucas? The Achaeans by his vow to transfer Naupactus to the Aetolians? The Thebans by his theft of Echinus? And is he not marching even now against his [a] allies the Byzantines? Of our own possessions, not to mention other places, is he not holding Cardia, the greatest city in the Chersonese? In spite of such treatment,

ἅπαντες μέλλομεν καὶ μαλακιζόμεθα[1] καὶ πρὸς τοὺς
πλησίον βλέπομεν, ἀπιστοῦντες ἀλλήλοις, οὐ τῷ
πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀδικοῦντι. καίτοι τὸν ἅπασιν ἀσελγῶς
οὕτω χρώμενον τί οἴεσθε, ἐπειδὰν καθ' ἕν' ἡμῶν
ἑκάστου κύριος γένηται, τί ποιήσειν;
36 Τί οὖν αἴτιον τουτωνί; οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ λόγου καὶ
δικαίας αἰτίας οὔτε τόθ' οὕτως εἶχον ἑτοίμως πρὸς
ἐλευθερίαν οἱ Ἕλληνες οὔτε νῦν πρὸς τὸ δουλεύειν.
ἦν τι τότ', ἦν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐν ταῖς τῶν
πολλῶν διανοίαις, ὃ νῦν οὐκ ἔστιν, ὃ καὶ τοῦ
Περσῶν ἐκράτησε πλούτου καὶ ἐλευθέραν ἦγε τὴν
Ἑλλάδα καὶ οὔτε ναυμαχίας οὔτε πεζῆς μάχης
οὐδεμιᾶς ἡττᾶτο, νῦν δ' ἀπολωλὸς ἅπαντα λελύμανται
καὶ ἄνω καὶ κάτω πεποίηκε πάντα τὰ
37 πράγματα. τί οὖν ἦν τοῦτο; [οὐδὲν ποικίλον οὐδὲ
σοφόν, ἀλλ' ὅτι] τοὺς παρὰ τῶν ἄρχειν βουλομένων
ἢ διαφθείρειν τὴν Ἑλλάδα χρήματα λαμβάνοντας
ἅπαντες ἐμίσουν, καὶ χαλεπώτατον ἦν τὸ δωροδοκοῦντ'
ἐλεγχθῆναι, καὶ τιμωρίᾳ μεγίστῃ τοῦτον
ἐκόλαζον [καὶ παραίτησις οὐδεμί' ἦν οὐδὲ συγγνώμη].
38 τὸν οὖν καιρὸν ἑκάστου τῶν πραγμάτων, ὃν ἡ
τύχη καὶ τοῖς ἀμελοῦσι κατὰ τῶν προσεχόντων
[καὶ τοῖς μηδὲν ἐθέλουσι ποιεῖν κατὰ τῶν πάνθ' ἃ
[121] προσήκει πραττόντων] πολλάκις παρασκευάζει, οὐκ
ἦν πρίασθαι παρὰ τῶν λεγόντων οὐδὲ τῶν στρατηγούντων,
οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμόνοιαν,
οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τυράννους καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους
39 ἀπιστίαν, οὐδ' ὅλως τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. νῦν δ' ἅπανθ'
ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἐκπέπραται ταῦτα, ἀντεισῆκται
δ' ἀντὶ τούτων ὑφ' ὧν ἀπόλωλε καὶ νενόσηκεν ἡ

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[1] So MSS.: Dindorf with Cobet and many editors has

we hesitate one and all, we play the coward, we keep an eye on our neighbours, distrusting one another rather than our common foe. Yet if he treats us all with such brutality, what do you think he will do when he has got each of us separately into his clutches?

What then is the cause of this? For not without reason, not without just cause, the Greeks of old were as eager for freedom as their descendants to-day are for slavery. There was something, men of Athens, something which animated the mass of the Greeks but which is lacking now, something which triumphed over the wealth of Persia, which upheld the liberties of Hellas, which never lost a single battle by sea or land, something the decay of which has ruined everything and brought our affairs to a state of chaos. And what was that? [It was nothing recondite or subtle, but simply that] men who took bribes from those who wished to rule Greece or ruin her, were hated by all, and it was the greatest calamity to be convicted of receiving a bribe, and such a man was punished with the utmost severity [and no intercession, no pardon was allowed]. At each crisis, therefore, the opportunity for action, with which fortune often equips the careless against the vigilant [and those who shrink from deeds against those who fulfil their duties], could not be bought at a price from our politicians or our generals; no, nor our mutual concord, nor our distrust of tyrants and barbarians, nor, in a word, any such advantage. Now, however, all these things have been sold in open market, and in place of them we have imported vices which have infected Greece with a mortal

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μαλκίομεν (lit. "we are numb"), an ancient variant preserved by Harpocration.

῾Ελλάς. ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐστὶ τί; ζῆλος, εἴ τις εἴληφέ τι·
γέλως, ἂν ὁμολογῇ· [συγγνώμη τοῖς ἐλεγχομένοις·]
μῖσος, ἂν τούτοις τις ἐπιτιμᾷ· τἄλλα πάνθ᾽ ὅσ᾽ ἐκ
40 τοῦ δωροδοκεῖν ἤρτηται. ἐπεὶ τριήρεις γε καὶ
σωμάτων πλῆθος καὶ χρημάτων πρόσοδοι καὶ τῆς
ἄλλης κατασκευῆς ἀφθονία, καὶ τἄλλ᾽ οἷς ἄν τις
ἰσχύειν τὰς πόλεις κρίνοι, νῦν ἅπασι καὶ πλείω καὶ
μείζω ἐστὶ τῶν τότε πολλῷ. ἀλλὰ ταῦτ᾽ ἄχρηστα,
ἄπρακτα, ἀνόνητα ὑπὸ τῶν πωλούντων γίγνεται.

41 Ὅτι δ᾽ οὕτω ταῦτ᾽ ἔχει, τὰ μὲν νῦν ὁρᾶτε δήπου
καὶ οὐδὲν ἐμοῦ προσδεῖσθε μάρτυρος· τὰ δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς
ἄνωθεν χρόνοις ὅτι τἀναντί᾽ εἶχεν ἐγὼ δηλώσω, οὐ
λόγους ἐμαυτοῦ λέγων, ἀλλὰ γράμματα τῶν
προγόνων τῶν ὑμετέρων ἁκεῖνοι κατέθεντ᾽ εἰς
στήλην χαλκῆν γράψαντες εἰς ἀκρόπολιν [οὐχ ἵν᾽
αὐτοῖς ᾖ χρήσιμα (καὶ γὰρ ἄνευ τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων
τὰ δέοντ᾽ ἐφρόνουν), ἀλλ᾽ ἵν᾽ ὑμεῖς ἔχηθ᾽ ὑπομνήματα
καὶ παραδείγματα, ὡς ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιούτων σπουδάζειν
42 προσήκει. τί οὖν λέγει τὰ γράμματα;] “Ἄρθμιος”
φησὶ “Πυθώνακτος Ζελείτης ἄτιμος καὶ πολέμιος
τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν συμμάχων
[122] αὐτὸς καὶ γένος.” εἶθ᾽ ἡ αἰτία γέγραπται, δι᾽
ἣν ταῦτ᾽ ἐγένετο· “ὅτι τὸν χρυσὸν τὸν ἐκ Μήδων
εἰς Πελοπόννησον ἤγαγε.” ταῦτ᾽ ἐστὶ τὰ γράμματα.
43 λογίζεσθε δὴ πρὸς θεῶν, τίς ἦν ποθ᾽ ἡ
διάνοια τῶν Ἀθηναίων τῶν τότε ταῦτα ποιούντων,
ἢ τί τὸ ἀξίωμα. ἐκεῖνοι Ζελείτην τινά, Ἄρθμιον,
δοῦλον βασιλέως (ἡ γὰρ Ζέλειά ἐστι τῆς Ἀσίας),
ὅτι τῷ δεσπότῃ διακονῶν χρυσίον ἤγαγεν εἰς
Πελοπόννησον, οὐκ Ἀθήναζε, ἐχθρὸν αὐτῶν ἀνέγραψαν
καὶ τῶν συμμάχων αὐτὸν καὶ γένος, καὶ

sickness. And what are those vices? Envy of the man who has secured his gains; contempt for him who confesses; [pardon for those who are convicted;] hatred for him who censures such dealings; and every other vice that goes hand in hand with corruption. For war-galleys, men in abundance, money and material without stint, everything by which one might gauge the strength of our cities, these we as a body possess to-day in number and quantity far beyond the Greeks of former times. But all our resources are rendered useless, powerless, worthless by these traffickers.

That this is so, you surely see for yourselves with regard to the present, and you need no evidence of mine, but that it was the opposite in the days of old I will prove, not in my own words, but by the written record of your ancestors, which they engraved on a bronze pillar and set up in the Acropolis. [It was not for their own use, for without these documents their instinct was right; but it was that you might have these examples to remind you that such cases ought to be regarded seriously.] "Arthmius of Zelea," it says, "son of Pythonax, outlaw and enemy of the people of Athens and of their allies, himself and his family." Then is recorded the reason for this punishment: "because he conveyed the gold of the Medes to the Peloponnese." So runs the inscription. I earnestly implore you to consider what was the intention of the Athenians who did this thing, or what was their proud claim. They proscribed as their enemy and the enemy of their allies, disfranchising him and his family, a man of Zelea, one Arthmius, a slave of the Great King (for Zelea is in Asia), because in the service of his master he conveyed gold, not to Athens but to the

44 ἀτίμους. τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν οὐχ ἣν οὑτωσί τις ἂν
φήσειεν ἀτιμίαν· τί γὰρ τῷ Ζελείτῃ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
κοινῶν εἰ μὴ μεθέξειν ἔμελλεν; ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς
φονικοῖς γέγραπται νόμοις, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν μὴ διδῷ
δίκας φόνου δικάσασθαι, [ἀλλ' εὐαγὲς ᾖ τὸ ἀποκτεῖναι,]
“καὶ ἄτιμος” φησὶ “τεθνάτω.” τοῦτο δὴ λέγει,
καθαρὸν τὸν τούτων τιν' ἀποκτείναντ' εἶναι.[1]
45 οὐκοῦν ἐνόμιζον ἐκεῖνοι τῆς πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων
σωτηρίας αὑτοῖς ἐπιμελητέον εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ ἂν
αὐτοῖς ἔμελεν εἴ τις ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τινὰς ὠνεῖται
καὶ διαφθείρει, μὴ τοῦθ' ὑπολαμβάνουσιν· ἐκόλαζον
δ' οὕτω καὶ ἐτιμωροῦνθ' οὓς αἴσθοιντο, ὥστε καὶ
στηλίτας ποιεῖν. ἐκ δὲ τούτων εἰκότως τὰ τῶν
Ἑλλήνων ἦν τῷ βαρβάρῳ φοβερά, οὐχ ὁ βάρβαρος
τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. ἀλλ' οὐ νῦν· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχεθ'
ὑμεῖς οὔτε πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτ' οὔτε πρὸς τἄλλα, ἀλλὰ
46 πῶς; [ἴστ' αὐτοί· τί γὰρ δεῖ περὶ πάντων ὑμῶν κατηγορεῖν;
[123] παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ οὐδὲν βέλτιον ὑμῶν ἅπαντες
οἱ λοιποὶ Ἕλληνες· διόπερ φήμ' ἔγωγε καὶ σπουδῆς
πολλῆς καὶ βουλῆς ἀγαθῆς τὰ παρόντα πράγματα προσδεῖσθαι.
τίνος;] εἴπω κελεύετε; καὶ οὐκ ὀργιεῖσθε;

[ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΙΟΥ ΑΝΑΓΙΓΝΩΣΚΕΙ]

47 Ἔστι τοίνυν τις εὐήθης λόγος παρὰ τῶν παρα-

[1] Dind. brackets the whole of § 44.

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[a] The occasion of this decree, to which Demosthenes refers in *De Fals. Leg.* 271, is not known. According to Plutarch (*Them.* 6) it was Themistocles who proposed it; but a schol. on Aristides names Cimon. The date in the former case would be before 471; in the latter it would be after 457, and may be connected with the mission of Megabazus to Sparta in 455, mentioned by Thuc. i. 109.

Peloponnese.[a] This was not outlawry as commonly understood; for what mattered it to a native of Zelea if he was to be debarred from a share in the common rights of Athenian citizens? But the statutes relating to murder provide for cases where prosecution for murder is not allowed [but where it is a righteous act to slay the murderer]; "and he shall die an outlaw," says the legislator. This simply means that anyone slaying a member of Arthmius's family would be free from blood-guilt. So our ancestors thought that they were bound to consider the welfare of all Greeks, for except on that assumption bribery and corruption in the Peloponnese would be no concern of theirs; and in chastising and punishing all whom they detected, they went so far as to set the offenders' names on a pillar. The natural result was that the Greek power was dreaded by the barbarian, not the barbarian by the Greeks. But that is no longer so. For that is not your attitude towards these and other offences. What then is your attitude? [You know it yourselves. For why should you bear the whole blame, when all the other Greeks are just as bad as you? That is why I assert that the present crisis calls for earnest zeal and wise counsel. What counsel?] [b] Do you want me to tell you, and will you promise not to be angry?

[*The clerk reads from an official record*] [c]

Now there is a foolish argument advanced by those

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[b] The last two words seem pointless. Perhaps *τίνος;* is the attempt of a scribe to join the longer to the shorter version.

[c] A frank description of the Athenian attitude, which should follow here, has dropped out, and the *lemma*, which is found in S and other good MSS., seems to be a poor attempt to fill the gap. It is difficult to imagine any official document that would be of use to the orator here.

μυθεῖσθαι βουλομένων τὴν πόλιν, ὡς ἄρ' οὔπω
Φίλιππός ἐστιν οἷοί ποτ' ἦσαν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, οἳ
θαλάττης μὲν ἦρχον καὶ γῆς ἁπάσης, βασιλέα δὲ
σύμμαχον εἶχον, ὑφίστατο δ' οὐδὲν αὐτούς· ἀλλ'
ὅμως ἠμύνατο κἀκείνους ἡ πόλις καὶ οὐκ ἀνηρπάσθη.
ἐγὼ δ' ἁπάντων ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν πολλὴν
εἰληφότων ἐπίδοσιν, καὶ οὐδὲν ὁμοίων ὄντων τῶν
νῦν τοῖς πρότερον, οὐδὲν ἡγοῦμαι πλέον ἢ τὰ τοῦ
48 πολέμου κεκινῆσθαι καὶ ἐπιδεδωκέναι. πρῶτον
μὲν γὰρ ἀκούω Λακεδαιμονίους τότε καὶ πάντας
τοὺς ἄλλους τέτταρας μῆνας ἢ πέντε, τὴν ὡραίαν
αὐτήν, ἐμβαλόντας ἂν καὶ κακώσαντας τὴν χώραν
ὁπλίταις καὶ πολιτικοῖς στρατεύμασιν ἀναχωρεῖν
ἐπ' οἴκου πάλιν· οὕτω δ' ἀρχαίως εἶχον, μᾶλλον δὲ
πολιτικῶς, ὥστ' οὐδὲ χρημάτων ὠνεῖσθαι παρ'
οὐδενὸς οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εἶναι νόμιμόν τινα καὶ προφανῆ
49 τὸν πόλεμον. νυνὶ δ' ὁρᾶτε μὲν δήπου τὰ πλεῖστα
τοὺς προδότας ἀπολωλεκότας, οὐδὲν δ' ἐκ παρατάξεως
οὐδὲ μάχης γιγνόμενον· ἀκούετε δὲ Φίλιππον
οὐχὶ τῷ φάλαγγ' ὁπλιτῶν ἄγειν βαδίζονθ' ὅποι
βούλεται, ἀλλὰ τῷ ψιλούς, ἱππέας, τοξότας,
50 ξένους, τοιοῦτον ἐξηρτῆσθαι στρατόπεδον. ἐπειδὰν
[124] δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις πρὸς νοσοῦντας ἐν αὑτοῖς προσπέσῃ
καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας δι' ἀπιστίαν ἐξίῃ,
μηχανήματ' ἐπιστήσας πολιορκεῖ. καὶ σιωπῶ
θέρος καὶ χειμῶνα, ὡς οὐδὲν διαφέρει, οὐδ' ἐστὶν
51 ἐξαίρετος ὥρα τις ἣν διαλείπει. ταῦτα μέντοι
πάντας εἰδότας καὶ λογιζομένους οὐ δεῖ προσέσθαι

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[a] The Greek means true to the spirit of a free, constitutional state. Aristotle describes the πολιτικὸν πλῆθος as one which is "naturally warlike and qualified to rule or be ruled according to laws which distribute offices by merit" (*Pol.* iii. 17. 4).

who want to beguile the citizens. Philip, they say, after all is not yet what the Lacedaemonians were; they were masters of every sea and land; they enjoyed the alliance of the king of Persia; nothing could stand against them: and yet our city defended itself even against them and was not overwhelmed. But for my own part, while practically all the arts have made a great advance and we are living to-day in a very different world from the old one, I consider that nothing has been more revolutionized and improved than the art of war. For in the first place I am informed that in those days the Lacedaemonians, like everyone else, would spend the four or five months of the summer "season" in invading and laying waste the enemy's territory with heavy infantry and levies of citizens, and would then retire home again; and they were so old-fashioned, or rather such good citizens,[a] that they never used money to buy an advantage from anyone, but their fighting was of the fair and open kind. But now you must surely see that most disasters are due to traitors, and none are the result of a regular pitched battle. On the other hand you hear of Philip marching unchecked, not because he leads a phalanx of heavy infantry, but because he is accompanied by skirmishers, cavalry, archers, mercenaries, and similar troops. When, relying on this force, he attacks some people that is at variance with itself, and when through distrust no one goes forth to fight for his country, then he brings up his artillery and lays siege. I need hardly tell you that he makes no difference between summer and winter and has no season set apart for inaction. Since, however, you all know this, you must take it into account and not

τὸν πόλεμον εἰς τὴν χώραν, οὐδ' εἰς τὴν εὐήθειαν
τὴν τοῦ τότε πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους πολέμου βλέποντας
ἐκτραχηλισθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ πλείστου φυλάττεσθαι
τοῖς πράγμασι καὶ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς, ὅπως
οἴκοθεν μὴ κινήσεται σκοποῦντας, οὐχὶ συμπλακέντας
52 διαγωνίζεσθαι. πρὸς μὲν γὰρ πόλεμον
πολλὰ φύσει πλεονεκτήμαθ' ἡμῖν ὑπάρχει, ἄν περ,
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ποιεῖν ἐθέλωμεν ἃ δεῖ, ἡ φύσις
τῆς ἐκείνου χώρας, ἧς ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν ἔστιν
πολλὴν καὶ κακῶς ποιεῖν, ἄλλα μυρία· εἰς δ' ἀγῶν'
ἄμεινον ἡμῶν ἐκεῖνος ἤσκηται.

53 Οὐ μόνον δὲ δεῖ ταῦτα γιγνώσκειν, οὐδὲ τοῖς
ἔργοις ἐκεῖνον ἀμύνεσθαι τοῖς τοῦ πολέμου, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ τῇ διανοίᾳ τοὺς παρ' ὑμῖν ὑπὲρ
αὐτοῦ λέγοντας μισῆσαι, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι οὐκ
ἔνεστι τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρῶν κρατῆσαι, πρὶν ἂν
τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει κολάσηθ' ὑπηρετοῦντας
54 ἐκείνοις. ὃ μὰ τὸν Δία καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς οὐ
δυνήσεσθ' ὑμεῖς ποιῆσαι, ἀλλ' εἰς τοῦτ' ἀφῖχθε
μωρίας ἢ παρανοίας ἢ—οὐκ ἔχω τί λέγω (πολλάκις
γὰρ ἔμοιγ' ἐπελήλυθε καὶ τοῦτο φοβεῖσθαι, μή τι
δαιμόνιον τὰ πράγματ' ἐλαύνῃ), ὥστε λοιδορίας,
φθόνου, σκώμματος, ἧστινος ἂν τύχηθ' ἕνεκ' αἰτίας
ἀνθρώπους μισθωτούς, ὧν οὐδ' ἂν ἀρνηθεῖεν ἔνιοι
[125] ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ τοιοῦτοι, λέγειν κελεύετε, καὶ γελᾶτε,
55 ἄν τισι λοιδορηθῶσιν. καὶ οὐχί πω τοῦτο δεινόν,
καίπερ ὂν δεινόν· ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ πλείονος ἀσφαλείας
πολιτεύεσθαι δεδώκατε τούτοις ἢ τοῖς ὑπὲρ

let the war pass into your own country; you must not come to grief through keeping your eyes fixed on the simple strategy of your old war with the Lacedaemonians, but arrange your political affairs and your military preparations so that your line of defence may be as far away from Athens as possible, give him no chance of stirring from his base, and never come to close grips with him. For so far as a campaign is concerned, provided, men of Athens, we are willing to do what is necessary, we have many natural advantages, such as the nature of his territory, much of which may be harried and devastated, and countless others; but for a pitched battle he is in better training than we are.

But it is not enough to adopt these suggestions, nor even to oppose him with active military measures, but both from calculation and on principle you must show your hatred of those who speak publicly on his behalf; and you must reflect that it is impossible to defeat the enemies of our city until you have chastised those who within our very walls make themselves their servants. And that, as all Heaven is my witness, *you* will never be able to do; but you have reached such a height of folly or of madness or—I know not what to call it, for this fear too has often haunted me, that some demon is driving you to your doom, that from love of calumny or envy or ribaldry, or whatever your motive may be, you clamour for a speech from these hirelings, some of whom would not even disclaim that title, and you derive amusement from their vituperations. This is serious enough, but there is worse to follow; for you have granted to these men more security for the pursuance of their policy than to your own defenders.

ὑμῶν λέγουσιν. καίτοι θεάσασθ' ὅσας συμφορὰς παρασκευάζει τὸ τῶν τοιούτων ἐθέλειν ἀκροᾶσθαι. λέξω δ' ἔργ' ἃ πάντες εἴσεσθε.

56 Ἦσαν ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πράγμασι τινὲς μὲν Φιλίππου καὶ πάνθ' ὑπηρετοῦντες ἐκείνῳ, τινὲς δ' οἱ τοῦ βελτίστου καὶ ὅπως μὴ δουλεύσουσιν οἱ πολῖται πράττοντες. πότεροι δὴ τὴν πατρίδ' ἐξώλεσαν; ἢ πότεροι τοὺς ἱππέας προὔδοσαν, ὧν προδοθέντων Ὄλυνθος ἀπώλετο; οἱ τὰ Φιλίππου φρονοῦντες καί, ὅτ' ἦν ἡ πόλις, τοὺς τὰ βέλτιστα λέγοντας συκοφαντοῦντες καὶ διαβάλλοντες οὕτως, ὥστε τόν γ' Ἀπολλωνίδην καὶ ἐκβαλεῖν ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ὀλυνθίων ἐπείσθη.

57 Οὐ τοίνυν παρὰ τούτοις μόνον τὸ ἔθος τοῦτο πάντα κάκ' εἰργάσατο, ἄλλοθι δ' οὐδαμοῦ· ἀλλ' ἐν Ἐρετρίᾳ, ἐπειδὴ ἀπαλλαγέντος Πλουτάρχου καὶ τῶν ξένων ὁ δῆμος εἶχε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὸν Πορθμόν, οἱ μὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἦγον τὰ πράγματα, οἱ δ' ἐπὶ Φίλιππον. ἀκούοντες δὲ τούτων τὰ πολλά, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ πάνθ' οἱ ταλαίπωροι καὶ δυστυχεῖς Ἐρετριεῖς τελευτῶντες ἐπείσθησαν τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν λέγοντας

58 ἐκβάλλειν. καὶ γάρ τοι πέμψας Ἱππόνικον ὁ σύμμαχος αὐτοῖς Φίλιππος καὶ ξένους χιλίους, τὰ τείχη περιεῖλε τοῦ Πορθμοῦ καὶ τρεῖς κατέστησε τυράννους, Ἵππαρχον, Αὐτομέδοντα, Κλείταρχον· καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐξελήλακεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας δὶς ἤδη [126] βουλομένους σῴζεσθαι, [τότε μὲν πέμψας τοὺς μετ' Εὐρυλόχου ξένους, πάλιν δὲ τοὺς μετὰ Παρμενίωνος].

59 Καὶ τί δεῖ τὰ πολλὰ λέγειν; ἀλλ' ἐν Ὠρεῷ Φιλιστίδης μὲν ἔπραττε Φιλίππῳ καὶ Μένιππος

Yet mark what troubles are in store for those who lend an ear to such counsellors. I will mention some facts which will be familiar to you all.

At Olynthus there were two parties in the state: Philip's men, entirely subservient to him, and the patriots, striving to preserve the freedom of their countrymen. Which, pray, ruined their country? Which betrayed the cavalry, whose betrayal sealed the doom of Olynthus? The partisans of Philip; the men who, when the city was still standing, tried to defame and slander the patriotic statesmen, until the Olynthian democracy was actually induced to expel Apollonides.[a]

Now it was not at Olynthus only that this habit produced every kind of evil result; but at Eretria, when the democrats, ridding themselves of Plutarchus and his mercenaries, held the city together with Porthmus, some of them were for handing the government over to you, others to Philip. The latter on most points, or rather on all, gained the ear of the sorely tried and ill-starred Eretrians, and at last persuaded them to expel their real champions. For of course Philip, whom they fancied their ally, sent Hipponicus with a thousand mercenaries, razed the walls of Porthmus, and set up three tyrants, Hipparchus, Automedon, and Clitarchus. Twice since then they have tried to deliver themselves, and twice he has driven them from their homes [on the first occasion sending Eurylochus with his mercenaries, on the second Parmenio].

And what need is there to mention most of the cases? But at Oreus Philistides, Menippus, Socrates,

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[a] The democratic leader, afterwards honoured with the citizenship of Athens.

καὶ Σωκράτης καὶ Θόας καὶ Ἀγαπαῖος, οἵπερ νῦν
ἔχουσι τὴν πόλιν (καὶ ταῦτ᾿ ᾔδεσαν ἅπαντες),
Εὐφραῖος δέ τις ἄνθρωπος καὶ παρ᾿ ἡμῖν ποτ᾿
ἐνθάδ᾿ οἰκήσας, ὅπως ἐλεύθεροι καὶ μηδενὸς δοῦλοι
60 ἔσονται. οὗτος τὰ μὲν ἄλλ᾿ ὡς ὑβρίζετο καὶ
προὐπηλακίζεθ᾿ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου, πόλλ᾿ ἂν εἴη λέγειν·
ἐνιαυτῷ δὲ πρότερον τῆς ἁλώσεως ἐνέδειξεν ὡς
προδότην τὸν Φιλιστίδην καὶ τοὺς μετ᾿ αὐτοῦ,
αἰσθόμενος ἃ πράττουσιν. συστραφέντες δ᾿ ἄνθρωποι
πολλοὶ καὶ χορηγὸν ἔχοντες Φίλιππον καὶ
πρυτανευόμενοι ἀπάγουσι τὸν Εὐφραῖον εἰς τὸ
61 δεσμωτήριον, ὡς συνταράττοντα τὴν πόλιν. ὁρῶν
δὲ ταῦθ᾿ ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ὠρειτῶν, ἀντὶ τοῦ τῷ μὲν
βοηθεῖν, τοὺς δ᾿ ἀποτυμπανίσαι, τοῖς μὲν οὐκ
ὠργίζετο, τὸν δ᾿ ἐπιτήδειον ταῦτα παθεῖν ἔφη καὶ
ἐπέχαιρεν. μετὰ ταῦθ᾿ οἱ μὲν ἐπ᾿ ἐξουσίας ὁπόσης
ἐβούλοντ᾿ ἔπραττον ὅπως ἡ πόλις ληφθήσεται, καὶ
κατεσκευάζοντο τὴν πρᾶξιν· τῶν δὲ πολλῶν εἴ τις
αἴσθοιτο, ἐσίγα καὶ κατεπέπληκτο, τὸν Εὐφραῖον
οἷ᾿ ἔπαθε μεμνημένοι. οὕτω δ᾿ ἀθλίως διέκειντο,
ὥστ᾿ οὐ πρότερον ἐτόλμησεν οὐδεὶς τοιούτου κακοῦ
προσιόντος ῥῆξαι φωνήν, πρὶν διασκευασάμενοι
πρὸς τὰ τείχη προσῄεσαν οἱ πολέμιοι· τηνικαῦτα
62 δ᾿ οἱ μὲν ἠμύνοντο, οἱ δὲ προὐδίδοσαν. τῆς
πόλεως δ᾿ οὕτως ἁλούσης αἰσχρῶς καὶ κακῶς οἱ
[127] μὲν ἄρχουσι καὶ τυραννοῦσι, τοὺς τότε σῴζοντας
ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τὸν Εὐφραῖον ἑτοίμους ὁτιοῦν ποιεῖν
ὄντας τοὺς μὲν ἐκβαλόντες, τοὺς δ᾿ ἀποκτείναντες,
ὁ δ᾿ Εὐφραῖος ἐκεῖνος ἀπέσφαξεν ἑαυτόν, ἔργῳ
μαρτυρήσας ὅτι καὶ δικαίως καὶ καθαρῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν
πολιτῶν ἀνθειστήκει Φιλίππῳ.

Thoas, and Agapaeus, the very men who now control the city, were, as everyone knew, Philip's agents, but Euphraeus, a man who once resided here at Athens, was working for the freedom and emancipation of his countrymen. It would be a long story to tell you how this man was repeatedly outraged and insulted by the people; but a year before the capture of Eretria, detecting the machinations of Philistides and his party, he denounced him as a traitor. Then a number of fellows banded together, with Philip for their paymaster and managing director, and dragged Euphraeus off to prison for setting the city in an uproar. When the democrats of Oreus saw this, instead of rescuing him and knocking the others on the head, they showed no resentment against them and gloated over Euphraeus, saying that he deserved all he had got. Then having all the liberty of action they desired, they intrigued for the capture of the city and prepared to carry out their plot, while any of the common folk who saw what they were at were terrorized into silence, having the fate of Euphraeus before their eyes. And so abject was their condition that, with this danger looming ahead, no one dared to breathe a syllable until the enemy, having completed their preparations, were approaching the gates; and then some were for defence, the others for surrender. But since that base and shameful capture of the city, the latter have been its rulers and tyrants; those who sheltered them before, and had been ready to take any measures against Euphraeus, were rewarded with banishment or death; and the noble Euphraeus slew himself, giving thus a practical proof of the honesty and disinterested patriotism of his opposition to Philip.

63 Τί οὖν ποτ' αἴτιον, θαυμάζετ' ἴσως, τὸ καὶ τοὺς
Ὀλυνθίους καὶ τοὺς Ἐρετριέας καὶ τοὺς Ὠρείτας
ἥδιον πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου λέγοντας ἔχειν ἢ
τοὺς ὑπὲρ αὑτῶν; ὅπερ καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν, ὅτι τοῖς
μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ βελτίστου λέγουσιν οὐδὲ βουλομένοις
ἔνεστιν ἐνίοτε πρὸς χάριν οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν· τὰ γὰρ
πράγματ' ἀνάγκη σκοπεῖν ὅπως σωθήσεται· οἱ δ'
ἐν αὐτοῖς οἷς χαρίζονται Φιλίππῳ συμπράττουσιν.
64 εἰσφέρειν ἐκέλευον, οἱ δ' οὐδὲν δεῖν ἔφασαν·
πολεμεῖν καὶ μὴ πιστεύειν, οἱ δ' ἄγειν εἰρήνην,
ἕως ἐγκατελήφθησαν. τἄλλα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον
οἶμαι πάνθ', ἵνα μὴ καθ' ἕκαστα λέγω· οἱ μὲν ἐφ'
οἷς χαριοῦνται, ταῦτ' ἔλεγον, οἱ δ' ἐξ ὧν ἔμελλον
σωθήσεσθαι. πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τὰ τελευταῖα οὐχ
οὕτως οὔτε πρὸς χάριν οὔτε δι' ἄγνοιαν οἱ πολλοὶ
προσίεντο, ἀλλ' ὑποκατακλινόμενοι, ἐπειδὴ τοῖς
65 ὅλοις ἡττᾶσθαι ἐνόμιζον. ὃ νὴ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν
Ἀπόλλω δέδοικ' ἐγὼ μὴ πάθηθ' ὑμεῖς, ἐπειδὰν
εἰδῆτ' ἐκλογιζόμενοι μηδὲν ὑμῖν ἐνόν. καίτοι μὴ
γένοιτο μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ πράγματ'
ἐν τούτῳ· τεθνάναι δὲ μυριάκις κρεῖττον ἢ κολακείᾳ
[128] τι ποιῆσαι Φιλίππου [καὶ προέσθαι τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν
λεγόντων τινάς]. καλήν γ' οἱ πολλοὶ νῦν ἀπειλήφασιν
Ὠρειτῶν χάριν, ὅτι τοῖς Φιλίππου φίλοις
ἐπέτρεψαν αὑτούς, τὸν δ' Εὐφραῖον ἐώθουν·
66 καλήν γ' ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἐρετριέων, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν
ὑμετέρους πρέσβεις ἀπήλασε, Κλειτάρχῳ δ' ἐνέδωκεν
αὑτόν· δουλεύουσί γε μαστιγούμενοι καὶ
σφαττόμενοι. καλῶς Ὀλυνθίων ἐφείσατο τῶν
τὸν μὲν Λασθένην ἵππαρχον χειροτονησάντων, τὸν

Perhaps you wonder why the people of Olynthus and Eretria and Oreus were more favourably inclined to Philip's advocates than to their own. The explanation is the same as at Athens, that the patriots, however much they desire it, cannot sometimes say anything agreeable, for they are obliged to consider the safety of the state ; but the others by their very efforts to be agreeable are playing into Philip's hands. The patriots demanded a war-subsidy, the others denied its necessity ; the patriots bade them fight on and mistrust Philip, the others bade them keep the peace, until they fell into the snare. Not to go into particulars, it is the same tale everywhere, one party speaking to please their audience, the other giving advice that would have ensured their safety. But at the last there were many things that the people were induced to concede, not as before for their own gratification nor through ignorance, but gradually yielding because they thought that their discomfiture was inevitable and complete. And, by Heaven, that is what I certainly fear will be your experience, when you count your chances and discover that there is nothing left for you to do. And yet I pray, Athenians, that such may not be the issue of events. Better to die a thousand times than pay court to Philip [and abandon any of your loyal counsellors]. A fine return the people of Oreus have gained for handing themselves over to Philip's friends and rejecting Euphraeus ! A fine return the democrats of Eretria have gained for spurning your embassy and capitulating to Clitarchus ! They are slaves, doomed to the whipping-post and the scaffold. A fine clemency he showed to the Olynthians, who voted Lasthenes their master of the horse and

67 δ' Ἀπολλωνίδην ἐκβαλόντων. μωρία καὶ κακία
τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἐλπίζειν, καὶ κακῶς βουλευομένους καὶ
μηδὲν ὧν προσήκει ποιεῖν ἐθέλοντας, ἀλλὰ τῶν
ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐχθρῶν λεγόντων ἀκροωμένους, τηλικαύτην
ἡγεῖσθαι πόλιν οἰκεῖν τὸ μέγεθος ὥστε
<μηδέν>,[1] μηδ' ἂν ὁτιοῦν ᾖ, δεινὸν πείσεσθαι.
68 καὶ μὴν ἐκεῖνό γ' αἰσχρόν, ὕστερόν ποτ' εἰπεῖν "τίς
γὰρ ἂν ᾠήθη ταῦτα γενέσθαι; νὴ τὸν Δί', ἔδει
γὰρ τὸ καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι καὶ τὸ μὴ ποιῆσαι." πόλλ'
ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχοιεν Ὀλύνθιοι νῦν, ἃ τότ' εἰ προείδοντο,
οὐκ ἂν ἀπώλοντο· πόλλ' ἂν Ὠρεῖται, πολλὰ Φωκεῖς,
69 πολλὰ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἕκαστοι. ἀλλὰ τί
τούτων ὄφελος αὐτοῖς; ἕως ἂν σῴζηται τὸ
σκάφος, ἄν τε μεῖζον ἄν τ' ἔλαττον ᾖ, τότε χρὴ
καὶ ναύτην καὶ κυβερνήτην καὶ πάντ' ἄνδρ' ἑξῆς
προθύμους εἶναι, καὶ ὅπως μήθ' ἑκὼν μήτ' ἄκων
μηδεὶς ἀνατρέψει, τοῦτο σκοπεῖσθαι· ἐπειδὰν δ' ἡ
70 θάλαττα ὑπέρσχῃ, μάταιος ἡ σπουδή. καὶ ἡμεῖς
τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἕως ἐσμὲν σῷοι,
πόλιν μεγίστην ἔχοντες, ἀφορμὰς πλείστας, ἀξίωμα
κάλλιστον, τί ποιῶμεν; πάλαι τις ἡδέως ἂν ἴσως
[129] ἐρωτήσας κάθηται. ἐγὼ νὴ Δί' ἐρῶ, καὶ γράψω
δέ, ὥστ' ἂν βούλησθε χειροτονήσετε. αὐτοὶ πρῶτον
ἀμυνόμενοι καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι, τριήρεσι
καὶ χρήμασι καὶ στρατιώταις λέγω· καὶ γὰρ ἂν
ἅπαντες δήπου δουλεύειν συγχωρήσωσιν οἱ ἄλλοι,
71 ἡμῖν γ' ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀγωνιστέον· ταῦτα
δὴ πάντ' αὐτοὶ παρεσκευασμένοι καὶ ποιήσαντες
φανερὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ἤδη παρακαλῶμεν, καὶ τοὺς
ταῦτα διδάξοντας ἐκπέμπωμεν πρέσβεις [πανταχοῖ,
εἰς Πελοπόννησον, εἰς Ῥόδον, εἰς Χίον, ὡς βασιλέα

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[1] Seager's addition, accepted by Dindorf.

banished Apollonides! It is folly and cowardice to cherish such hopes, to follow ill counsel and refuse to perform any fraction of your duties, to lend an ear to the advocates of your enemies and imagine that your city is so great that no conceivable danger can befall it. Ay, and a disgrace too it is to have to say, when all is over, "Why! who would have thought it? For of course we ought to have done this or that, and not so and so." Many things could be named by the Olynthians to-day, which would have saved them from destruction if only they had then foreseen them. Many could be named by the Orites, many by the Phocians, many by every ruined city. But of what use to them is that? While the vessel is safe, whether it be a large or a small one, then is the time for sailor and helmsman and everyone in his turn to show his zeal and to take care that it is not capsized by anyone's malice or inadvertence; but when the sea has overwhelmed it, zeal is useless. So we too, Athenians, as long as we are safe, blessed with a very great city, ample advantages, and the fairest repute—what are we to do? Perhaps some of my hearers have long been eager to ask that question. I solemnly promise that I will answer it and will also move a resolution, for which you can vote if so disposed. To begin with ourselves, we must make provision for our defence, I mean with war-galleys, funds, and men; for even if all other states succumb to slavery, we surely must fight the battle of liberty. Then having completed all these preparations and made our purpose clear, we must lose no time in calling upon the other Greeks, and we must inform them by sending ambassadors [in every direction, to the Peloponnese, to Rhodes, to Chios, to the Great King

λέγω (οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν ἐκείνῳ συμφερόντων ἀφέστηκε τὸ
μὴ τοῦτον ἐᾶσαι πάντα καταστρέψασθαι),] ἵν' ἐὰν μὲν
πείσητε, κοινωνοὺς ἔχητε καὶ τῶν κινδύνων καὶ
τῶν ἀναλωμάτων, ἄν τι δέῃ, εἰ δὲ μή, χρόνους γ'
72 ἐμποιῆτε τοῖς πράγμασιν. ἐπειδὴ γάρ ἐστι πρὸς
ἄνδρα καὶ οὐχὶ συνεστώσης πόλεως ἰσχὺν ὁ
πόλεμος, οὐδὲ τοῦτ' ἄχρηστον, οὐδ' αἱ πέρυσι
πρεσβεῖαι περὶ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐκεῖναι καὶ
κατηγορίαι, ἃς ἐγὼ καὶ Πολύευκτος ὁ βέλτιστος
ἐκεινοσὶ καὶ Ἡγήσιππος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πρέσβεις
περιήλθομεν, καὶ ἐποιήσαμεν ἐπισχεῖν ἐκεῖνον καὶ
μήτ' ἐπ' Ἀμβρακίαν ἐλθεῖν μήτ' εἰς Πελοπόννησον
73 ὁρμῆσαι. οὐ μέντοι λέγω μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ
αὑτῶν ἀναγκαῖον ἐθέλοντας ποιεῖν, τοὺς ἄλλους
παρακαλεῖν· καὶ γὰρ εὔηθες τὰ οἰκεῖ' αὐτοὺς
προϊεμένους τῶν ἀλλοτρίων φάσκειν κήδεσθαι, καὶ
τὰ παρόντα περιορῶντας ὑπὲρ τῶν μελλόντων
τοὺς ἄλλους φοβεῖν. οὐ λέγω ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ τοῖς
μὲν ἐν Χερρονήσῳ χρήματ' ἀποστέλλειν φημὶ δεῖν
καὶ τἄλλ' ὅσ' ἀξιοῦσι ποιεῖν, αὐτοὺς δὲ παρασκευάζεσθαι,
[130] τοὺς δ' ἄλλους Ἕλληνας συγκαλεῖν,
συνάγειν, διδάσκειν, νουθετεῖν· ταῦτ' ἐστὶ πόλεως
74 ἀξίωμ' ἐχούσης ἡλίκον ὑμῖν ὑπάρχει. εἰ δ'
οἴεσθε Χαλκιδέας τὴν Ἑλλάδα σώσειν ἢ Μεγαρέας,
ὑμεῖς δ' ἀποδράσεσθαι τὰ πράγματα, οὐκ ὀρθῶς
οἴεσθε· ἀγαπητὸν γὰρ ἐὰν αὐτοὶ σῴζωνται τούτων
ἕκαστοι. ἀλλ' ὑμῖν τοῦτο πρακτέον· ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι
τοῦτο τὸ γέρας ἐκτήσαντο καὶ κατέλιπον
75 μετὰ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κινδύνων. εἰ δ' ὃ
βούλεται ζητῶν ἕκαστος καθεδεῖται, καὶ ὅπως

—for even his interests are not unaffected if we prevent Philip from subduing the whole country—] so that if you win them over, you may have someone to share your dangers and your expenses when the time comes, or if not, that you may at least delay the course of events. For since the war is against an individual and not against the might of an organized community, even delay is not without its use; nor were those embassies useless which you sent round the Peloponnese last year to denounce Philip, when I and our good friend Polyeuctus here and Hegesippus and the rest went from city to city and succeeded in checking him, so that he never invaded Ambracia nor even started against the Peloponnese. I do not, however, suggest that you should invite the rest, unless you are ready to do for yourselves what is necessary; for it would be futile to abandon our own interests and pretend that we are protecting those of others, or to overlook the present dangers and alarm our neighbours with dangers to come. That is not my meaning. But I do contend that we must send supplies to the forces in the Chersonese and satisfy all their demands, and while we make preparations ourselves, we must summon, collect, instruct, and exhort the rest of the Greeks. That is the duty of a city with a reputation such as yours enjoys. But if you imagine that Greece will be saved by Chalcidians or Megarians, while you run away from the task, you are wrong. For they may think themselves lucky if they can save themselves separately. But this is a task for you; it was for you that your ancestors won this proud privilege and bequeathed it to you at great and manifold risk. But if every man sits idle, consulting his own pleasure and careful

μηδὲν αὐτὸς ποιήσει σκοπῶν, πρῶτον μὲν οὐδὲ μή ποθ᾽ εὕρῃ τοὺς ποιήσοντας, ἔπειτα δέδοιχ᾽ ὅπως μὴ πάνθ᾽ ἅμ᾽ ὅσ᾽ οὐ βουλόμεθα ποιεῖν ἡμῖν ἀνάγκη γενήσεται.

76 Ἐγὼ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα λέγω, ταῦτα γράφω· καὶ οἴομαι καὶ νῦν ἔτ᾽ ἐπανορθωθῆναι ἂν τὰ πράγματα τούτων γιγνομένων. εἰ δέ τις ἔχει τι τούτων βέλτιον, λεγέτω καὶ συμβουλευέτω. ὅ τι δ᾽ ὑμῖν δόξει, τοῦτ᾽, ὦ πάντες θεοί, συνενέγκοι.

to avoid his own duty, not only will he find no one to do it for him, but I fear that those duties that we wish to shirk may all be forced upon us at once.

These are my views and these are my proposals, and if they are carried out, I believe that even now we may retrieve our fortunes. If anyone has anything better to propose, let him speak and advise. But whatever you decide, I pray heaven it may be to your advantage.

FOURTH PHILIPPIC

INTRODUCTION

This speech, though accepted by the ancient critics, has been generally rejected by modern editors. If genuine, it must have been delivered soon after the *Third Philippic*, as it further emphasizes the suggestion of an embassy to the king of Persia. Besides minor imitations, it contains two long passages transferred, all but verbally, from other speeches, viz. §§ 11-27 from that *On the Chersonese* and from the *Second Philippic*, and §§ 55-70 from the speech *On the Chersonese*. We do not know enough about Demosthenes' methods of composition or publication to say whether such wholesale repetition is impossible. Perhaps it was not spoken, but only issued as a pamphlet. Another theory attributes it to Anaximenes, the rhetorician of Lampsacus and friend of Alexander, who wrote histories of Philip and of Alexander. It would thus be an imaginary speech, put into the mouth of the statesman and made up partly by imitation and partly by borrowing. Plutarch (*Praecepta reipublicae gerendae*, vi. 7) blames Anaximenes, together with Ephorus and Theopompus, for excessive use of this rhetorical device.

Parts of the speech are undoubtedly weak and obscure, and the peroration is quite unlike the style of Demosthenes. A more serious objection to the passage beginning at § 35 is that it discusses the

Theoric Fund in terms which are obviously inconsistent with Demosthenes' well-known and reiterated opinion. The attack on Aristomedes (or Aristodemus) towards the end is lively, but it is strange that the orator should have chosen so insignificant a butterfly to break on the wheel. Moreover, Plutarch (*op. cit.* xiv. 16) expressly notes that the *Philippics* are free from personalities. On the whole the speech must be pronounced spurious, though we can only guess at its origin.

X. ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ Δ

1 Καὶ σπουδαῖα νομίζων, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
περὶ ὧν βουλεύεσθε, καὶ ἀναγκαῖα τῇ πόλει,
πειράσομαι περὶ αὐτῶν εἰπεῖν ἃ νομίζω συμφέρειν.
οὐκ ὀλίγων δ' ὄντων ἁμαρτημάτων οὐδ' ἐκ μικροῦ
χρόνου συνειλεγμένων, ἐξ ὧν φαύλως ταῦτ' ἔχει,
οὐδέν ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν πάντων
δυσκολώτερον εἰς τὸ παρὸν ἢ ὅτι ταῖς γνώμαις
ὑμεῖς ἀφεστήκατε τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ τοσοῦτον
χρόνον σπουδάζεθ' ὅσον ἂν κάθησθ' ἀκούοντες ἢ
προσαγγελθῇ τι νεώτερον, εἶτ' ἀπελθὼν ἕκαστος
ὑμῶν οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν φροντίζει περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ'
2 οὐδὲ μέμνηται. ἡ μὲν οὖν ἀσέλγεια καὶ πλεονεξία,
ᾗ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἀνθρώπους Φίλιππος χρῆται,
τοσαύτη τὸ πλῆθος ὅσην ἀκούετε· ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἔνι
ταύτης ἐκεῖνον ἐπισχεῖν ἐκ λόγου καὶ δημηγορίας
οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ δήπου. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μηδ' ἀφ' ἑνὸς
τῶν ἄλλων τοῦτο μαθεῖν δύναταί τις, ὡδὶ λογισάσθω.
ἡμεῖς οὐδαμοῦ πώποτε, ὅπου περὶ τῶν
δικαίων εἰπεῖν ἐδέησεν, ἡττήθημεν οὐδ' ἀδικεῖν
[132] ἐδόξαμεν, ἀλλὰ πάντων πανταχοῦ κρατοῦμεν καὶ
3 περίεσμεν τῷ λόγῳ. ἆρ' οὖν διὰ τοῦτ' ἐκείνῳ
φαύλως ἔχει τὰ πράγματ' ἢ τῇ πόλει καλῶς;
πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ· ἐπειδὰν γὰρ ὁ μὲν λαβὼν μετὰ

X. FOURTH PHILIPPIC

The matters that you are debating, men of Athens, are to my mind so important and even vital to the State, that I will endeavour to offer you what I consider profitable advice on the subject. While the faults that have produced this unhappy state of things are neither few nor recently accumulated, there is nothing, men of Athens, more vexing at the present time than the way in which you detach your thoughts from affairs, and display an interest only so long as you sit here listening, or when some fresh item of news arrives; after that, each man goes home, and not only pays no attention to public business, but does not even recall it to mind. Now the extent of the recklessness and rapacity that Philip shows in his dealings with all men is indeed as great as it has been described to you; but how impossible it is to stay him in this career by argument and declamation, assuredly no one is ignorant. For indeed, if no single thing else can teach a man the truth of that, let him weigh the following consideration. When we have had to speak in defence of our rights, we have never yet been defeated or proved in the wrong, but in every case we vanquish all our opponents and have the best of it in argument. Is, then, Philip any the worse off for that, or Athens any the better? Far from it; for afterwards, when

ταῦτα βαδίζῃ τὰ ὅπλα, πᾶσι τοῖς οὖσιν ἑτοίμως
κινδυνεύσων, ἡμεῖς δὲ καθώμεθ' εἰρηκότες τὰ
δίκαια, οἱ δ' ἀκηκοότες, εἰκότως, οἶμαι, τοὺς
λόγους τὰ ἔργα παρέρχεται, καὶ προσέχουσιν
ἅπαντες οὐχ οἷς εἴπομέν ποθ' ἡμεῖς δικαίοις ἢ νῦν
ἂν εἴποιμεν, ἀλλ' οἷς ποιοῦμεν. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτ'
οὐδένα τῶν ἀδικουμένων σῴζειν δυνάμενα· οὐδὲν
4 γὰρ δεῖ πλείω περὶ αὐτῶν λέγειν. τοιγάρτοι διεστηκότων
εἰς δύο ταῦτα τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, τῶν
μὲν εἰς τὸ μήτ' ἄρχειν βίᾳ βούλεσθαι μηδενὸς
μήτε δουλεύειν ἄλλῳ, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ
νόμοις ἐξ ἴσου πολιτεύεσθαι, τῶν δ' εἰς τὸ ἄρχειν
μὲν τῶν πολιτῶν ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἑτέρῳ δ' ὑπακούειν,
δι' ὅτου ποτ' ἂν οἴωνται τοῦτο δυνήσεσθαι ποιῆσαι,
οἱ τῆς ἐκείνου προαιρέσεως, οἱ τυραννίδων
καὶ δυναστειῶν ἐπιθυμοῦντες, κεκρατήκασι πανταχοῦ,
καὶ πόλις δημοκρατουμένη βεβαίως οὐκ
οἶδ' εἴ τίς ἐστι τῶν πασῶν λοιπὴ πλὴν ἡ ἡμετέρα.
5 καὶ κεκρατήκασιν οἱ δι' ἐκείνου τὰς πολιτείας
ποιούμενοι πᾶσιν ὅσοις πράγματα πράττεται,
πρώτῳ μὲν πάντων καὶ πλείστῳ τῷ τοῖς βουλομένοις
χρήματα λαμβάνειν ἔχειν τὸν δώσονθ' ὑπὲρ
αὑτῶν, δευτέρῳ δὲ καὶ οὐδὲν ἐλάττονι τούτου τῷ
δύναμιν τὴν καταστρεψομένην τοὺς ἐναντιουμένους
αὐτοῖς ἐν οἷς ἂν αἰτήσωσι χρόνοις παρεῖναι.
6 ἡμεῖς δ' οὐ μόνον τούτοις ὑπολειπόμεθ', ὦ ἄνδρες
[133] Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀνεγερθῆναι δυνάμεθα, ἀλλὰ
μανδραγόραν πεπωκόσιν ἤ τι φάρμακον ἄλλο
τοιοῦτον ἐοίκαμεν ἀνθρώποις· εἶτ', οἶμαι (δεῖ γάρ,
ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω, λέγειν τἀληθῆ), οὕτω διαβεβλήμεθα
καὶ καταπεφρονήμεθ' ἐκ τούτων ὥστε τῶν
ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ κινδυνεύειν ὄντων οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς

he takes up arms and marches to battle, ready to risk all he has, and we sit idle, alike those who have pleaded our cause and those who have been listening to them, then, naturally enough, deeds outweigh words, and the world in general gives heed, not to what we once said with justice or might now say, but to what we do. And what we do is insufficient to protect any of the victims of injustice ; in fact, I need say no more about it. Therefore, as the Greeks in every city are divided into these two parties—the one desiring neither to rule others by force nor to be slaves to any man, but to enjoy liberty and equality under a free constitution ; the other eager to rule their fellow-countrymen, but to take their orders from some third person, who they think will enable them to compass their ends—Philip's faction, those who hanker after tyrannies and oligarchies, have everywhere gained the supremacy, and I doubt whether of all the states there is any stable democracy left except our own. Moreover, this supremacy of the constitution-mongers who rely on Philip's support has been gained by all the devices usual in politics, first and foremost by providing a dispenser of wealth to such as covet it, secondly, and not less effectively, by having at their back a force capable of crushing their opponents on any occasion when they may call upon it. But we, Athenians, are not only behindhand in this respect, but we cannot even rouse ourselves from sleep ; we are like men who have drunk mandragora or some such drug. Hence, I believe—for I must speak the truth as I conceive it—we have been so discredited and despised that of those who are involved in actual danger some dispute with us about the

ἡγεμονίας ἡμῖν ἀντιλέγουσιν, οἱ δ᾽ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ποῦ
συνεδρεύσουσι, τινὲς δὲ καθ᾽ αὑτοὺς ἀμύνεσθαι
μᾶλλον ἢ μεθ᾽ ἡμῶν ἐγνώκασιν.

7 Τοῦ χάριν δὴ ταῦτα λέγω καὶ διεξέρχομαι; οὐ
γὰρ ἀπεχθάνεσθαι μὰ τὸν Δία καὶ πάντας θεοὺς
προαιροῦμαι· ἵν᾽ ὑμῶν ἕκαστος, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
τοῦτο γνῷ καὶ εἰδῇ, ὅτι ἡ καθ᾽ ἡμέραν
ῥᾳστώνη καὶ ῥᾳθυμία, ὥσπερ τοῖς ἰδίοις βίοις,
οὕτω καὶ ταῖς πόλεσιν οὐκ ἐφ᾽ ἑκάστου τῶν
ἀμελουμένων ποιεῖ τὴν αἴσθησιν εὐθέως, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπὶ
8 τῷ κεφαλαίῳ τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπαντᾷ. ὁρᾶτε
Σέρριον καὶ Δορίσκον· ταῦτα γὰρ πρῶτον ὠλιγωρήθη
μετὰ τὴν εἰρήνην, ἃ πολλοῖς ὑμῶν οὐδὲ
γνώριμ᾽ ἐστὶν ἴσως. ταῦτα μέντοι τότ᾽[1] ἐαθέντα
καὶ παροφθέντ᾽ ἀπώλεσε Θράκην καὶ Κερσοβλέπτην,
σύμμαχον ὄνθ᾽ ὑμῶν. πάλιν ταῦτ᾽ ἀμελούμεν᾽
ἰδὼν καὶ οὐδεμιᾶς βοηθείας τυγχάνοντα
παρ᾽ ὑμῶν κατέσκαπτε Πορθμόν, καὶ τυραννίδ᾽
ἀπαντικρὺ τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐπετείχισεν ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ
9 Εὐβοίᾳ. ταύτης ὀλιγωρουμένης Μέγαρ᾽ ἑάλω παρὰ
μικρόν. οὐδὲν ἐφροντίσατ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἐπεστράφητ᾽ οὐδὲν
τούτων, οὐδ᾽ ἐνεδείξασθε τοῦθ᾽, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιτρέψετε
τοῦτο ποιεῖν αὐτῷ· Ἀντρῶνας ἐπρίατο καὶ μετ᾽ οὐ
πολὺν χρόνον τὰ ἐν Ὠρεῷ πράγματ᾽ εἰλήφει.
10 πολλὰ δὲ καὶ παραλείπω, Φεράς, τὴν ἐπ᾽
Ἀμβρακίαν ὁδόν, τὰς ἐν Ἤλιδι σφαγάς, ἄλλα
[134] μυρία· οὐ γὰρ ἵν᾽ ἐξαριθμήσωμαι τοὺς βεβιασμένους
καὶ τοὺς ἠδικημένους ὑπὸ Φιλίππου, ταῦτα
διεξῆλθον, ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα τοῦθ᾽ ὑμῖν δείξω, ὅτι οὐ στή-

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[1] Dindorf omits τότ᾽ with S^1.

right of leadership, others about the meeting-place for a congress, and some have made up their minds to defend themselves single-handed rather than with us.

What is my object in treating this matter so fully ? For I protest in Heaven's name that I have no ambition to incur your hostility. It is that each one of you, Athenians, may know and realize this—that in state affairs, as well as in private life, daily indifference and carelessness do not make their result felt at once on each occasion when duty is neglected, but come home to us when the total result of our policy is seen. Look at Serrium and Doriscus ; for these were the places that were disregarded immediately after the peace, and many of you perhaps do not even know of their existence. Yet it was your neglect and abandonment of them that ruined Thrace and Cersobleptes, who was your ally. Again, Philip, seeing that these were overlooked and were receiving no help from you, proceeded to raze Porthmus to the ground and founded a tyranny in Euboea over against Attica as a menace to you. Because we neglected Euboea, Megara was very nearly captured. You showed no concern nor anxiety about any of these proceedings, and gave no indication that you would not allow Philip to continue them ; so he bought up Antrones and soon afterwards got Oreus under his control. I pass over many other instances, such as Pherae, the raid against Ambracia, the massacres at Elis, and countless others.[a] I have gone into these details, not to give you a complete catalogue of the victims of Philip's oppression and injustice, but to make it clear to you that he will never

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[a] For the places named in this paragraph see *Phil.* iii., especially §§ 12, 15, 17, 27, 33.

σεται πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀδικῶν, τὰ δ' ὑφ' αὑτῷ ποιούμενος Φίλιππος, εἰ μή τις αὐτὸν κωλύσει.

11 Εἰσὶ δέ τινες οἳ πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων λόγους εὐθέως εἰώθασιν ἐρωτᾶν, "τί οὖν χρὴ ποιεῖν;" οὐχ ἵν' ἀκούσαντες ποιήσωσι (χρησιμώτατοι γὰρ ἂν ἦσαν ἁπάντων), ἀλλ' ἵνα τοῦ λέγοντος ἀπαλλαγῶσιν. δεῖ δ' ὅμως εἰπεῖν ὅ τι χρὴ ποιεῖν. πρῶτον μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτο παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς βεβαίως γνῶναι, ὅτι τῇ πόλει Φίλιππος πολεμεῖ καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην λέλυκε, καὶ κακόνους μέν ἐστι καὶ ἐχθρὸς ὅλῃ τῇ πόλει καὶ τῷ τῆς πόλεως ἐδάφει, προσθήσω δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει θεοῖς, οἵπερ αὐτὸν ἐξολέσειαν, οὐδενὶ μέντοι μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ πολιτείᾳ πολεμεῖ οὐδ' ἐπιβουλεύει, καὶ σκοπεῖ μᾶλλον οὐδὲν τῶν πάντων ἢ
12 πῶς ταύτην καταλύσει. καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης τρόπον τινὰ νῦν γε δὴ ποιεῖ. λογίζεσθε γάρ. ἄρχειν βούλεται, τούτου δ' ἀνταγωνιστὰς μόνους ὑπείληφεν ὑμᾶς. ἀδικεῖ πολὺν χρόνον ἤδη, καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτὸς ἄριστα σύνοιδεν αὑτῷ· οἷς γὰρ οὖσιν ὑμετέροις ἔχει [χρῆσθαι],[1] τούτοις ἅπαντα τἆλλα βεβαίως κέκτηται· εἰ γὰρ Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ Ποτείδαιαν προεῖτο, οὐδ' ἂν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ μένειν
13 ἀσφαλῶς ἐδύνατο. ἀμφότερ' οὖν οἶδε, καὶ αὐτὸν ὑμῖν ἐπιβουλεύοντα καὶ ὑμᾶς αἰσθανομένους· εὖ φρονεῖν δ' ὑμᾶς ὑπολαμβάνων μισεῖν αὐτὸν ἡγεῖται. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τοσούτοις οὖσιν οἶδεν ἀκριβῶς ὅτι οὐδ' ἂν ἁπάντων τῶν ἄλλων γένηται
[135] κύριος, οὐδὲν ἔστ' αὐτῷ βεβαίως ἔχειν, ἕως ἂν ὑμεῖς δημοκρατῆσθε, ἀλλ' ἐάν ποτε συμβῇ τι

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[1] Omit, with Cobet, as a gloss to explain the dative. It is not in vi. 17.

desist from molesting all of us and bringing us under his sway, unless someone restrains him.

But there are some who, without waiting to hear the speeches on these questions, are in the habit of asking at once, "What then ought we to do?"—not in order to do it, when they have heard it, for if so, they would be the most helpful of all citizens, but simply to get rid of the speaker. Nevertheless, you must be told what you ought to do. First, men of Athens, you must fix this firmly in your minds, that Philip is at war with us and has broken the peace, and that he is ill-disposed and hostile to the whole city and to the very soil on which the city stands, and, I will add, to the gods that dwell in it; and may those same gods complete his ruin! The chief object, however, of his arms and his diplomacy is our free constitution, and on nothing in the world is he more bent than on its destruction. And it is in a way inevitable that he should now be acting thus. For observe! He wants to rule, and he has made up his mind that you, and you only, bar the way. He has long injured you; of nothing is he more conscious than of that. For it is by holding the cities that are really yours that he retains safe possession of all the rest; and if he gave up Amphipolis and Potidaea, even Macedonia would be no safe place for him. He knows, then, these two facts—that he is intriguing against you and that you are aware of it. Assuming that you are intelligent, he concludes that you hate him. Besides these weighty considerations, he knows for certain that even if he masters all else, his power will be precarious as long as you remain a democracy, but if ever he meets with some mischance

πταῖσμα (πολλὰ δ᾽ ἂν γένοιτ᾽ ἀνθρώπῳ), ἥξει πάντα τὰ νῦν βεβιασμένα καὶ καταφεύξεται πρὸς
14 ὑμᾶς. ἐστὲ γὰρ ὑμεῖς οὐκ αὐτοὶ πλεονεκτῆσαι καὶ κατασχεῖν ἀρχὴν εὖ πεφυκότες, ἀλλ᾽ ἕτερον λαβεῖν κωλῦσαι καὶ ἔχοντ᾽ ἀφελέσθαι καὶ ὅλως ἐνοχλῆσαι τοῖς ἄρχειν βουλομένοις καὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους εἰς ἐλευθερίαν ἐξελέσθαι δεινοί. οὔκουν βούλεται τοῖς αὑτοῦ καιροῖς τὴν παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ἐλευθερίαν ἐφεδρεύειν, οὐ κακῶς οὐδ᾽ ἀργῶς ταῦτα
15 λογιζόμενος. πρῶτον μὲν δὴ τοῦτο δεῖ, ἐχθρὸν ὑπειληφέναι τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας ἀδιάλλακτον ἐκεῖνον, δεύτερον δ᾽ εἰδέναι σαφῶς ὅτι πάνθ᾽ ὅσα πραγματεύεται καὶ κατασκευάζεται νῦν, ἐπὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν παρασκευάζεται. οὐ γὰρ οὕτως εὐήθης ὑμῶν ἐστὶν οὐδεὶς ὥσθ᾽ ὑπολαμβάνειν τὸν Φίλιππον τῶν μὲν ἐν Θρᾴκῃ κακῶν (τί γὰρ ἂν ἄλλο τις εἴποι Δρογγίλον καὶ Καβύλην καὶ Μάστειραν καὶ ἃ νῦν φασιν αὐτὸν ἔχειν;) τούτων μὲν ἐπιθυμεῖν καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ταῦτα λαβεῖν καὶ πόνους καὶ χειμῶνας καὶ τοὺς ἐσχάτους κιν-
16 δύνους ὑπομένειν, τῶν δ᾽ Ἀθηναίων λιμένων καὶ νεωρίων καὶ τριήρων καὶ τόπου καὶ δόξης, ὧν μήτ᾽ ἐκείνῳ μήτ᾽ ἄλλῳ γένοιτο μηδενὶ χειρωσαμένῳ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἡμετέραν κυριεῦσαι, οὐκ ἐπιθυμεῖν, ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ὑμᾶς ἐάσειν ἔχειν, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν μελινῶν καὶ τῶν ὀλυρῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς
17 Θρᾳκίοις σιροῖς ἐν τῷ βαράθρῳ χειμάζειν. οὐκ
[136] ἔστι ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ κἀκεῖν᾽ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τούτων γίγνεσθαι κύριος καὶ τἄλλα πάντα πραγματεύεται.

Ταῦτα τοίνυν ἕκαστον εἰδότα καὶ γιγνώσκοντα παρ᾽ αὑτῷ δεῖ μὰ Δί᾽ οὐ γράψαι κελεύειν πόλεμον

(and there are many to which mankind is liable), all the forces that are now under restraint will be attracted to your side. For nature has not equipped you to seek aggrandizement and secure empire, but you are clever at thwarting another's designs and wresting from him his gains, and quick to confound utterly the plots of the ambitious and vindicate the freedom of all mankind. Therefore he does not want to have the Athenian tradition of liberty watching to seize every chance against himself; nor is his reasoning here either faulty or idle. This, then, is the first thing needful, to recognize in Philip the inveterate enemy of constitutional government and democracy; and your second need is to convince yourselves that all his activity and all his organization is preparing the way for an attack on our city. For none of you is so simple as to believe that though Philip covets these wretched objects in Thrace—for what else can one call Drongilus and Cabyle and Mastira and the other places he is said to be now holding?—and though he endures toil and winter storms and deadly peril for the privilege of taking them, yet he does not covet the Athenian harbours and dockyards and war-galleys and the place itself and the glory of it—and never may Philip or any other man make himself master of these by the conquest of our city!—but will allow you to retain them, while he winters in that purgatory for the sake of the rye and millet of the Thracian store-pits. It is not so, but it is to win these prizes that he devotes his activities to all those other objects.

Therefore each must know and feel in his own mind the truth of this, but you must not, of course, call for a declaration of war from the statesman who is

τὸν τὰ βέλτιστ᾿ ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικαίοις συμβουλεύοντα·
τοῦτο μὲν γάρ ἐστι λαβεῖν ὅτῳ πολεμήσετε βουλομένων,
18 οὐχ ἃ τῇ πόλει συμφέρει πράττειν. ὁρᾶτε
γάρ. εἰ δι᾿ ἃ πρῶτα παρεσπόνδησε Φίλιππος ἢ
δεύτερ᾿ ἢ τρίτα (πολλὰ γάρ ἐστιν ἐφεξῆς) ἔγραψέ
τις αὐτῷ πολεμεῖν, ὁ δ᾿ ὁμοίως ὥσπερ νῦν, οὐ
γράφοντος οὐδενὸς ὑμῶν πόλεμον, Καρδιανοῖς
ἐβοήθει, οὐκ ἂν ἀνηρπασμένος ἦν ὁ γράψας, καὶ
διὰ τοῦτο πάντες ᾐτιῶντ᾿ ἂν αὐτὸν Καρδιανοῖς
19 βεβοηθηκέναι; μὴ τοίνυν ζητεῖθ᾿ ὅντιν᾿ ἀνθ᾿ ὧν
Φίλιππος ἐξαμαρτάνει μισήσετε καὶ τοῖς παρ᾿
ἐκείνου μισθαρνοῦσι διασπάσασθαι παραβαλεῖτε·
μηδ᾿ αὐτοὶ χειροτονήσαντες πόλεμον βούλεσθε
παρ᾿ αὐτοῖς ὑμῖν ἐρίζειν, εἰ δέον ἢ μὴ δέον ὑμᾶς
τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι· ἀλλ᾿ ὃν ἐκεῖνος πολεμεῖ τρόπον,
τοῦτον μιμεῖσθε, τοῖς μὲν ἀμυνομένοις ἤδη
χρήματα καὶ τἄλλ᾿ ὅσων δέονται διδόντες, αὐτοὶ
δ᾿ εἰσφέροντες, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ κατασκευαζόμενοι
στράτευμα, τριήρεις ταχείας, ἵππους,
20 ἱππαγωγούς, τἄλλ᾿ ὅσ᾿ εἰς πόλεμον· ἐπεὶ νῦν γε
γέλως ἔσθ᾿ ὡς χρώμεθα τοῖς πράγμασι, καὶ Φίλιππον
δ᾿ αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἂν ἄλλ᾿ οἶμαι μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς
εὔξασθαι ποιεῖν τὴν πόλιν ἢ ταῦτα· ὑστερίζετε,
ἀναλίσκετε· ὅτῳ παραδώσετε τὰ πράγματα ζητεῖτε,
δυσχεραίνετε· ἀλλήλους αἰτιᾶσθε. ἀφ᾿ οὗ
[137] δὲ ταῦτα γίγνεται, ἐγὼ διδάξω, καὶ ὅπως παύσεται
21 λέξω. οὐδὲν πώποτ᾿, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
τῶν πραγμάτων ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐνεστήσασθ᾿ οὐδὲ κατεσκευάσασθ᾿
ὀρθῶς, ἀλλὰ τὸ συμβαῖνον ἀεὶ διώκετε,

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[a] To propose war on Philip would be dangerous to the speaker, as explained in the speech *On the Chersonese*, § 68, and unnecessary, as Philip is already at war with Athens.

trying, in all honesty, to give you the best advice; for that would be the act of men who want to find someone to fight with, not of men who seek the interests of their state.[a] For consider. If for his first violation of the peace, or his second or third—for there was a long series of them—someone had proposed a declaration of war against him, and if Philip, just as he is doing now when no one proposes such a declaration, had gone to the help of the Cardians, would not the proposer have been suppressed,[b] and blamed by everybody as the real author of Philip's expedition? Then do not look about for a scapegoat for Philip's sins, someone whom you can throw for his hirelings to rend limb from limb. Do not vote for war and then fall to disputing among yourselves whether you ought or ought not to have done so, but imitate his methods of warfare, supplying those who are now resisting him with money and whatever else they need, and raising a war-fund yourselves, Athenians, and providing an army, swift-sailing galleys, horses, cavalry-transports, and everything that war requires. For at present our system is a mockery, and, by Heaven, I do not believe that even Philip himself would pray that Athens might act otherwise than she is acting. You are behind your time and waste your money; you look round for someone to manage the business and then quarrel with him; you throw the blame on one another. I will explain how this comes about and will tell you how to stop it. Never yet, Athenians, have you instituted or organized a single plan of action properly at the start, but you always follow in the

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[b] The word used is strong, but purposely vague. He would have incurred the inevitable γραφὴ παρανόμων.

εἶτ᾿ ἐπειδὰν ὑστερίσητε παύεσθε· ἕτερον πάλιν ἂν
22 συμβῇ τι παρασκευάζεσθε καὶ θορυβεῖσθε. τὸ δ᾿
οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει· οὐκ ἔνεστι βοηθείαις χρωμένους
οὐδὲν τῶν δεόντων ποτὲ πρᾶξαι, ἀλλὰ κατασκευά-
σαντας δεῖ δύναμιν, καὶ τροφὴν ταύτῃ πορίσαντας
καὶ ταμίας καὶ δημοσίους, καὶ ὅπως ἔνι τὴν τῶν
χρημάτων φυλακὴν ἀκριβεστάτην γενέσθαι, οὕτω
ποιήσαντας, τὸν μὲν τῶν χρημάτων λόγον παρὰ
τούτων λαμβάνειν, τὸν δὲ τῶν ἔργων παρὰ τοῦ
στρατηγοῦ, καὶ μηδεμίαν πρόφασιν τοῦ πλεῖν
ἄλλοσ᾿ ἢ πράττειν ἄλλο τι τῷ στρατηγῷ κατα-
23 λείπειν. ἂν οὕτω ποιήσητε καὶ τοῦτ᾿ ἐθελήσηθ᾿
ὡς ἀληθῶς, ἄγειν εἰρήνην δικαίαν καὶ μένειν ἐπὶ
τοῦ τόπου Φίλιππον ἀναγκάσετε, ἢ πολεμήσετ᾿ ἐξ
ἴσου· καὶ ἴσως ἄν, ἴσως, ὥσπερ νῦν ὑμεῖς πυν-
θάνεσθε τί ποιεῖ Φίλιππος καὶ ποῖ πορεύεται,
οὕτως ἂν ἐκεῖνος φροντίσαι ποῖ ποθ᾿ ἡ τῆς πόλεως
ἀπῆρκε δύναμις καὶ ποῦ φανήσεται.

24 Εἰ δέ τῳ δοκεῖ ταῦτα καὶ δαπάνης πολλῆς καὶ
πόνων πολλῶν καὶ πραγματείας εἶναι, καὶ μάλ᾿
ὀρθῶς δοκεῖ· ἀλλ᾿ ἐὰν λογίσηται τὰ τῇ πόλει μετὰ
ταῦτα γενησόμενα, ἐὰν ταῦτα μὴ ἐθέλῃ ποιεῖν,
εὑρήσει λυσιτελοῦν τὸ ἑκόντας ποιεῖν τὰ δέοντα.
εἰ μὲν γάρ ἐστί τις ἐγγυητὴς ὑμῖν θεῶν (οὐ γὰρ
ἀνθρώπων γ᾿ οὐδεὶς ἂν γένοιτ᾿ ἀξιόχρεως τηλικού-
[138] του πράγματος) ὡς, ἐὰν ἄγηθ᾿ ἡσυχίαν καὶ ἅπαντα
προῆσθε, οὐκ ἐπ᾿ αὐτοὺς ὑμᾶς τελευτῶν ἐκεῖνος
25 ἥξει, αἰσχρὸν μὲν νὴ τὸν Δία καὶ πάντας θεοὺς
καὶ ἀνάξιον ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τῇ πόλει
καὶ πεπραγμένων τοῖς προγόνοις, τῆς ἰδίας ῥᾳ-
θυμίας ἕνεκα τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας Ἕλληνας εἰς

track of each event, and then, when you find yourselves too late, you give up the pursuit; when the next event occurs, you are again in a bustle of preparation. But that is not the way. If you trust to occasional levies, you can never gain any of your essential objects; but you must first raise a force and provide for its maintenance, and appoint paymasters and clerks, and arrange that there shall be the strictest watch kept over your expenditure, and afterwards you must demand from your paymasters an account of their moneys, and from the general an account of his campaign, and you must leave the general no excuse for sailing elsewhere or engaging in any other business. If you do this, and if you are really in earnest about it, you will either compel Philip to keep the peace fairly and to stay in one place, or you will fight him on equal terms; and perhaps—perhaps, just as you are now inquiring what Philip is doing and where he is marching, so he may be anxious to know where the Athenian force is bound for, and in what quarter it will appear.

But if anyone thinks that all this means great expense and much toil and worry, he is quite correct, but if he reckons up what will hereafter be the result to Athens if she refuses to act, he will conclude that it is to our interest to perform our duty willingly. For if you have the guarantee of some god, since no mere mortal could be a satisfactory surety for such an event, that if you remain inactive and abandon everything, Philip will not in the end march against yourselves, by Zeus and all the other gods, it would be disgraceful and unworthy of you and of the resources of your city and the record of your ancestors to abandon all the other Greeks to enslavement for

δουλείαν προέσθαι, καὶ ἔγωγ᾽ αὐτὸς μὲν τεθνάναι
26 μᾶλλον ἂν ἢ ταῦτ᾽ εἰρηκέναι βουλοίμην· οὐ μὴν
ἀλλ᾽ εἴ τις ἄλλος λέγει καὶ ὑμᾶς πείθει, ἔστω, μὴ
ἀμύνεσθε, ἅπαντα πρόεσθε. εἰ δὲ μηδενὶ τοῦτο
δοκεῖ, τοὐναντίον δὲ πρόϊσμεν ἅπαντες ὅτι, ὅσῳ
ἂν πλειόνων ἐάσωμεν ἐκεῖνον γενέσθαι κύριον,
τοσούτῳ χαλεπωτέρῳ καὶ ἰσχυροτέρῳ χρησόμεθ᾽
ἐχθρῷ, ποῖ ἀναδυόμεθα, ἢ τί μέλλομεν; ἢ πότ᾽,
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖν ἐθελήσομεν;
27 ὅταν νὴ Δί᾽ ἀναγκαῖον ᾖ. ἀλλ᾽ ἣν μὲν ἄν τις
ἐλευθέρων ἀνθρώπων ἀνάγκην εἴποι, οὐ μόνον ἤδη
πάρεστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάλαι παρελήλυθε, τὴν δὲ τῶν
δούλων ἀπεύχεσθαι δήπου μὴ γενέσθαι δεῖ. διαφέρει
δὲ τί; ὅτι ἐστὶν ἐλευθέρῳ μὲν ἀνθρώπῳ
μεγίστη ἀνάγκη ἡ ὑπὲρ τῶν γιγνομένων αἰσχύνη,
καὶ μείζω ταύτης οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ἥντιν᾽ ἂν εἴποι τις·
δούλῳ δὲ πληγαὶ καὶ ὁ τοῦ σώματος αἰκισμός, ὃ
μήτε γένοιτο οὔτε λέγειν ἄξιον.

28 Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πρὸς τὰ
τοιαῦτ᾽ ὀκνηρῶς διακεῖσθαι, ἃ δεῖ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ
ταῖς οὐσίαις λῃτουργῆσαι ἕκαστον, ἐστὶ μὲν οὐκ
ὀρθῶς ἔχον, οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ ἔχει
τινὰ πρόφασιν ὅμως· τὸ δὲ μηδ᾽ ὅσ᾽ ἀκοῦσαι δεῖ
μηδ᾽ ὅσα βουλεύσασθαι προσήκει, μηδὲ ταῦτ᾽
[139] ἐθέλειν ἀκούειν, τοῦτ᾽ ἤδη πᾶσαν ἐπιδέχεται
29 κατηγορίαν. ὑμεῖς τοίνυν οὐκ ἀκούειν, πρὶν ἂν
ὥσπερ νῦν αὐτὰ παρῇ τὰ πράγματα, οὐχὶ βουλεύεσθαι
περὶ οὐδενὸς εἰώθατ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἡσυχίας, ἀλλ᾽
ὅταν μὲν ἐκεῖνος παρασκευάζηται, ἀμελήσαντες
τοῦ ποιεῖν ταὐτὸ καὶ ἀντιπαρασκευάζεσθαι ῥᾳ-

the sake of your own ease, and I for one would rather die than be guilty of proposing such a policy. All the same, if someone does propose it and wins your assent, so be it ; offer no resistance, sacrifice everything. But if no one approves of this, and if on the contrary we all of us foresee that the more we allow him to extend his power, the stronger and more formidable we shall find him in war, what escape is open to us, or why do we delay ? When, men of Athens, shall we consent to do our duty ? "Whenever it is necessary," you will say. But what any free man would call necessity is not merely present now, but is long ago past, and from the necessity that constrains a slave we must surely pray to be delivered. Do you ask the difference ? The strongest necessity that a free man feels is shame for his own position, and I know not if we could name a stronger ; but for a slave necessity means stripes and bodily outrage, unfit to name here, from which Heaven defend us !

Now, men of Athens, with regard to such public services as it is the duty of everyone to discharge, both with person and with property, that there should be a disposition to avoid them is not right—indeed, far from it—but still it does admit of some excuse notwithstanding ; but to refuse even to listen to all that you ought to hear and all that you are bound to decide deserves, at such a time as this, absolute condemnation. Your habit, then, is not to listen until, as now, the events themselves are upon you, and not to discuss any question at your leisure ; but whenever Philip makes his preparations, you neglect the chance of doing the same, and you are too remiss to make counter-preparations ; and

θυμεῖτε, καὶ ἄν τι λέγῃ τις, ἐκβάλλετε, ἐπειδὰν δ' ἀπολωλὸς ἢ πολιορκούμενόν τι πύθησθε, ἀκρο-
30 *ᾶσθε καὶ παρασκευάζεσθε· ἦν δ' ἀκηκοέναι μὲν καὶ βεβουλεῦσθαι τότε καιρός, ὅθ' ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἠθέλετε, πράττειν δὲ καὶ χρῆσθαι τοῖς παρεσκευασμένοις νῦν, ἡνίκ' ἀκούετε. τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων ἐθῶν μόνοι τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὑμεῖς τοῖς ἄλλοις τοὐναντίον ποιεῖτε· οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι πρὸ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰώθασι χρῆσθαι τῷ βουλεύεσθαι, ὑμεῖς δὲ μετὰ τὰ πράγματα.*

31 *Ὃ δὴ λοιπόν ἐστι, καὶ πάλαι μὲν ἔδει, διαφεύγει δ' οὐδὲ νῦν, τοῦτ' ἐρῶ. οὐδενὸς τῶν πάντων οὕτως ὡς χρημάτων δεῖ τῇ πόλει πρὸς τὰ νῦν ἐπιόντα πράγματα. συμβέβηκε δ' εὐτυχήματ' ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου, οἷς ἂν χρησώμεθ' ὀρθῶς, ἴσως ἂν γένοιτο τὰ δέοντα. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ οἷς βασιλεὺς πιστεύει καὶ εὐεργέτας ὑπείληφεν ἑαυτοῦ, οὗτοι μισοῦσι καὶ πολεμοῦσι Φιλίππῳ.*
32 *ἔπειθ' ὁ πράττων καὶ συνειδὼς ἅπανθ' ἃ Φίλιππος κατὰ βασιλέως παρασκευάζεται, οὗτος ἀνάσπαστος γέγονε, καὶ πάσας τὰς πράξεις βασιλεὺς οὐχ ἡμῶν κατηγορούντων ἀκούσεται, οὓς ὑπὲρ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἂν ἡγήσαιτο τοῦ ἰδίου λέγειν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ πράξαντος αὐτοῦ καὶ διοικοῦντος, ὥστ' εἶναι*
[140] *πιστάς, καὶ λοιπὸν λόγον εἶναι τοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν*
33 *πρέσβεσιν, ὃν βασιλεὺς ἥδιστ' ἂν ἀκοῦσαι, ὡς τὸν ἀμφοτέρους ἀδικοῦντα κοινῇ τιμωρήσασθαι*

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[a] The Thracians, thus honoured for their services to Darius in his Scythian expedition. For the title *cf.* Hdt. viii. 85 *οἱ δ' εὐεργέται βασιλέος ὀροσάγγαι καλέονται Περσιστί.*

if anyone speaks out, you drive him from the platform, but when you learn of the loss of this place or the siege of that, then you pay attention and begin to prepare. But the time to have listened and made your decision was just then, when you would not do it ; now, when you are listening, is the time to act and put your preparations to use. Therefore in consequence of these bad habits you alone reverse the general practice of mankind ; for other people deliberate before the event, but you after the event.

The one thing that remains and that ought to have been done long ago, though even now the chance is not lost, I will tell you. There is nothing that the State needs so much for the coming struggle as money. Some strokes of good fortune we have enjoyed without our design, and if we make the right use of them, the desired results may perhaps follow. For first, the men whom the king of Persia trusts and has accepted as his " benefactors," [a] hate Philip and are at war with him. Secondly, the agent [b] who was privy to all Philip's schemes against the king of Persia has been kidnapped, and the king will hear of all these plots, not as the complaint of Athenians, whom he might suspect of speaking for our own private advantage, but from the lips of the very man who planned and carried them out, so that their credit is established, and the only suggestion for our ambassadors to make is one which the king would be delighted to hear, that the man who is wronging both parties should be punished by both in common,

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Such was Mordecai, " the man whom the king delighted to honour," *Esther*, c. vi.

[b] If we may trust Ulpian, this was Hermeias of Atarneus, the friend of Aristotle, seized by the Rhodian Mentor and carried captive to the king of Persia. See Grote, c. 90.

δεῖ, καὶ ὅτι πολὺ τῷ βασιλεῖ φοβερώτερός ἐσθ᾽ ὁ
Φίλιππος, ἂν προτέροις ἡμῖν ἐπιθῆται· εἰ γὰρ
ἐγκαταλειπόμενοί τι πεισόμεθ᾽ ἡμεῖς, ἀδεῶς ἐπ᾽
ἐκεῖνον ἤδη πορεύσεται. ὑπὲρ δὴ τούτων ἁπάντων
οἶμαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς πρεσβείαν ἐκπέμπειν, ἥτις τῷ
βασιλεῖ διαλέξεται, καὶ τὴν ἀβελτερίαν ἀποθέσθαι,
δι᾽ ἣν πολλάκις ἠλαττώθητε, “ὁ δὴ βάρβαρος”
καὶ “ὁ κοινὸς ἅπασιν ἐχθρός,” καὶ πάντα τὰ
34 τοιαῦτα. ἐγὼ γὰρ ὅταν τιν᾽ ἴδω τὸν μὲν ἐν
Σούσοις καὶ Ἐγβατάνοις δεδοικότα καὶ κακόνουν
εἶναι τῇ πόλει φάσκοντα, ὃς καὶ πρότερον συνεπηνώρθωσε
τὰ τῆς πόλεως πράγματα καὶ νῦν
ἐπηγγέλλετο (εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐδέχεσθ᾽ ὑμεῖς, ἀλλ᾽
ἀπεψηφίζεσθε, οὐ τά γ᾽ ἐκείνου αἴτια), ὑπὲρ δὲ
τοῦ ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ἐγγὺς οὑτωσὶ ἐν μέσῃ τῇ
Ἑλλάδι αὐξανομένου λῃστοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄλλο
τι λέγοντα, θαυμάζω, καὶ δέδοικα τοῦτον, ὅστις
ἂν ᾖ ποτ᾽, ἔγωγε, ἐπειδὴ οὐχ οὗτος Φίλιππον.

35 Ἔστι τοίνυν πρᾶγμα καὶ ἄλλο, ὃ λυμαίνεται τὴν
πόλιν ὑπὸ βλασφημίας ἀδίκου καὶ λόγων οὐ προσηκόντων
διαβεβλημένον, εἶτα τοῖς μηδὲν τῶν ἐν
τῇ πολιτείᾳ δικαίων βουλομένοις ποιεῖν πρόφασιν
παρέχει· καὶ πάντων, ὅσ᾽ ἐκλείπει, δέον παρά του
γίγνεσθαι, ἐπὶ τοῦθ᾽ εὑρήσετε τὴν αἰτίαν ἀναφερομένην.
περὶ οὗ πάνυ μὲν φοβοῦμαι, οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽
36 ἐρῶ· οἶμαι γὰρ ἕξειν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀπόρων τὰ
δίκαι᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ συμφέροντι τῆς πόλεως εἰπεῖν πρὸς
τοὺς εὐπόρους, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν κεκτημένων τὰς

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[a] The Persians helped Conon, when he defeated the Lacedaemonians off Cnidus in 394. In 345 Artaxerxes appealed to the leading Greek states for help in putting

and that Philip is much more dangerous to the king if he has attacked us first, for if we are left to our own resources and anything happens to us, he will soon be marching confidently against the king. I think you ought to send an embassy to put all these matters before the king, and you ought to drop the foolish prejudice that has so often brought about your discomfiture—"the barbarian," "the common foe of us all," and all such phrases. For my part, whenever I see a man afraid of one who dwells at Susa and Ecbatana and insisting that he is ill-disposed to Athens, though he helped to restore our fortunes in the past and was even now making overtures to us[a] (and if you did not accept them but voted their rejection, the fault is not his); and when I find the same man using very different language about this plunderer of the Greeks, who is extending his power, as you see, at our very doors and in the heart of Greece, I am astonished, and, whoever he may be, it is I that fear him, just because he does not fear Philip.

Now there is also another matter, the misrepresentation of which by unfair obloquy and in intemperate language is injuring the State, and furthermore is affording a pretext for those who are unwilling to perform any of their duties as citizens; indeed, you will find that in every case where a man has failed to do his duty, this has been given as the excuse. I am really afraid to speak on this subject, but I will do so nevertheless; for I think I shall be able, with advantage to the State, to plead the cause both of the poor against the rich and of the property-

down the revolt of Egypt. Thebes and Argos sent auxiliaries, but Athens and Sparta refused.

[141] οὐσίας πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιδεεῖς. εἰ ἀνέλοιμεν ἐκ μέσου
καὶ τὰς βλασφημίας ἃς ἐπὶ τῷ θεωρικῷ ποιοῦνταί
τινες οὐχὶ δικαίως, καὶ τὸν φόβον, ὡς οὐ στήσεται
τοῦτ᾽ ἄνευ μεγάλου τινὸς κακοῦ, οὐδὲν ἂν εἰς τὰ
πράγματα μεῖζον εἰσενεγκαίμεθα, οὐδ᾽ ὅ τι κοινῇ
37 μᾶλλον ἂν ὅλην ἐπιρρώσειε τὴν πόλιν. οὑτωσὶ
δὲ σκοπεῖτε· ἐρῶ δ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν χρείᾳ δοκούντων
εἶναι πρότερον. ἦν ποτ᾽ οὐ πάλαι παρ᾽ ὑμῖν, ὅτ᾽
οὐ προσῄει τῇ πόλει τάλανθ᾽ ὑπὲρ τριάκοντα καὶ
ἑκατόν· καὶ οὐδείς ἐστι τῶν τριηραρχεῖν δυναμένων
οὐδὲ τῶν εἰσφέρειν ὅστις οὐκ ἠξίου τὰ καθήκοντ᾽
ἐφ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ποιεῖν ὅτι χρήματ᾽ οὐ περιῆν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τριήρεις ἔπλεον καὶ χρήματ᾽ ἐγίγνετο καὶ
38 πάντ᾽ ἐποιοῦμεν τὰ δέοντα. μετὰ ταῦθ᾽ ἡ τύχη,
καλῶς ποιοῦσα, πολλὰ πεποίηκε τὰ κοινά, καὶ
τετρακόσι᾽ ἀντὶ τῶν ἑκατὸν ταλάντων προσέρχεται,
οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν ζημιουμένου τῶν τὰς οὐσίας ἐχόντων,
ἀλλὰ καὶ προσλαμβάνοντος· οἱ γὰρ εὔποροι
πάντες ἔρχονται μεθέξοντες τούτου, καὶ καλῶς
39 ποιοῦσιν. τί οὖν παθόντες τοῦτ᾽ ὀνειδίζομεν ἀλλήλοις
καὶ προφάσει χρώμεθα τοῦ μηδὲν ποιεῖν,
πλὴν εἰ τῇ παρὰ τῆς τύχης βοηθείᾳ γεγονυίᾳ τοῖς
ἀπόροις φθονοῦμεν; οὓς οὔτ᾽ ἂν αἰτιασαίμην
40 ἔγωγ᾽ οὔτ᾽ ἀξιῶ. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἰδίαις οἰκίαις
ὁρῶ τὸν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ πρὸς τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους οὕτω
διακείμενον οὐδ᾽ οὕτως ἀγνώμον᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἄτοπον τῶν
ὄντων οὐδένα, ὥστε, εἰ μὴ ποιήσουσιν ἅπαντες
ὅσον αὐτός, οὐ φάσκοντα ποιήσειν οὐδὲν οὐδ᾽

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[a] See note on *Olynth.* i. 20.

[b] *i.e.* blame the poorer classes for upholding the Theoric Fund. The argument is that when the revenue was smaller, the property-owners did not refuse to pay up; now that the revenue shows a big surplus, devoted to the Theoric Fund,

owners against the necessitous. If we could banish from our midst both the obloquy which some heap on the Theoric Fund,[a] and also the fear that the Fund will not be maintained without doing a great deal of harm, we could not perform a greater service nor one more likely to strengthen the whole body politic. Follow my argument while I state first the case of those who are regarded as the poorer classes. There was a time not long ago when the revenue of your state did not exceed a hundred and thirty talents, and yet of those competent to undertake the trierarchy or pay the property-tax there is not one that declined the duty that devolved on him in the absence of a surplus ; but the war-galleys sailed out, and the money came in, and we did all that was required. Since then fortune has smiled on us and increased our revenues, and the exchequer now receives four hundred instead of one hundred talents, though no property-owner suffers any loss but is rather the gainer, for all the rich citizens come up to receive their share of this increase, as indeed they have a perfect right to do. What then do we mean by reproaching one another for this and making it an excuse for doing nothing, unless it is that we grudge the relief which the poor have received at the hands of fortune ? I for one shall not blame them,[b] nor do I think it fair to do so. For in private life I do not observe that the young man adopts that attitude towards his seniors, or that any human being is so insensible or unreasonable that he refuses to do anything himself unless everybody does the same ;

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in which all classes have a share, why should the rich demand relief from their " liturgies " ? (Perhaps the modern income-tax-payer will fail to appreciate the speaker's logic.)

αὐτόν· καὶ γὰρ ἂν τοῖς τῆς κακώσεως εἴη νόμοις
[142] οὕτω γ' ἔνοχος· δεῖ γάρ, οἶμαι, τοῖς γονεῦσι τὸν
ὡρισμένον ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἔρανον, καὶ παρὰ τῆς
φύσεως καὶ παρὰ τοῦ νόμου, δικαίως φέρειν καὶ
41 ἑκόνθ' ὑποτελεῖν. ὥσπερ τοίνυν ἑνὸς ἡμῶν ἑκάστου
τίς ἐστι γονεύς, οὕτω συμπάσης τῆς πόλεως
κοινοὺς δεῖ γονέας τοὺς σύμπαντας ἡγεῖσθαι, καὶ
προσήκει τούτους οὐχ ὅπως ὧν ἡ πόλις δίδωσιν
ἀφελέσθαι τι, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ μηδὲν ἦν τούτων, ἄλλοθεν
σκοπεῖν ὅπως μηδενὸς ὄντες ἐνδεεῖς περιοφθήσονται.
42 τοὺς μὲν τοίνυν εὐπόρους ταύτῃ χρωμένους
τῇ γνώμῃ οὐ μόνον ἡγοῦμαι τὰ δίκαια
ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ λυσιτελῆ· τὸ γὰρ τῶν ἀναγκαίων
τιν' ἀποστερεῖν κοινῇ κακόνους ἐστὶ ποιεῖν
πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῖς πράγμασι· τοῖς δ' ἐν
ἐνδείᾳ, δι' ὃ δυσχεραίνουσι τὸ πρᾶγμ' οἱ τὰς
οὐσίας ἔχοντες καὶ κατηγοροῦσι δικαίως, τοῦτ'
ἀφελεῖν ἂν συμβουλεύσαιμι.

43 Δίειμι δέ, ὥσπερ ἄρτι, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ
ὑπὲρ τῶν εὐπόρων, οὐ κατοκνήσας εἰπεῖν τἀληθῆ.
ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἄθλιος οὐδ' ὠμὸς εἶναι
δοκεῖ τὴν γνώμην, οὔκουν Ἀθηναίων γε, ὥστε
λυπεῖσθαι ταῦτα λαμβάνοντας ὁρῶν τοὺς ἀπόρους
44 καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἐνδεεῖς ὄντας. ἀλλὰ ποῦ
συντρίβεται τὸ πρᾶγμα καὶ ποῦ δυσχεραίνεται;
ὅταν τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν κοινῶν ἔθος ἐπὶ τὰ ἴδια μεταβιβάζοντας
ὁρῶσί τινας, καὶ μέγαν μὲν ὄντα παρ'
ὑμῖν εὐθέως τὸν λέγοντα, ἀθάνατον δ' ἕνεκ'
ἀσφαλείας, ἑτέραν δὲ τὴν κρύβδην ψῆφον τοῦ

and indeed such a case would be covered by the laws for ill-usage,[a] for I suppose the contribution assessed by both authorities, by nature and by law, ought to be brought honestly and paid cheerfully to the parents. Therefore, just as each one of us has a parent, so ought we to regard the collective citizens as the common parents of the whole State, and so far from depriving them of anything that the State bestows, we ought, if there were no such grant, to look elsewhere for means to save any of their wants from being overlooked. So then, if the wealthy would accept this principle, I think they would be doing not only what is fair, but also what is expedient; for to deprive one citizen of necessaries is to make many of them unite in disaffection towards the government. I would also counsel the poorer classes to abolish the grievance which makes the propertied class discontented with the system, and gives them just cause for assailing it.

I proceed, in the same way as before, to state the case for the rich, and I shall not shrink from speaking the truth. For I cannot imagine anyone, or at least any Athenian, so obdurate and cruel-hearted as to feel annoyed when he sees the poor and those who lack necessaries receiving these boons. But where does our practice break down, and where lies the grievance? It is when the rich see certain persons transferring this usage from public moneys to private property; when the speaker is raised to instant greatness among you and even to immortality, as far as his privilege can secure it; and when your shouts of open approval are contradicted by your

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[a] Children who refused to support their parents were liable to a *δίκη κακώσεως*.

45 φανερῶς θορύβου. ταῦτ' ἀπιστίαν, ταῦτ' ὀργὴν
ἔχει. δεῖ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δικαίως ἀλλήλοις
[143] τῆς πολιτείας κοινωνεῖν, τοὺς μὲν εὐπόρους
εἰς μὲν τὸν βίον τὸν ἑαυτῶν ἀσφαλῶς ἔχειν νομίζοντας
καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων μὴ δεδοικότας, εἰς δὲ
τοὺς κινδύνους κοινὰ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τὰ ὄντα
τῇ πατρίδι παρέχοντας, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τὰ μὲν
κοινὰ κοινὰ νομίζοντας καὶ μετέχοντας τὸ μέρος,
τὰ δ' ἑκάστου ἴδια τοῦ κεκτημένου. οὕτω καὶ
μικρὰ μεγάλη πόλις γίγνεται καὶ μεγάλη σῴζεται.
ὡς μὲν οὖν εἴποι τις ἄν, ἃ παρ' ἑκατέρων εἶναι
δεῖ, ταῦτ' ἴσως ἐστίν· ὡς δὲ καὶ γένοιτ' ἄν, ἐν
νόμῳ διορθώσασθαι δεῖ.

46 Τῶν δὲ παρόντων πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς ταραχῆς
πολλὰ πόρρωθέν ἐστι τὰ αἴτια· ἃ εἰ βουλομένοις
ὑμῖν ἀκούειν ἐστίν, ἐθέλω λέγειν. ἐξέστητ', ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἐφ' ἧς ὑμᾶς οἱ
πρόγονοι κατέλιπον, καὶ τὸ μὲν προΐστασθαι τῶν
Ἑλλήνων καὶ δύναμιν συνεστηκυῖαν ἔχοντας πᾶσι
τοῖς ἀδικουμένοις βοηθεῖν περίεργον ἐπείσθητ' εἶναι
καὶ μάταιον ἀνάλωμ' ὑπὸ τῶν ταῦτα πολιτευομένων,
τὸ δ' ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ διάγειν καὶ μηδὲν τῶν
δεόντων πράττειν, ἀλλὰ προϊεμένους καθ' ἓν
ἕκαστον πάνθ' ἑτέρους ἐᾶσαι λαβεῖν, θαυμαστὴν
εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἔχειν ᾤεσθε.
47 ἐκ δὲ τούτων παρελθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν τάξιν ἐφ' ἧς ὑμῖν
τετάχθαι προσῆκεν ἕτερος, οὗτος εὐδαίμων καὶ
μέγας καὶ πολλῶν κύριος γέγονεν, εἰκότως·

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[a] The recognized appropriation of public money for the Theoric Fund is imitated by demagogues, who prosecute the rich in order that their fines and confiscations may be

secret vote.[a] All this breeds distrust and resentment. For we are bound, Athenians, to share equitably with one another the privileges of citizenship, the wealthy feeling secure to lead their own lives and haunted by no fears on that account, but in the face of dangers making over their property to the commonwealth for its defence ; while the rest must realize that State-property is common property, duly receiving their share of it, but recognizing that private wealth belongs to the possessor. In this way a small state grows great, and a great one is kept great. This may pass for a verbal statement of the duties of each class ; for the legal performance of those duties some organization is necessary.

Of our present difficulties and of the existing confusion the causes are many and of long standing, but if you are willing to hear them, I am ready to speak. Men of Athens, you have deserted the post in which your ancestors left you ; you have been persuaded by politicians of this sort that to be paramount in Greece, to possess a standing force, and to help all the oppressed, is a superfluous task and an idle expense ; while you fondly imagined that to live in peace, to neglect all your duties, to abandon all your possessions and let others seize them one by one, ensured wonderful prosperity and complete security. In consequence of this, a rival has stepped into the position that you ought to have filled, and it is he who has become prosperous and great and ruler over many things. And rightly so ; for there is a prize,

used for similar benefits. The demagogue thus acquires undue influence and, being privileged, is unassailable. Meanwhile the people, sitting as a jury, applaud the rich man when he skilfully defends his rights, but cast their votes against him.

πρᾶγμα γὰρ ἔντιμον καὶ μέγα καὶ λαμπρόν, καὶ
περὶ οὗ πάντα τὸν χρόνον αἱ μέγισται τῶν πόλεων
πρὸς αὑτὰς διεφέροντο, Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν ἠτυχηκότων,
Θηβαίων δ' ἀσχόλων διὰ τὸν Φωκικὸν
πόλεμον γενομένων, ἡμῶν δ' ἀμελούντων, ἔρημον
[144] ἀνείλετο. τοιγάρτοι τὸ μὲν φοβεῖσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις,
48 τὸ δὲ συμμάχους πολλοὺς ἔχειν καὶ δύναμιν
μεγάλην ἐκείνῳ περιγέγονε, καὶ τοσαῦτα πράγματα
καὶ τοιαῦτ' ἤδη περιέστηκε τοὺς Ἕλληνας
ἅπαντας, ὥστε μηδ' ὅ τι χρὴ συμβουλεύειν εὔπορον
εἶναι.

49 Ὄντων δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν παρόντων
πραγμάτων πᾶσιν, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω, φοβερῶν,
οὐδένες ἐν μείζονι κινδύνῳ τῶν πάντων εἰσὶν
ὑμῶν, οὐ μόνον τῷ μάλισθ' ὑμῖν ἐπιβουλεύειν
Φίλιππον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ πάντων ἀργότατ' αὐτοὶ
διακεῖσθαι. εἰ τοίνυν τὸ τῶν ὠνίων πλῆθος
ὁρῶντες καὶ τὴν εὐετηρίαν τὴν κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν,
τούτοις κεκήλησθ' ὡς ἐν οὐδενὶ δεινῷ τῆς πόλεως
οὔσης, οὔτε προσηκόντως οὔτ' ὀρθῶς τὸ πρᾶγμα
50 κρίνετε· ἀγορὰν μὲν γὰρ ἄν τις καὶ πανήγυριν ἐκ
τούτων ἢ φαύλως ἢ καλῶς παρεσκευάσθαι κρίνοι·
πόλιν δ' ἣν ὑπείληφεν, ὃς ἂν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἄρχειν
ἀεὶ βούληται, μόνην ἂν ἐναντιωθῆναι καὶ τῆς
πάντων ἐλευθερίας προστῆναι, οὐ μὰ Δί' ἐκ τῶν
ὠνίων, εἰ καλῶς ἔχει, δοκιμάζειν δεῖ, ἀλλ' εἰ
συμμάχων εὐνοίᾳ πιστεύει, εἰ τοῖς ὅπλοις ἰσχύει,
ταῦθ' ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως δεῖ σκοπεῖν· ἃ σφαλερῶς
51 ὑμῖν καὶ οὐδαμῶς ἅπαντα καλῶς ἔχει. γνοίητε
δ' ἄν, εἰ σκέψαισθ' ἐκείνως. πότε μάλιστ' ἐν
ταραχῇ τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων γέγονε πράγματα;
οὐδένα γὰρ χρόνον ἄλλον ἢ τὸν νυνὶ παρόντ' οὐδ'

honourable, great, and glorious, a prize for which the greatest of our states once spent all their time in contending, but since misfortune has dogged the Lacedaemonians, and the Phocian War has left the Thebans no leisure, and we are heedless, he has grasped it without a struggle. Therefore fear is the portion of the others, but his the possession of many allies and a mighty force ; and such great and manifold troubles now encompass all the Greeks that it is not easy to advise what ought to be done.

Yet, men of Athens, perilous as is the present situation in my judgement, none of all the Greeks are in greater danger than you, not only because you are the chief object of Philip's plots, but because you are the most disposed to inaction. If therefore, noting the abundance and cheapness of goods for sale in your markets, you have been beguiled by these things into the belief that the city is in no danger, your estimate of the situation is contrary to all right and reason. For a market or a fair might be judged on such evidence to be well or ill stocked ; but a city, which every aspirant to the rule of Greece has regarded as his only possible opponent and as champion of the freedom of all, must surely not be tested by her market-stuff to see whether all is well with her, but by her ability to trust the loyalty of her allies, by her strength in arms—these are the qualities that you must look for in the city ; and these in your case are all untrustworthy and unsound. You will understand it if you look at it in this way. When have the affairs of Greece been in the greatest confusion ? For no other occasion than the present could possibly

ἂν εἷς εἴποι. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἄλλον ἅπαντ’ εἰς δύο
ταῦτα διῄρητο τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, Λακεδαιμονίους
καὶ ἡμᾶς, τῶν δ’ ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων οἱ μὲν ἡμῖν, οἱ
[145] δ’ ἐκείνοις ὑπήκουον. βασιλεὺς δὲ καθ’ αὐτὸν μὲν
ὁμοίως ἅπασιν ἄπιστος ἦν, τοὺς δὲ κρατουμένους
τῷ πολέμῳ προσλαμβάνων, ἄχρι οὗ τοῖς ἑτέροις
ἐξ ἴσου ποιήσαι, διεπιστεύετο, ἔπειτ’ οὐχ ἧττον
αὐτὸν ἐμίσουν οὓς σώσειε τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
52 ἐχθρῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς. νῦν δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς
ἅπασι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν οἰκείως ἔχει, καὶ πάντων
ἥκιστα δὴ ἡμῖν, ἄν τι μὴ νῦν ἐπανορθωσώμεθα·
ἔπειτα προστασίαι πολλαὶ καὶ πανταχόθεν γίγνονται,
καὶ τοῦ πρωτεύειν ἀντιποιοῦνται μὲν πάντες,
ἀφεστᾶσι δ’ ἔνιοι καὶ φθονοῦσι καὶ ἀπιστοῦσιν
αὐτοῖς, οὐχ οἷς ἔδει, καὶ γεγόνασι καθ’ αὐτοὺς
ἕκαστοι, Ἀργεῖοι, Θηβαῖοι, Λακεδαιμόνιοι, Κορίνθιοι,
53 Ἀρκάδες, ἡμεῖς. ἀλλ’ ὅμως εἰς τοσαῦτα
μέρη καὶ τοσαύτας δυναστείας διῃρημένων τῶν
Ἑλληνικῶν πραγμάτων, εἰ δεῖ τἀληθῆ μετὰ παρρησίας
εἰπεῖν, τὰ παρ’ οὐδέσι τούτων ἀρχεῖα καὶ
βουλευτήρι’ ἐρημότερ’ ἄν τις ἴδοι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν
πραγμάτων ἢ τὰ παρ’ ἡμῖν, εἰκότως· οὔτε γὰρ
φιλῶν οὔτε πιστεύων οὔτε φοβούμενος οὐδεὶς
54 ἡμῖν διαλέγεται. αἴτιον δὲ τούτων οὐχ ἕν, ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι (ῥᾴδιον γὰρ ἂν ἦν ὑμῖν μεταθεῖναι),
ἀλλὰ πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ ἐκ παντὸς
ἡμαρτημένα τοῦ χρόνου, ὧν τὸ καθ’ ἕκαστον
ἐάσας, εἰς ὃ πάντα τείνει λέξω, δεηθεὶς ὑμῶν, ἂν
λέγω τἀληθῆ μετὰ παρρησίας, μηδὲν ἀχθεσθῆναί
μοι. πέπραται τὰ συμφέροντ’ ἐφ’ ἑκάστου τῶν
καιρῶν, καὶ μετειλήφαθ’ ὑμεῖς μὲν τὴν σχολὴν καὶ

be named by anyone. All during the past Greece was divided into two camps, the Lacedaemonians' and ours, and of the other Greeks some took their orders from us, others from them. The king of Persia, in himself, was equally distrusted by all, but by taking up the cause of the losing side in the struggle, he retained their confidence until he could put them on an equality with the others; but thereafter he was no less hated by those he had saved than by those who had been his enemies from the beginning. But in the first place, the king is now well-disposed to all the Greeks, and yet to us least of all, unless we can effect some immediate improvement. In the second place, many so-called "protectors" are springing up everywhere, and all are rivals for the leadership, but unfortunately some hold aloof, in mutual jealousy and distrust, and so each state has isolated itself—Argives, Thebans, Lacedaemonians, Corinthians, Arcadians, ourselves. But yet, though Greek politics are split up into so many factions under so many powers, in no state, if I must speak the truth freely, would you find the government offices and the council chambers less occupied with Greek affairs than here at Athens; and naturally so, for neither through love nor trust nor fear does anyone hold communication with us. And this is not due to a single cause, Athenians, or you might easily remedy it, but to many errors of every kind throughout the past. Without enumerating these, I will mention one on which all the rest turn, only beseeching you not to be offended with me, if I speak the truth boldly. It is the selling of your interests at every opportunity; your share in the bargain is leisure and inaction, which charm you out of your resent-

τὴν ἡσυχίαν, ὑφ᾿ ὧν κεκηλημένοι τοῖς ἀδικοῦσιν
55 οὐ πικρῶς ἔχετε, ἕτεροι δὲ τὰς τιμὰς ἔχουσι. καὶ
τὰ μὲν περὶ τἄλλ᾿ οὐκ ἄξιον ἐξετάσαι νῦν· ἀλλ᾿
[146] ἐπειδάν τι τῶν πρὸς Φίλιππον ἐμπέσῃ, εὐθὺς
ἀναστάς τις λέγει ὡς οὐ δεῖ ληρεῖν οὐδὲ γράφειν
πόλεμον, παραθεὶς εὐθέως ἑξῆς τὸ τὴν εἰρήνην
ἄγειν ὡς ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ τρέφειν μεγάλην δύναμιν
ὡς χαλεπόν, καὶ "διαρπάζειν τινὲς τὰ χρήματα
βούλονται," καὶ ἄλλους λόγους ὡς οἷόν τ᾿ ἀληθεστάτους
56 λέγουσιν. ἀλλὰ δεῖ δήπου τὴν μὲν
εἰρήνην ἄγειν οὐχ ὑμᾶς πείθειν, οἳ πεπεισμένοι
κάθησθε, ἀλλὰ τὸν τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πράττοντα· ἂν
γὰρ ἐκεῖνος πεισθῇ, τά γ᾿ ἀφ᾿ ὑμῶν ὑπάρχει·
νομίζειν δ᾿ εἶναι χαλεπὰ οὐχ ὅσ᾿ ἂν εἰς σωτηρίαν
δαπανῶμεν, ἀλλ᾿ ἃ πεισόμεθα, ἂν μὴ ταῦτ᾿ ἐθέλωμεν
ποιεῖν, καὶ τὸ "διαρπασθήσεται τὰ χρήματα"
τῷ φυλακὴν εὑρεῖν δι᾿ ἧς σωθήσεται
κωλύειν, οὐχὶ τῷ τοῦ συμφέροντος ἀποστῆναι.
57 καίτοι ἔγωγ᾿ ἀγανακτῶ καὶ τοῦτο, εἰ τὰ μὲν χρήματα
λυπεῖ τινὰς ὑμῶν εἰ διαρπασθήσεται, ἃ
καὶ φυλάττειν καὶ κολάζειν τοὺς ἁρπάζοντας ἐφ᾿
ὑμῖν ἐστι, τὴν δ᾿ Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν ἐφεξῆς οὑτωσὶ
Φίλιππος ἁρπάζων οὐ λυπεῖ, καὶ ταῦτ᾿ ἐφ᾿ ὑμᾶς
ἁρπάζων.

58 Τί ποτ᾿ οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν μὲν οὕτω
φανερῶς ἀδικοῦντα καὶ πόλεις καταλαμβάνοντ᾿
οὐδεὶς πώποτε τούτων εἶπεν ὡς ἀδικεῖ καὶ πόλεμον
ποιεῖ,[1] τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν μηδὲ προΐεσθαι

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[1] πολεμοποιεῖ Dindorf with S, and so πολεμοποιεῖν below.

ment against your betrayers, but others reap the rewards. The other errors it is not worth while to investigate now, but whenever any question arises that concerns Philip, instantly up jumps someone and says there must be no nonsense talked, no declaration of war, and he at once goes on to add how good a thing it is to preserve peace, and what a bother it is to keep up a large army, and how "certain persons want to plunder your wealth"[a]; and their other statements are as true as they can make them. But surely it is not to you that they should recommend peace, for you have taken the advice and there you sit; it is to the man who is even now on the war-path; for if Philip can be won over, your share of the compact is ready to hand. Again, they should reflect that the irksome thing is not the expense of securing our safety, but the doom that will be ours if we shrink from that expense. As for the "plunder of your wealth," they ought to prevent that by proposing some way of checking it and not by abandoning your interests. And yet it is just this that rouses my indignation, that some of you should be distressed at the prospect of the plunder of your wealth, when you are quite competent to protect it and to punish any offender, but that you are not distressed at the sight of Philip thus plundering every Greek state in turn, the more so as he is plundering them to injure you.

Why then, men of Athens, has none of these speakers ever admitted that Philip is violating rights and provoking war, when he is thus openly violating rights and subduing cities, but when others urge you

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[a] *i.e.* by diverting money from the Theoric Fund to military objects.

ταῦτα συμβουλεύοντας, τούτους πόλεμον ποιεῖν
φασίν; ὅτι τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου
συμβησομένων δυσχερῶν (ἀνάγκη γάρ, ἀνάγκη
πολλὰ λυπηρὰ ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου γίγνεσθαι) τοῖς
ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν οἰομένοις ἀναθεῖναι
59 βούλονται. ἡγοῦνται γάρ, ἂν μὲν ὑμεῖς ὁμοθυμαδὸν
[147] ἐκ μιᾶς γνώμης Φίλιππον ἀμύνησθε, κἀκείνου
κρατήσειν ὑμᾶς καὶ αὐτοῖς οὐκέτ' ἔσεσθαι
μισθαρνεῖν, ἂν δ' ἀπὸ τῶν πρώτων θορύβων
αἰτιασάμενοί τινας πρὸς τὸ κρίνειν τράπησθε,
αὐτοὶ μὲν τούτων κατηγοροῦντες ἀμφότερ' ἕξειν,
καὶ παρ' ὑμῖν εὐδοκιμήσειν καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου
χρήματα λήψεσθαι, ὑμᾶς δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν δεῖ παρὰ
τούτων δίκην λαβεῖν, παρὰ τῶν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν εἰρηκότων
60 λήψεσθαι. αἱ μὲν ἐλπίδες αἱ τούτων αὗται
καὶ τὸ κατασκεύασμα τὸ τῶν αἰτιῶν, ὡς ἄρα
βούλονταί τινες πόλεμον ποιῆσαι. ἐγὼ δ' οἶδ'
ἀκριβῶς ὅτι, οὐ γράψαντος Ἀθηναίων οὐδενὸς
πόλεμον, πολλὰ Φίλιππος ἔχει τῶν τῆς πόλεως
καὶ νῦν εἰς Καρδίαν πέπομφε βοήθειαν. εἰ μέντοι
βουλόμεθ' ἡμεῖς μὴ προσποιεῖσθαι πολεμεῖν ἡμῖν
ἐκεῖνον, ἀνοητότατος πάντων ἂν εἴη, εἰ τοῦτ'
ἐξελέγχοι· ὅταν γὰρ οἱ ἀδικούμενοι ἀρνῶνται, τί
61 τῷ ἀδικοῦντι προσήκει; ἀλλ' ἐπειδὰν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς
αὐτοὺς ἴῃ, τί φήσομεν τότε; ἐκεῖνος μὲν γὰρ οὐ
πολεμεῖν, ὥσπερ οὐδ' Ὠρείταις, τῶν στρατιωτῶν
ὄντων ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ, οὐδὲ Φεραίοις πρότερον, πρὸς
τὰ τείχη προσβάλλων, οὐδ' Ὀλυνθίοις ἐξ ἀρχῆς,
ἕως ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ τὸ στράτευμα παρῆν ἔχων.
ἢ καὶ τότε τοὺς ἀμύνεσθαι κελεύοντας πόλεμον

not to give way to Philip nor submit to these losses, they say they are provoking war? It is because they want the blame for the sufferings that the war will entail—for it is inevitable, yes, inevitable that the war should cause much distress—to be laid at the doors of those who believe they are your wisest counsellors. For they are convinced that if you offer a whole-hearted and unanimous opposition to Philip, you will beat him and they will have no further chance of earning his pay, but that if at the first alarm of war you throw the blame on certain persons and devote your energies to bringing them to trial, they themselves by accusing them will gain both their ends—reputation with you and money from him, while you will punish the men who have spoken in your interests for the faults which you ought to punish in their accusers. Such are their hopes, and such is the design of the accusation that "certain persons wish to provoke war." But I am absolutely certain that, without waiting for any Athenian to propose a declaration of war, Philip is in possession of much of our territory and has just dispatched a force against Cardia. If, however, we like to pretend that he is not at war with us, he would be the greatest fool alive if he tried to disprove that; for when the victims deny the wrong, what should the malefactor do? But when our turn comes, what shall we say then? For of course he will deny that he is attacking us, just as he denied that he was attacking the men of Oreus, when his troops were already in their territory, or the Pheraeans before that, when he was actually assaulting their walls, or the Olynthians at the start, until he was inside their frontier with his army. Or shall we say, even at that hour, that those

ποιεῖν φήσομεν; οὐκοῦν ὑπόλοιπον δουλεύειν· οὐδὲ
62 γὰρ ἄλλο γ' οὐδὲν ἔνι. καὶ μὴν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν
ἴσων ὑμῖν καί τισι τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἔσθ' ὁ
κίνδυνος· οὐ γὰρ ὑφ' αὑτῷ ποιήσασθαι τὴν πόλιν
βούλεται Φίλιππος ὑμῶν, οὔ, ἀλλ' ὅλως ἀνελεῖν.
[148] οἶδε γὰρ ἀκριβῶς ὅτι δουλεύειν μὲν ὑμεῖς οὔτ'
ἐθελήσετε, οὔτ', ἐὰν ἐθέλητε, ἐπιστήσεσθε (ἄρχειν
γὰρ εἰώθατε), πράγματα δὲ παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ, ἂν
καιρὸν λάβητε, πλείω τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων
δυνήσεσθε. διὰ ταῦθ' ὑμῶν οὐχὶ φείσεται,
εἴπερ ἐγκρατὴς γενήσεται.

63 Ὡς οὖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐσχάτων ἐσομένου τοῦ ἀγῶνος,
οὕτω προσήκει γιγνώσκειν, καὶ τοὺς πεπρακότας
αὑτοὺς ἐκείνῳ φανερῶς ἀποτυμπανίσαι· οὐ γὰρ
ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστι τῶν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐχθρῶν
κρατῆσαι, πρὶν ἂν τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει κολάσητ'
ἐχθρούς, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη τούτοις ὥσπερ προβόλοις
64 προσπταίσαντας ὑστερίζειν ἐκείνων. πόθεν οἴεσθε
νῦν αὐτὸν ὑβρίζειν ὑμᾶς (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλ' ἔμοιγε
δοκεῖ ποιεῖν ἢ τοῦτο) καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους εὖ
ποιοῦντα, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, ἐξαπατᾶν, ὑμῖν δ'
ἀπειλεῖν ἤδη; οἷον Θετταλοὺς πολλὰ δοὺς ὑπηγάγετ'
εἰς τὴν νῦν παροῦσαν δουλείαν· οὐδ' ἂν
εἰπεῖν δύναιτ' οὐδεὶς ὅσα τοὺς ταλαιπώρους
Ὀλυνθίους πρότερον δοὺς Ποτείδαιαν ἐξηπάτησε
καὶ πόλλ' ἕτερα· Θηβαίους τὰ νῦν ὑπάγει τὴν Βοιωτίαν
αὐτοῖς παραδοὺς καὶ ἀπαλλάξας πολέμου
65 πολλοῦ καὶ χαλεποῦ· ὥστε καρπωσάμενοί τιν'
ἕκαστοι τούτων πλεονεξίαν, οἱ μὲν ἤδη πεπόνθασιν
ἃ δὴ πεπόνθασιν, οἱ δ' ὅ τι ἄν ποτε συμβῇ πεί-

who bid us repel him are provoking war? If so, there is nothing left but slavery, for there is no other alternative. Moreover, you have not the same interests at stake as some of the others, for it is not your subjection that Philip aims at; no, but your complete annihilation. For he is well assured that you will not consent to be slaves; or, if you consent, will never learn how to be slaves, for you are accustomed to rule others; but that you will be able, if you seize your chances, to cause him more trouble than all the rest of the world. For that reason he will not spare you, if he gets you in his power.

Therefore you must needs bear in mind that this will be a life-and-death struggle, and the men who have sold themselves to Philip must be publicly cudgelled to death; for it is impossible, impossible to quell the foes without, until you have punished the foes within your gates, but if you let these stand as stumbling-blocks in your path, you must fail against the others. What do you imagine is his motive in outraging you now—I think no other term describes his conduct—or why is it that, in deceiving the others, he at least confers benefits upon them, but in your case he is resorting to threats? For example, the Thessalians were beguiled by his generosity into their present state of servitude; no words can describe how he formerly deceived the miserable Olynthians by his gift of Potidaea and many other places; the Thebans he is now misleading, having handed over Boeotia to them and relieved them of a long and trying war. So each of these states has reaped some benefit from him, but while some have already paid the price by their sufferings, the others have yet to suffer whatever

σονται. ὑμεῖς δ' ὧν μὲν ἀπεστέρησθε σιωπῶ· ἀλλ'
ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τὴν εἰρήνην ποιήσασθαι, πόσ' ἐξηπάτησθε,
πόσων ἀπεστέρησθε. οὐχὶ Φωκέας, οὐ
Πύλας, οὐχὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης, Δορίσκον, Σέρριον,
[149] τὸν Κερσοβλέπτην αὐτόν; οὐ νῦν Καρδίαν ἔχει
66 καὶ ὁμολογεῖ; τί ποτ' οὖν ἐκείνως τοῖς ἄλλοις
καὶ ὑμῖν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον προσφέρεται; ὅτι ἐν
μόνῃ τῶν πασῶν πόλεων τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ἄδει' ὑπὲρ
τῶν ἐχθρῶν λέγειν δέδοται, καὶ λαβόντα χρήματ'
αὐτὸν ἀσφαλές ἐστι λέγειν παρ' ὑμῖν, κἂν ἀφῃρημένοι
67 τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν ἦτε. οὐκ ἦν ἀσφαλὲς
λέγειν ἐν Ὀλύνθῳ τὰ Φιλίππου μὴ σὺν εὖ πεπονθότων
τῶν πολλῶν Ὀλυνθίων τῷ Ποτείδαιαν καρποῦσθαι·
οὐκ ἦν ἀσφαλὲς λέγειν ἐν Θετταλίᾳ μὴ
σὺν εὖ πεπονθότος τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ Θετταλῶν τῷ
τοὺς τυράννους ἐκβαλεῖν Φίλιππον αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν
Πυλαίαν ἀποδοῦναι· οὐκ ἦν ἐν Θήβαις ἀσφαλές,
πρὶν τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἀπέδωκε καὶ τοὺς Φωκέας
68 ἀνεῖλεν. ἀλλ' Ἀθήνησιν, οὐ μόνον Ἀμφίπολιν καὶ
τὴν Καρδιανῶν χώραν ἀπεστερηκότος Φιλίππου,
ἀλλὰ καὶ κατασκευάζοντος ἡμῖν ἐπιτείχισμα τὴν
Εὔβοιαν καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ Βυζάντιον παριόντος, ἀσφαλές
ἐστι λέγειν ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου. καὶ γάρ τοι
τούτων μὲν ἐκ πτωχῶν ἔνιοι ταχὺ πλούσιοι γίγνονται
καὶ ἐξ ἀνωνύμων καὶ ἀδόξων ἔνδοξοι καὶ
γνώριμοι, ὑμεῖς δὲ τοὐναντίον ἐκ μὲν ἐνδόξων
69 ἄδοξοι, ἐκ δ' εὐπόρων ἄποροι· πόλεως γὰρ ἔγωγε
πλοῦτον ἡγοῦμαι συμμάχους, πίστιν, εὔνοιαν, ὧν

shall fall to their lot. As for you, I do not say how far you have been robbed, but in the actual making of the peace, how completely you were deceived, how grievously you were robbed! Were you not deceived about Phocis, Thermopylae, the Thrace-ward districts, Doriscus, Serrium, Cersobleptes himself? Is not Philip now holding the city of the Cardians, and admitting that he holds it? Why then does he deal in that way with the other Greeks, but with you in this way? Because yours is the one city in the world where immunity is granted to plead on behalf of our enemies, and where a man who has been bribed can safely address you in person, even when you have been robbed of your own. It would not have been safe in Olynthus to plead Philip's cause, unless the Olynthian democracy had shared in the enjoyment of the revenues of Potidaea. It would not have been safe in Thessaly to plead Philip's cause, if the commoners of Thessaly had not shared in the advantages that Philip conferred, when he expelled their tyrants and restored to them their Amphictyonic privileges. It would not have been safe at Thebes, until he gave them back Boeotia and wiped out the Phocians. But at Athens, though Philip has not only robbed you of Amphipolis and the Cardian territory, but is also turning Euboea into a fortress to overawe us and is even now on his way to attack Byzantium, it is safe to speak on Philip's behalf. Indeed, of these politicians, some who were beggars are suddenly growing rich, some unknown to name and fame are now men of honour and distinction; while you, on the contrary, have passed from honour to dishonour, from affluence to destitution. For a city's wealth I hold to be allies,

πάντων ὑμεῖς ἔστ᾽ ἄποροι. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τούτων
ὀλιγώρως ὑμᾶς ἔχειν καὶ ἐᾶν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον
φέρεσθαι, ὁ μὲν εὐδαίμων καὶ μέγας καὶ φοβερὸς
πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις, ὑμεῖς δ᾽ ἔρημοι καὶ
ταπεινοί, τῇ μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν εὐετηρίᾳ λαμπροί,
[150] τῇ δ᾽ ὧν προσῆκε παρασκευῇ καταγέλαστοι.

70 Οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον περί θ᾽ ὑμῶν καὶ περὶ
αὑτῶν ἐνίους τῶν λεγόντων ὁρῶ βουλευομένους·
ὑμᾶς μὲν γὰρ ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν φασὶ δεῖν, κἄν τις
ὑμᾶς ἀδικῇ, αὐτοὶ δ᾽ οὐ δύνανται παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ἡσυχίαν
ἄγειν οὐδενὸς αὐτοὺς ἀδικοῦντος. καίτοι
λοιδορίας χωρὶς εἴ τις ἔροιτο “ εἰπέ μοι, τί δὴ
γιγνώσκων ἀκριβῶς, Ἀριστόμηδες,[1] (οὐδεὶς γὰρ
τὰ τοιαῦτ᾽ ἀγνοεῖ) τὸν μὲν τῶν ἰδιωτῶν βίον
ἀσφαλῆ καὶ ἀπράγμονα καὶ ἀκίνδυνον ὄντα, τὸν δὲ
τῶν πολιτευομένων φιλαίτιον καὶ σφαλερὸν καὶ
καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἀγώνων καὶ κακῶν μεστόν,
οὐ τὸν ἡσύχιον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις αἱρεῖ; ”
71 τί ἂν εἴποις[2]; εἰ γὰρ ὃ βέλτιστον εἰπεῖν ἂν ἔχοις,
τοῦτό σοι δοίημεν ἀληθὲς λέγειν, ὡς ὑπὲρ φιλοτιμίας
καὶ δόξης ταῦτα πάντα ποιεῖς, θαυμάζω τί
δήποτε σαυτῷ μὲν ὑπὲρ τούτων ἅπαντα ποιητέον
εἶναι νομίζεις καὶ πονητέον καὶ κινδυνευτέον, τῇ
πόλει δὲ προέσθαι ταῦτα μετὰ ῥᾳθυμίας συμβουλεύεις.
οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνό γ᾽ ἂν εἴποις, ὡς σὲ
μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει δεῖ τινὰ φαίνεσθαι, τὴν πόλιν δ᾽
72 ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι μηδενὸς ἀξίαν εἶναι. καὶ μὴν οὐδ᾽
ἐκεῖνό γ᾽ ὁρῶ, ὡς τῇ μὲν πόλει ἀσφαλὲς τὸ τὰ

[1] So SA : Ἀριστόδημε Dindorf with vulg.
[2] εἴποι τις Dindorf with S only.

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[a] An unknown opponent. If with Dindorf we adopt the

credit, goodwill, and of all these you are destitute. And it is because you are indifferent to these things and allow them to be taken from you in this way, that Philip is prosperous and powerful and formidable to Greeks and barbarians alike, while you are deserted and humiliated, famous for your well-stocked markets, but in provision for your proper needs, contemptible.

Yet I observe that some of our speakers do not urge the same policy for you as for themselves ; for you, they say, ought to remain quiet even when you are wronged ; they themselves cannot remain quiet among you, though no one does them wrong. And yet, raillery apart, suppose someone should ask, " Tell me, Aristomedes,[a] why, when you know perfectly well—for no one is ignorant of such matters—that a private station is secure and free from risk, but the life of a politician is precarious, open to attack, and full of trials and misfortunes every day, why do you not choose the quiet, sequestered life instead of the life of peril ? " What would you reply ? For if we should grant the truth of what would be your best possible answer, that you do all this for love of glory and renown, I wonder what earthly reason you have for thinking that you yourself ought for that object to make every exertion, facing toil and danger, whereas you advise the State to abandon such efforts in sheer indifference. For this you cannot say—that it is your duty to make a figure in the State, but that the State is of no importance in the Greek world. And there is another thing I do not see—that it is safe for the State to

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vulgate, it will refer to the Athenian actor Aristodemus, who was a member of the first embassy to Philip and is mentioned in *De Cor.* 21 and in several passages of the *De Fals. Leg.*

αὐτῆς πράττειν, σοὶ δὲ κίνδυνος, εἰ μηδὲν τῶν
ἄλλων πλέον περιεργάσει, ἀλλὰ τοὐναντίον σοὶ μὲν
ἐξ ὧν ἐργάζει καὶ περιεργάζει τοὺς ἐσχάτους
73 ὄντας κινδύνους, τῇ πόλει δ᾿ ἐκ τῆς ἡσυχίας. ἀλλὰ
νὴ Δία παππῷα σοι καὶ πατρῷα δόξ᾿ ὑπάρχει, ἣν
αἰσχρόν ἐστιν ἐν σοὶ καταλῦσαι· τῇ πόλει δ᾿
ὑπῆρξεν ἀνώνυμα καὶ φαῦλα τὰ τῶν προγόνων.
ἀλλ᾿ οὐδὲ τοῦθ᾿ οὕτως ἔχει· σοὶ μὲν γὰρ ἦν κλέπτης
[151] ὁ πατήρ, εἴπερ ἦν ὅμοιός σοι, τῇ πόλει δ᾿ ἡμῶν
οὓς πάντες ἴσασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες ἐκ τῶν μεγίστων
74 κινδύνων σεσωσμένοι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ ἴσως οὐδὲ
πολιτικῶς ἔνιοι τὰ καθ᾿ αὑτοὺς καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν
πόλιν πολιτεύονται· πῶς γάρ ἐστιν ἴσον τούτων
μέν τινας ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου ἥκοντας ἑαυτοὺς
ἀγνοεῖν, τὴν πόλιν δ᾿, ἣ προειστήκει τῶν ἄλλων
τέως καὶ τὸ πρωτεῖον εἶχε, νῦν ἐν ἀδοξίᾳ πάσῃ
καὶ ταπεινότητι καθεστάναι;

75 Πολλὰ τοίνυν ἔχων ἔτι καὶ περὶ πολλῶν εἰπεῖν
παύσομαι· καὶ γὰρ οὐ λόγων ἐνδείᾳ μοι δοκεῖ τὰ
πράγματ᾿ οὔτε νῦν οὔτ᾿ ἄλλοτε πώποτε φαύλως
ἔχειν, ἀλλ᾿ ὅταν πάντ᾿ ἀκούσαντες ὑμεῖς τὰ
δέοντα καὶ ὁμογνώμονες ὡς ὀρθῶς λέγεται γενόμενοι,
τῶν λυμαίνεσθαι καὶ διαστρέφειν ταῦτα
βουλομένων ἐξ ἴσου κάθησθ᾿ ἀκροώμενοι, οὐκ
ἀγνοοῦντες αὐτούς (ἴστε γὰρ εὐθὺς ἰδόντες ἀκριβῶς,
τίς μισθοῦ λέγει καὶ ὑπὲρ Φιλίππου πολιτεύεται,
καὶ τίς ὡς ἀληθῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν βελτίστων),
ἀλλ᾿ ἵν᾿ αἰτιασάμενοι τούτους καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμ᾿
εἰς γέλωτα καὶ λοιδορίαν ἐμβαλόντες μηδὲν αὐτοὶ

mind its own business, but dangerous for you if you do not go beyond your fellow-citizens in meddling with affairs. Nay, on the contrary, I do foresee the utmost danger, to you from your bustling and meddling, but to the State from its inactivity. But you may say that you have the honour of your grandfather and father to uphold, and it would be scandalous to subvert it in your person, but that the State has inherited only nameless and paltry exploits from our ancestors. But that too is untrue; for you had a thief for your father, if he was like you, but our fathers, as all the Greeks know, preserved them from the deadliest perils. But indeed there are some whose management both of private and of public business is neither fair nor constitutional; for how is it fair that some of these men, just released from jail, should be ignorant of their own worth, while that state, which was once the champion of the rest and maintained the pre-eminence, should now be sunk in all dishonour and humiliation?

Therefore, though there is much that I could say on many topics, I will forbear; for indeed it is not, I think, lack of speeches either now or at any other time that is the cause of our distress, but when you have listened to the right sort of arguments, and when you are unanimous as to their validity, you sit on and give equal attention to those who wish to overthrow and distort them. It is not that you do not recognize these speakers, for as soon as you have seen them, you know exactly who is speaking for pay and acting as Philip's agent, and who is sincerely defending your best interests; but your aim is to find fault with these latter and, by turning the subject into ridicule and raillery, to avoid doing any

76 τῶν δεόντων ποιῆτε. ταῦτ᾿ ἐστὶ τἀληθῆ, μετὰ πάσης παρρησίας, ἁπλῶς εὐνοίᾳ τὰ βέλτιστ᾿ εἰρημένα, οὐ κολακείᾳ βλάβης καὶ ἀπάτης λόγος μεστός, ἀργύριον τῷ λέγοντι ποιήσων, τὰ δὲ πράγματα τῆς πόλεως τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐγχειριῶν. ἢ οὖν παυστέον τούτων τῶν ἐθῶν, ἢ μηδέν᾿ ἄλλον αἰτιατέον τοῦ πάντα φαύλως ἔχειν ἢ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς.

part of your own duty. There you have the truth spoken with all freedom, simply in goodwill and for the best—no speech packed by flattery with mischief and deceit, and intended to put money into the speaker's pocket and the control of the State into our enemies' hands. Either, then, you must abandon these habits of yours, or you must throw the blame for all our failures on no one but yourselves.

ANSWER TO PHILIP'S LETTER

INTRODUCTION

In the late summer of 340 Philip began the siege of Perinthus, a town on the Thracian shore of the Propontis, and, in spite of its strong position, it would have fallen but for the help of the Byzantines, the Athenian fleet under Chares, and the mercenaries sent to its relief by the satraps. Philip left part of his force before Perinthus, and hastened to attack Byzantium. He was again thwarted, largely owing to the activities of Demosthenes. The vigorous defence of the Byzantines, aided by an Athenian fleet under Phocion and squadrons from some of the principal Aegean islands, compelled him to abandon the siege. He turned his back on Greece and attacked the Scythians, sustaining a severe defeat at the hands of the Triballi. Thus inauspiciously did he commence the war which was to end two years later in the crowning victory of Chaeronea.

While engaged before Perinthus, Philip sent a manifesto to Athens, complaining of various acts of hostility committed since 346 and ending with a virtual declaration of war. The *De Corona* (§§ 77, 78) contains a version of the letter, which, like the other documents in that speech, is a feeble forgery. Another version appears as No. XII. among the speeches of Demosthenes, though it is absent from the three best manuscripts, S, L, and A. It is not likely to be a copy of the original, but it has been generally accepted by historians as faithfully representing the substance of Philip's protest. Without mentioning the siege of Perinthus, it informs us that Philip was forced to provide a land force to escort and protect his fleet on its way to Perinthus. It mentions the appeal for Persian aid, but not the successful result of that appeal. It was therefore written soon after the siege began.

The speech in reply to the letter, though accepted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus as the last of the Philippics, will deceive no one. It attempts no answer to Philip's charges, and it must be considerably later than the letter, as it refers to the raising of the siege of Perinthus and the commencement of that of Byzantium. It is a hash of phrases borrowed or imitated from earlier speeches, and may be attributed with some probability, like the *Fourth Philippic*, to the historian Anaximenes.

According to the *De Corona*, the immediate cause of the rupture was the seizure by Philip of Athenian corn-ships, which were being conveyed through the Bosporus. It was an Athenian protest that called forth Philip's letter. That incident is not referred to in either of the two following compositions.

[152] XI. ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ

Ὅτι μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Φίλιππος οὐκ
ἐποιήσατο τὴν εἰρήνην πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἀνεβάλετο
τὸν πόλεμον, πᾶσιν ὑμῖν φανερὸν γέγονεν· ἐπειδὴ
γὰρ Φαρσαλίοις Ἅλον παρέδωκε καὶ τὰ περὶ
Φωκέας διῳκήσατο καὶ τὴν Θρᾴκην κατεστρέψατο
πᾶσαν, αἰτίας οὐκ οὔσας πλασάμενος καὶ προφάσεις
ἀδίκους ἐξευρὼν τῷ μὲν ἔργῳ πάλαι πολεμεῖ πρὸς
τὴν πόλιν, τῷ δὲ λόγῳ νῦν ὁμολογεῖ διὰ τῆς
2 ἐπιστολῆς ἧς ἔπεμψεν· ὅτι δὲ χρὴ μήτ' ὀρρωδεῖν
ὑμᾶς τὴν ἐκείνου δύναμιν μήτ' ἀγεννῶς ἀντιταχθῆναι
πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σώμασι καὶ χρήμασι
καὶ ναυσὶ καὶ πᾶσιν ὡς ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν ἀφειδῶς
[153] ὁρμῆσαι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, ἐγὼ πειράσομαι διδάσκειν.
πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ εἰκός, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
τοὺς θεοὺς μεγίστους ὑμῖν ὑπάρχειν συμμάχους καὶ
βοηθούς, ὧν ἐκεῖνος τὰς πίστεις ὑπεριδὼν καὶ
3 τοὺς ὅρκους ὑπερβὰς λέλυκεν ἀδίκως τὴν εἰρήνην·
ἔπειθ' οἷς πρότερον ηὐξήθη, φενακίζων ἀεί τινας
καὶ μεγάλ' ἐπαγγελλόμενος εὐεργετήσειν, ταῦτα
πάντα διεξελήλυθεν ἤδη, καὶ γιγνώσκεται μὲν ὑπὸ
τῶν Περινθίων καὶ Βυζαντίων καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις
συμμαχούντων ὡς ἐπιθυμεῖ προσενεχθῆναι τούτοις
4 τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅνπερ Ὀλυνθίοις πρότερον, οὐκ

XI. ANSWER TO PHILIP'S LETTER

It must now be clear to all of you, Athenians, that Philip never concluded a peace with you, but only postponed the war; for ever since he handed Halus[a] over to the Pharsalians, settled the Phocian question, and subdued the whole of Thrace, coining false excuses and inventing hollow pretexts, he has been all the time practically at war with Athens, though it is only now that he confesses it openly in the letter which he has sent. I shall, however, try to prove to you that you must not quail before his power nor offer a half-hearted resistance, but must enter the war with an unsparing provision of men, money, and ships—in a word, with all your resources. For first, men of Athens, you may reasonably expect that your mightiest allies and supporters will be those gods whose sanction he has flouted and whose name he has taken in vain through his unjust violation of the peace. Then again, he has at last come to the end of his policy of deception and his lavish promises of future benefit, which before helped him to power. The Perinthians and Byzantines with their allies realize that his aim is to deal with them even as he dealt with the Olynthians before. The

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[a] A town in the south of Thessaly on the Pagasaean Gulf; not to be confused with Halonnesus.

ἀγνοεῖται δ’ ὑπὸ Θετταλῶν δεσπόζειν, ἀλλ’ οὐχ
ἡγεῖσθαι τῶν συμμάχων προαιρούμενος, ὑποπτεύεται
δ’ ὑπὸ Θηβαίων Νίκαιαν μὲν φρουρᾷ κατέχων,
εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀμφικτυονίαν εἰσδεδυκώς, τὰς δὲ
πρεσβείας τὰς ἐκ Πελοποννήσου πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄγων
καὶ τὴν ἐκείνων συμμαχίαν παραιρούμενος· ὥστε
τῶν αὐτῷ πρὸ τοῦ φίλων ὄντων τοὺς μὲν νῦν
πολεμεῖν ἀκαταλλάκτως, τοὺς δὲ μηκέτι προθύμους
εἶναι συναγωνιστάς, ἅπαντας δ’ ὑφορᾶσθαι
5 καὶ διαβεβλῆσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν. ἔτι τοίνυν (οὐδὲ γὰρ
τοῦτ’ ἔστι μικρόν) οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν σατράπαι
καθεστῶτες ἔναγχος μὲν ξένους [μισθοφόρους][1]
εἰσπέμψαντες ἐκώλυσαν ἐκπολιορκηθῆναι Πέρινθον,
νῦν δὲ τῆς ἔχθρας αὐτοῖς ἐνεστώσης καὶ τοῦ
κινδύνου πλησίον ὄντος, εἰ χειρωθήσεται Βυζάντιον,
οὐ μόνον αὐτοὶ προθύμως συμπολεμήσουσιν,
6 ἀλλὰ καὶ βασιλέα [Περσῶν] χρήματα χορηγεῖν
ἡμῖν προτρέψονται, ὃς τοσοῦτον μὲν κέκτηται
πλοῦτον ὅσον οὐδ’ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες, τηλικαύτην
δ’ ἔχει ῥώμην πρὸς τὰς ἐνθάδε πράξεις ὥστε
[154] καὶ πρότερον, ἡνίκα Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπολεμοῦμεν,
ὁποτέροις πρόσθοιτο, τούτους ἐποίει κρατεῖν τῶν
ἑτέρων, καὶ νῦν μεθ’ ἡμῶν γενόμενος ῥᾳδίως
καταπολεμήσει τὴν Φιλίππου δύναμιν.

7 Πρὸς τοίνυν τούτοις τηλικούτοις οὖσιν, οὐκ ἐρῶ
μὲν ὡς οὐ διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην πολλὰ προείληφεν ἡμῶν
χωρία καὶ λιμένας καὶ τοιαῦθ’ ἕτερα χρήσιμα πρὸς
πόλεμον, ὁρῶ δ’ ὡς ὅταν μὲν ὑπ’ εὐνοίας τὰ
πράγματα συνέχηται καὶ πᾶσι ταὐτὰ συμφέρῃ τοῖς
μετέχουσι τῶν πολέμων, μένει τὰ συσταθέντα
βεβαίως· ὅταν δ’ ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ πλεονεξίας
ἀπάτῃ καὶ βίᾳ κατέχηται, καθάπερ ὑπὸ τούτου

Thessalians recognize that he is determined to be their despot and not the president of a confederacy. The Thebans suspect him, because he keeps a garrison at Nicaea and has stolen into the Amphictyonic Council, and because he attracts to his court the embassies of the Peloponnesian powers and secures their allies for himself. Thus of his old friends some are even now his irreconcilable foes, others are no longer his hearty supporters, while all regard him with suspicion and dislike. Then too—nor is this a matter of small importance—quite recently the satraps of Asia Minor sent a force of mercenaries and compelled Philip to raise the siege of Perinthus; but to-day their hostility is confirmed, the danger, if he reduces Byzantium, is at their very doors, and not only will they eagerly join the war against him, but they will prompt the king of Persia to become our paymaster; and he is richer than all the rest together, and his power to interfere in Greece is such that in our former wars with Sparta, whichever side he joined, he ensured their victory, and so, if he sides with us now, he will easily crush the power of Philip.

Now, admitting these great advantages, I cannot deny that Philip has used the peace to forestall us in occupying many fortresses, harbours, and other points of vantage; only I observe that when a league is knit together by goodwill, and when all the allied states have the same interests, then the coalition stands firm; but when, like Philip's, it is based on treachery and greed and maintained by fraud and

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[1] Cobet brackets.

νῦν, μικρὰ πρόφασις καὶ τὸ τυχὸν πταῖσμα ταχέως αὐτὰ διέσεισε καὶ κατέλυσεν. 8 καὶ πολλάκις εὑρίσκω λογιζόμενος οὐ μόνον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ συμμαχικὰ τῷ Φιλίππῳ πρὸς ὑποψίαν ἥκοντα καὶ δυσμένειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τῆς ἰδίας ἀρχῆς οὐ συνηρμοσμένα καλῶς οὐδ᾽ οἰκείως οὐδ᾽ ὡς οἴεταί τις. ὅλως μὲν γὰρ ἡ Μακεδονικὴ δύναμις ἐν μὲν προσθήκης μέρει ῥοπὴν ἔχει τινὰ καὶ χρῆσιν, αὐτὴ δὲ καθ᾽ αὑτὴν ἀσθενής ἐστι καὶ πρὸς τηλικοῦτον ὄγκον πραγμάτων εὐκαταφρόνητος. 9 ἔτι δ᾽ αὐτὴν οὗτος τοῖς πολέμοις καὶ ταῖς στρατειαῖς καὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ἄν τις αὐτὸν μέγαν εἶναι νομίσειε, σφαλερωτέραν αὑτῷ πεποίηκε. μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθ᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῖς αὐτοῖς χαίρειν Φίλιππόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους, ἀλλ᾽ ἐννοεῖσθ᾽ ὡς ὁ μὲν ἐπιθυμεῖ δόξης, οἱ δ᾽ ἀσφαλείας, καὶ αὐτῷ μὲν οὐκ ἔστι τυχεῖν ταύτης ἀκινδύνως, οἱ δ᾽ οὐδὲν δέονται, καταλείποντες οἴκοι τέκνα, γονεῖς, γυναῖκας, φθείρεσθαι καὶ καθ᾽ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν κινδυνεύειν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ.[1]

10 ὥστε τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς τῶν Μακεδόνων ἐκ τούτων [155] ἄν τις ἴδοι πῶς διάκεινται πρὸς τὸν Φίλιππον· τοὺς δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντας ἑταίρους καὶ τοὺς τῶν ξένων ἡγεμόνας εὑρήσετε δόξαν μὲν ἔχοντας ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρείᾳ, περιδεῶς δὲ μᾶλλον τῶν ἀδόξων ζῶντας. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους μόνον ὑπάρχει κίνδυνος, οἱ δὲ τοὺς κόλακας καὶ τοὺς διαβάλλοντας αὐτοὺς 11 μᾶλλον ἢ τὰς μάχας δεδίασι· κἀκεῖνοι μὲν μετὰ πάντων ἀγωνίζονται πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιταχθέντας, τοῖς δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κακῶν οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μέρος μέτεστι, καὶ χωρὶς ἰδίᾳ τὸν τρόπον τὸν τοῦ βασιλέως φοβεῖσθαι συμβέβηκεν. ἔτι δὲ τῶν μὲν

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[1] *αὐτῶν* Dindorf with SA.

violence, then on some slight pretext or by some trifling slip it is instantly shattered and dissolved. Moreover, men of Athens, frequent reflection has taught me that not only do Philip's alliances end in suspicion and hostility, but also the various parts of his own kingdom are not united by such satisfactory and intimate ties as people imagine. For although in a general way the Macedonian power carries some weight and value as an auxiliary, yet by itself it is weak and, in face of such a stupendous task, even negligible; and Philip, by his wars and his campaigns and by all those activities to which his greatness might be attributed, has really made it a less trusty weapon to his own hand. For you must not imagine, men of Athens, that his subjects share his tastes; you must rather reflect that he wants glory, but they security. He cannot gain his end without danger; they, thinking of children, parents, and wives left at home, are not so eager to court ruin and danger every day to oblige him. From this you can gauge the feelings of the great body of the Macedonians towards Philip; while as regards his courtiers and captains of his mercenaries you will find that, though they have some repute for valour, they live in greater fear than those who have none; for these have only the enemy to fear, but those dread the sycophants and slanderers of the court more than a pitched battle. These, again, have the whole army to support them when they face the hostile ranks, but those both have to bear the chief burden of the war, and, apart from that, it is their peculiar misfortune to fear the temper of their king. Moreover, if a common soldier is at fault,

πολλῶν ἐὰν ἁμάρτῃ τις, ζημίας κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν εἴληφεν· οἱ δ᾽ ὅταν μάλιστα κατορθώσωσι, τότε μάλιστα σκορακίζονται καὶ προπηλακίζονται παρὰ
12 τὸ προσῆκον. καὶ τούτοις οὐδ᾽ ἂν εἷς εὖ φρονῶν ἀπιστήσειεν· οὕτω γὰρ φιλότιμον αὐτὸν εἶναί φασιν οἱ συνδιατρίψαντες ὥστε βουλόμενον τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἔργων πάνθ᾽ αὑτοῦ δοκεῖν εἶναι μᾶλλον ἄχθεσθαι τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοῖς ἄξιον ἐπαίνου τι πράξασιν ἢ τοῖς ὅλως ἀπο-
13 τυχοῦσι. πῶς οὖν, εἴπερ ἐστὶ ταῦτα τοιαῦτα, πιστῶς ἤδη πολὺν χρόνον αὐτῷ παραμένουσιν; ὅτι νῦν μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸ κατορθοῦν αὐτὸν ἐπισκοτεῖ πᾶσι τοῖς τοιούτοις· αἱ γὰρ εὐπραξίαι δειναὶ συγκρύψαι καὶ συσκιάσαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων εἰσίν· εἰ δέ τι πταίσει, τότ᾽ ἀκριβῶς διακαλυφθήσεται ταῦτα πάντα. συμβαίνει γὰρ
14 ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς σώμασιν ἡμῶν· ὅταν μὲν ἐρρωμένος ᾖ τις, οὐδὲν ἐπαισθάνεται τῶν καθ᾽ ἕκαστα
[156] σαθρῶν, ἐπὰν δ᾽ ἀρρωστήσῃ, πάντα κινεῖται, κἂν ῥῆγμα κἂν στρέμμα κἂν ἄλλο τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ᾖ μὴ τελέως ὑγιεινόν· οὕτω καὶ τῶν βασιλειῶν καὶ ἁπασῶν τῶν δυναστειῶν, ἕως μὲν ἂν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κατορθῶσιν, ἀφανῆ τὰ κακά ἐστι τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἐπὰν δέ τι πταίσωσιν, ὃ νῦν παθεῖν εἰκὸς ἐκεῖνον μεῖζον φορτίον ἢ καθ᾽ αὑτὸν αἰρόμενον, γίγνεται φανερὰ τὰ δυσχερῆ πάντα τοῖς ἅπασιν.

15 Εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν Φίλιππον ὁρῶν εὐτυχοῦντα φοβερὸν εἶναι νομίζει καὶ δυσπολέμητον, σώφρονος μὲν ἀνδρὸς χρῆται προνοίᾳ· μεγάλη γὰρ ῥοπή, μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ ὅλον ἡ τύχη ἐστὶ πρὸς ἅπαντα τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράγματα· κατὰ πολλοὺς μέντοι τρόπους ἕλοιτ᾽ ἄν τις οὐχ

his punishment is proportioned to his deserts, but it is just when the officers are most successful that they are most exposed to unmerited curses and gibes. And all this no one in his senses would refuse to believe ; for those who have resided at his court agree that Philip is so jealous that he wants to take to himself all the credit of the chief successes, and is more annoyed with a general or an officer who achieves something praiseworthy than with those who fail ignominiously. This being so, how is it that they have so long remained loyal to him ? Because, men of Athens, at present his prosperity overshadows all such shortcomings, for success has a strange power of obscuring and covering men's failings ; but if he trips, all his weakness will be clearly revealed. For it is with the political as with the bodily constitution. As long as a man is in good health, he is conscious of no unsoundness here or here, but when his health breaks down, every part is set a-working, be it a rupture or a sprain or any organ that is not perfectly healthy. So with all monarchies and oligarchies ; as long as their arms prosper, few detect their weaknesses, but when they stumble, even as Philip must stumble beneath a burden that is greater than he can bear, then all their disadvantages are plain for all men to see.

Now if any of you, Athenians, seeing Philip's good fortune, considers him a formidable and dangerous opponent, he is exercising a prudent forethought. For fortune is indeed a great weight in the scale ; I might almost say it is everything in human affairs. And yet in many respects our good fortune is to be

16 ἧττον τὴν ἡμετέραν εὐτυχίαν ἢ τὴν ἐκείνου. παρά
τε γὰρ τῶν προγόνων ἐκ πλείονος χρόνου παρ-
ειλήφαμεν τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν οὐ τούτου μόνον, ἀλλὰ
συνελόντι φράσαι πάντων τῶν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ
βασιλευσάντων· κἀκεῖνοι μὲν Ἀθηναίοις φόρους
ἤνεγκαν, ἡ δ' ἡμετέρα πόλις οὐδενί πω τῶν
ἁπάντων. ἔτι δὲ τοσούτῳ πλείους ἀφορμὰς αὐτοῦ
πρὸς τὴν τῶν θεῶν εὔνοιαν ἔχομεν, ὅσῳ δια-
τελοῦμεν εὐσεβέστερα καὶ δικαιότερα πράττοντες.
17 τί ποτ' οὖν ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ πολέμῳ πλείω
κατώρθωσεν ἡμῶν; ὅτι, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, (παρ-
ρησιάσομαι γὰρ πρὸς ὑμᾶς) ὁ μὲν αὐτὸς στρα-
τεύεται καὶ ταλαιπωρεῖ καὶ τοῖς κινδύνοις πάρεστιν,
οὔτε καιρὸν παριεὶς οὔθ' ὥραν ἔτους παραλείπων
οὐδεμίαν, ἡμεῖς δὲ (εἰρήσεται γὰρ τἀληθῆ) οὐδὲν
ποιοῦντες ἐνθάδε καθήμεθα, μέλλοντες ἀεὶ καὶ
[157] ψηφιζόμενοι καὶ πυνθανόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν εἴ
τι λέγεται νεώτερον. καίτοι τί γένοιτ' ἂν νεώτερον
ἢ Μακεδὼν ἀνὴρ καταφρονῶν Ἀθηναίων καὶ
τολμῶν ἐπιστολὰς πέμπειν τοιαύτας οἵας ἠκούσατε
18 μικρῷ πρότερον; καὶ τῷ μὲν ὑπάρχουσι μισθο-
φόροι στρατιῶται, καὶ νὴ Δία πρὸς τούτοις τῶν
παρ' ἡμῖν ῥητόρων τινές, οἳ τὰς παρ' ἐκείνου
δωρεὰς οἴκαδε λαμβάνειν νομίζοντες οὐκ αἰσχύ-
νονται Φιλίππῳ ζῶντες, οὐδ' αἰσθάνονται πάντα
καὶ τὰ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν μικροῦ λήμ-
ματος πωλοῦντες. ἡμεῖς δ' οὔτε τῶν ἐκείνου
πραγμάτων οὐδὲν στασιάζειν παρασκευάζομεν,
οὔτε ξενοτροφεῖν ἐθέλομεν, οὔτε στρατεύεσθαι
19 τολμῶμεν. οὔκουν ἐστὶν οὐδὲν δεινόν, εἴ τι πε-
πλεονέκτηκεν ἡμῶν κατὰ τὸν πρότερον πόλεμον,
ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον εἰ μηδὲν ποιοῦντες ἡμεῖς ὧν προσήκει

preferred to Philip's. For our prosperity is inherited from our ancestors, and is of an earlier date than the prosperity not only of Philip, but, roughly speaking, of all the kings that have ever reigned in Macedonia. Those kings actually paid tribute to Athens, but Athens never paid tribute to any power in the world. Moreover, we have a more secure claim than Philip upon the favour of heaven, in so far as our conduct has always been guided by greater regard for religion and for justice. Why, then, was he more successful than we in the late war? I will be frank with you, men of Athens. It is because he always takes a personal share in the hardships and dangers of the campaign, never neglects a chance, never wastes any season of the year; while we—for the truth must out—sit here idle; we are always hanging back and passing resolutions and haunting the market-place to learn the latest news. Yet what more startling news could there be than that a Macedonian should insult Athenians, daring to send us such a letter as you have heard read a moment ago? Philip's resources include mercenary soldiers, and also, observe! certain mercenary orators here among us, men who are not ashamed to devote their lives to his service, thinking that they are carrying home his bribes, but blind to the fact that they are bartering all the interests of the State, and their own as well, for a paltry profit. We, on the other hand, make no attempt to foment a revolution in his kingdom, we decline to hire mercenaries, we shrink from taking the field. It is not a strange thing, then, that he has gained ground at our expense in the late war, but rather that we, performing no single duty

τοὺς πολεμοῦντας, νομίζομεν κρατήσειν τοῦ πάντα πράττοντος ἃ δεῖ τοὺς πλεονεκτήσειν μέλλοντας.

20 *Ὧν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, χρὴ λαβόντας ἔννοιαν, καὶ λογισαμένους ὡς οὐδ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ἡμῖν ἐστι τὸ φάσκειν ἄγειν εἰρήνην (ἤδη γὰρ ἐκεῖνος καὶ προηγόρευκε τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐξενήνοχε) μηδενὸς μὲν φείδεσθαι μήτε τῶν δημοσίων μήτε τῶν ἰδίων, στρατεύεσθαι δέ, ἄν που καιρὸς ᾖ, προθύμως ἅπαντας, χρῆσθαι δὲ στρατηγοῖς ἀμείνοσιν ἢ* 21 *πρότερον. μὴ γὰρ ὑπολάβῃ τις ὑμῶν, δι᾽ ὧν ἐγένετο τὰ πράγματα χείρω τὰ τῆς πόλεως, διὰ τούτων αὐτὰ πάλιν ἀναλήψεσθαι καὶ γενήσεσθαι βελτίω· μηδὲ νομίσητε ῥᾳθυμούντων ὑμῶν, ὥσπερ πρότερον, ἑτέρους ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀγωνιεῖσθαι προθύμως· ἀλλ᾽ ἐννοεῖσθ᾽ ὡς αἰσχρόν ἐστι τοὺς μὲν* [158] *πατέρας ἡμῶν πολλοὺς πόνους καὶ μεγάλους κινδύνους ὑποστῆναι Λακεδαιμονίοις πολεμοῦντας,* 22 *ὑμᾶς δὲ μηδ᾽ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐκεῖνοι δικαίως κτησάμενοι παρέδοσαν ὑμῖν ἐθέλειν ἐρρωμένως ἀμύνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν ἐκ Μακεδονίας ὁρμώμενον οὕτως εἶναι φιλοκίνδυνον ὥσθ᾽ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μείζω ποιῆσαι τὴν ἀρχὴν κατατετρῶσθαι πᾶν τὸ σῶμα τοῖς πολεμίοις μαχόμενον, Ἀθηναίους δέ, οἷς πάτριόν ἐστι μηδενὸς ἀκούειν, ἁπάντων δὲ κρατεῖν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις, τούτους διὰ ῥᾳθυμίαν ἢ μαλακίαν ἐγκαταλείπειν τά τε τῶν προγόνων ἔργα καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα τῆς πατρίδος.*

23 *Ἵνα δὲ μὴ μακρολογῶ, φημὶ χρῆναι παρεσκευάσθαι μὲν πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον, παρακαλεῖν δὲ*

of a nation at war, think that we are going to defeat one who does everything that a grasping ambition demands.

Bearing this in mind, Athenians, and reflecting that it is not even in our power to pretend that we are at peace, for Philip has already issued a declaration of war and followed it up by active hostilities, it is necessary to spare no expense, public or private, to take the field eagerly and in full force, wherever the opportunity occurs, and to employ abler generals than before. For none of you must assume that the same policy that weakened the power of Athens will suffice to restore and advance it, nor suppose that, if you are as half-hearted as before, others will be zealous in defence of your interests. Reflect, rather, what a disgrace it would be if your fathers faced many hardships and great dangers in fighting the Lacedaemonians, but you should refuse to defend with vigour those advantages which they justly won and bequeathed to you; what a disgrace if one, with only the tradition of Macedonia behind him, so cheerfully courts danger that, in the task of extending his sway, he has been wounded in every limb on the battle-field, but Athenians, whose ancestral boast it is in war to yield to none and conquer all, should renounce, through indolence or cowardice, alike the deeds of their ancestors and the interests of their fatherland.

Not to detain you longer, I say that we must be prepared for war, and must urge the Greek states,

τοὺς Ἕλληνας, μὴ λόγοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἔργοις πρὸς τὴν παρ᾽ ἡμῶν συμμαχίαν· ὡς ἅπας μέν ἐστι λόγος μάταιος πράξεων ἄμοιρος γενόμενος, τοσούτῳ δὲ μάλισθ᾽ ὁ παρὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως, ὅσῳ δοκοῦμεν αὐτῷ προχειρότατα χρῆσθαι τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων.

by our action rather than by our appeals, to join our alliance ; for all words divorced from action are futile, especially words from Athenian lips, in proportion as we are reputed to be more ready of speech than all other Greeks.

PHILIP'S LETTER

XII. ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ

Φίλιππος Ἀθηναίων τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ χαίρειν. Ἐπειδὴ πολλάκις μου πρέσβεις ἀποστείλαντος, ἵν᾽ ἐμμείνωμεν τοῖς ὅρκοις καὶ ταῖς ὁμολογίαις, οὐδεμίαν ἐποιεῖσθ᾽ ἐπιστροφήν, ᾤμην δεῖν πέμψαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀδικεῖσθαι νομίζω. μὴ θαυμάσητε δὲ τὸ μῆκος τῆς ἐπιστολῆς· πολλῶν γὰρ ὑπαρχόντων ἐγκλημάτων ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν [159] ὑπὲρ ἁπάντων δηλῶσαι καθαρῶς.

2 Πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ Νικίου τοῦ κήρυκος ἁρπασθέντος ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῆς ἐμῆς, οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς παρανομοῦσιν ἐπετιμήσατε τὴν δίκην,[1] ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀδικούμενον εἵρξατε δέκα μῆνας· ἃς δ᾽ ἔφερε παρ᾽ ἡμῶν ἐπιστολάς, ἀνέγνωτ᾽ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος. ἔπειτα Θασίων ὑποδεχομένων τὰς Βυζαντίων τριήρεις καὶ τῶν λῃστῶν τοὺς βουλομένους οὐδὲν ἐφροντίζετε, τῶν συνθηκῶν διαρρήδην λεγουσῶν
3 πολεμίους εἶναι τοὺς ταῦτα ποιοῦντας. ἔτι τοίνυν περὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους Διοπείθης ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν χώραν Κρωβύλην μὲν καὶ τὴν Τιρίστασιν ἐξηνδραποδίσατο, τὴν δὲ προσεχῆ Θρᾴκην ἐπόρ-

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[1] So Blass: οὐ τοῖς π. ἐ. ὅτι τὴν δίκην mss.: οὐ τοῖς π. ἐπετιμήσατε Dindorf.

XII. PHILIP'S LETTER

Philip to the Council and People of Athens, greeting.

To the embassies that I have repeatedly dispatched to ensure the observance of our oaths and agreements you have paid no attention, so that I am forced to send you a statement of the matters in which I consider myself wronged. But you must not be surprised at the length of the letter, for I have many charges to prefer, and it is necessary to put them all clearly and frankly.

In the first place, when Nicias, my herald, was kidnapped[a] from my territory, you not only failed to bring the law-breakers to justice, but you kept the victim a prisoner for ten months, and the letters from me, of which he was the bearer, you read before your Assembly. Next, when the Thasians opened their harbour to the Byzantine war-galleys and to any pirates that chose to touch there, you ignored the incident, in spite of the clauses expressly denouncing such acts as hostile. Furthermore, about the same date, Diopithes[b] attacked Crobyle and Tiristasis and enslaved the inhabitants, laying waste

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[a] Nothing is known of this incident. The letters were obviously not intended for Athenian ears.

[b] See the speech *On the Chersonese.* Crobyle is not mentioned elsewhere; Tiristasis was in the Chersonese.

θησε, τέλος δ' εἰς τοῦτ' ἦλθεν παρανομίας ὥστ'
Ἀμφίλοχον ὑπὲρ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων ἐλθόντα πρεσβευτὴν
συλλαβὼν καὶ τὰς ἐσχάτας ἀνάγκας ἐπιθεὶς
ἀπελύτρωσε ταλάντων ἐννέα· καὶ ταῦτα τῷ δήμῳ
4 εὐδοκοῦντ' ἐποίησεν. καίτοι τὸ παρανομεῖν εἰς
κήρυκα καὶ πρέσβεις τοῖς ἄλλοις τε πᾶσιν ἀσεβὲς
εἶναι δοκεῖ καὶ μάλισθ' ὑμῖν· Μεγαρέων γοῦν
Ἀνθεμόκριτον ἀνελόντων εἰς τοῦτ' ἐλήλυθεν ὁ
δῆμος, ὥστε μυστηρίων μὲν εἶργον[1] αὐτούς,
ὑπομνήματα δὲ τῆς ἀδικίας ἔστησαν ἀνδριάντα
πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν. καίτοι πῶς οὐ δεινόν, ἐφ' οἷς
παθόντες οὕτως ἐμισήσατε τοὺς δράσαντας, νῦν
5 αὐτοὺς φαίνεσθαι ποιοῦντας; Καλλίας τοίνυν ὁ παρ'
ὑμῶν στρατηγὸς τὰς μὲν πόλεις τὰς ἐν τῷ Παγασίτῃ
κόλπῳ κατοικουμένας ἔλαβεν ἁπάσας, ὑμῖν
μὲν ἐνόρκους, ἐμοὶ δὲ συμμαχίδας οὔσας, τοὺς δ'
εἰς Μακεδονίαν πλέοντας ἐπώλει πάντας πολεμίους
[160] κρίνων· καὶ διὰ ταῦθ' ὑμεῖς ἐπῃνεῖτ' αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς
ψηφίσμασιν. ὥστ' ἔγωγ' ἀπορῶ τί ποτ' ἔσται
καινότερον, ἐὰν ὁμολογήσητέ μοι πολεμεῖν· καὶ
γὰρ ὅτε φανερῶς διεφερόμεθα, λῃστὰς ἐξεπέμπετε
καὶ τοὺς πλέοντας ὡς ἡμᾶς ἐπωλεῖτε, τοῖς ἐναντίοις
ἐβοηθεῖτε, τὴν χώραν μου κακῶς ἐποιεῖτε.
6 Χωρὶς τοίνυν εἰς τοῦτο παρανομίας ἀφῖχθε καὶ
δυσμενείας ὥστε καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πέρσην πρέσβεις
ἀπεστάλκατε πείσοντας αὐτὸν ἐμοὶ πολεμεῖν· ὃ

[1] So Cobet: εἴργειν Dindorf with MSS.

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[a] The incident is narrated by Plutarch (*Pericl.* 30). A. was sent to remonstrate with the Megarians for cultivating sacred ground. The statue was still to be seen in the time of Pausanias (i. 36. 3).

[b] Of Chalcis in Euboea. Originally an ally of Philip, he changed sides and helped Phocion's expedition in 341, which

the adjacent parts of Thrace. But his crowning act of lawlessness was the arrest of Amphilochus, the ambassador sent to negotiate for the captives ; he subjected him to the severest torture and wrung from him a ransom of nine talents. And this he did with the approval of your Assembly. Yet violation of the rights of heralds and ambassadors is regarded by all men as an act of impiety, and by none more than by you, if I may judge from the fact that, when the Megarians arrested Anthemocritus,[a] your Assembly went to the length of excluding them from the celebration of the mysteries, and actually erected a statue before the city gates to commemorate the outrage. Yet is it not monstrous that you are now yourselves notoriously guilty of acts which, when you were the victims, excited in you such detestation of the perpetrators ? Again, your general, Callias,[b] captured the cities on the Pagasaean Gulf, every one of them, though they were protected by treaty with you and were in alliance with me ; all merchants sailing to Macedonia he regarded as enemies and sold them into slavery. And for this you passed him a vote of thanks ! So I am at a loss to say what difference it will make if you admit that you are at war with me, for when we were openly at variance, then too you used to send out privateers, enslave merchants trading with us, help my adversaries, and lay waste my territory.

Not content with this, you have shown your contempt for right and your hostility to me by actually sending an embassy to urge the king of Persia to declare war on me. This is the most amazing exploit

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cleared Oreus and Eretria of tyrants. The captured cities, as allies of Philip, were included in the Peace of Philocrates (346).

μάλιστ’ ἄν τις θαυμάσειεν. πρὸ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ
λαβεῖν αὐτὸν Αἴγυπτον καὶ Φοινίκην ἐψηφίσασθε,
ἂν ἐκεῖνός τι νεωτερίζῃ, παρακαλεῖν ὁμοίως ἐμὲ
7 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας ἐπ’ αὐτόν· νῦν
δὲ τοσοῦτον ὑμῖν περίεστι τοῦ πρὸς ἐμὲ μίσους
ὥστε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον διαλέγεσθε περὶ τῆς ἐπιμαχίας.
καίτοι τὸ παλαιὸν οἱ πατέρες ὑμῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ
πυνθάνομαι, τοῖς Πεισιστρατίδαις ἐπετίμων ὡς
ἐπάγουσι τὸν Πέρσην ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ὑμεῖς δ’
οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε ταῦτα ποιοῦντες ἃ διετελεῖτε τοῖς
τυράννοις ἐγκαλοῦντες.

8 Ἀλλὰ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ γράφετ’ ἐν τοῖς
ψηφίσμασιν ἐμοὶ προστάττοντες Τήρην καὶ Κερσοβλέπτην
ἐᾶν Θρᾴκης ἄρχειν, ὡς ὄντας Ἀθηναίους.
ἐγὼ δὲ τούτους οὔτε τῶν περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης συνθηκῶν
οἶδα μετασχόντας ὑμῖν οὔτ’ ἐν ταῖς στήλαις
ἀναγεγραμμένους οὔτ’ Ἀθηναίους ὄντας, ἀλλὰ
Τήρην μὲν μετ’ ἐμοῦ στρατευόμενον ἐφ’ ὑμᾶς,
Κερσοβλέπτην δὲ τοῖς παρ’ ἐμοῦ πρεσβευταῖς ἰδίᾳ
μὲν τοὺς ὅρκους ὀμόσαι προθυμούμενον, κωλυθέντα
δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων στρατηγῶν ἀποφαινόντων
9 αὐτὸν Ἀθηναίων ἐχθρόν. καίτοι πῶς ἐστὶ τοῦτ’
ἴσον ἢ δίκαιον, ὅταν μὲν ὑμῖν συμφέρῃ, πολέμιον
[161] εἶναι φάσκειν αὐτὸν τῆς πόλεως, ὅταν δ’ ἐμὲ συκοφαντεῖν
βούλησθε, πολίτην ἀποδείκνυσθαι τὸν αὐτὸν
ὑφ’ ὑμῶν· καὶ Σιτάλκου μὲν ἀποθανόντος, ᾧ μετέδοτε
τῆς πολιτείας, εὐθὺς ποιήσασθαι πρὸς τὸν ἀπο-

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[a] These two provinces, together with Cyprus, revolted in 346 and were recovered by Artaxerxes Ochus. Greek mercenaries formed the backbone of the armies on both sides. See Grote, chap. 90. Nothing is known of any such Athenian decree.

of all; for, before the king reduced Egypt and Phoenicia,[a] you passed a decree calling on me to make common cause with the rest of the Greeks against him, in case he attempted to interfere with us; and to-day you have such a superabundance of hatred for me that you negotiate with him for a defensive alliance. Yet I am given to understand that your fathers of old punished the sons of Pisistratus for inviting the Persians to invade Greece. You are not ashamed to do what you have always made a matter of indictment against your tyrants.

But there is more to come. In your decrees you order me in so many words to leave Thrace to the rule of Teres [b] and Cersobleptes, because they are Athenians. But I am not aware that these two had any share with you in the terms of peace, or that their names were included in the inscription set up, or that they are really Athenians. On the contrary, I know that Teres fought with me against you, and that Cersobleptes was quite ready in private to take the oath of allegiance to my ambassadors, but was prevented by your generals, who denounced him as an enemy of the Athenians. And yet is it fair and right that, when it suits your convenience, you should call him an enemy of your state, but, when you want to bully me, the same man should be described as your fellow-citizen; and that on the death of Sitalces,[c] on whom you did confer your citizenship, you should at once cultivate the friend-

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[b] Not otherwise known.

[c] Apparently a mistake. Sitalces, king of the Odrysae, was an ally, but not a citizen, of Athens, and was killed in battle against the Triballi in 424 (Thuc. iv. 101). The description here exactly suits Cotys.

κτείναντα φιλίαν, ὑπὲρ δὲ Κερσοβλέπτου πόλεμον
αἴρεσθαι[1] πρὸς ἡμᾶς; καὶ ταῦτα σαφῶς εἰδότας
ὅτι τῶν λαμβανόντων τὰς δωρεὰς τὰς τοιαύτας
οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν νόμων οὔτε τῶν ψηφισμάτων
10 οὐδὲν φροντίζει τῶν ὑμετέρων. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' εἰ
δεῖ πάντα τἄλλα παραλιπόντα συντόμως εἰπεῖν,
ὑμεῖς ἔδοτε πολιτείαν Εὐαγόρᾳ τῷ Κυπρίῳ καὶ
Διονυσίῳ τῷ Συρακοσίῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις τοῖς
ἐκείνων. ἐὰν οὖν πείσητε τοὺς ἐκβαλόντας ἑκατέρους
αὐτῶν ἀποδοῦναι πάλιν τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῖς
ἐκπεσοῦσι, κομίζεσθε καὶ παρ' ἐμοῦ τὴν Θρᾴκην,
ὅσης Τήρης καὶ Κερσοβλέπτης ἦρχεν. εἰ δὲ τοῖς
μὲν ἐκείνων κρατήσασι μηδ' ἐγκαλεῖν ἀξιοῦτε
μηδέν, ἐμὲ δ' ἐνοχλεῖτε, πῶς οὐ δικαίως ὑμᾶς
ἀμυνοίμην ἄν;

11 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων πολλὰ λέγειν ἔχων ἔτι δίκαια, παραλιπεῖν προαιροῦμαι· Καρδιανοῖς δέ φημι βοηθεῖν, γεγονὼς αὐτοῖς πρὸ τῆς εἰρήνης σύμμαχος, οὐκ ἐθελόντων δ' ὑμῶν ἐλθεῖν εἰς κρίσιν, πολλάκις μὲν ἐμοῦ δεηθέντος, οὐκ ὀλιγάκις δ' ἐκείνων· ὥστε πῶς οὐκ ἂν εἴην πάντων φαυλότατος, εἰ καταλιπὼν τοὺς συμμάχους μᾶλλον ὑμῶν φροντίζοιμι τῶν πάντα μοι τρόπον ἐνοχλούντων ἢ τῶν βεβαίως μοι φίλων ἀεὶ μενόντων;

12 Εἰ τοίνυν δεῖ μηδὲ τοῦτο παραλιπεῖν, εἰς τοσοῦτ'
ἐληλύθατε πλεονεξίας ὥστε πρότερον μὲν ἐνεκαλεῖτέ
μοι τὰ προειρημένα μόνον, τὰ δ' ὑπογυιότατα
[162] Πεπαρηθίων φασκόντων δεινὰ πεπονθέναι προσ-

[1] So G. H. Schaefer: αἱρεῖσθαι Dindorf with MSS.

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[a] If this is the younger Evagoras, Philip's history is inaccurate. He was expelled from Cyprus, and helped Artaxerxes to recover the island after the revolt, but he was

ship of his murderer, and pick a quarrel with us to shield Cersobleptes? And all the time you know perfectly well that of those who receive such honours at your hands not one cares a jot for your laws or your decrees. However, if I may mention two instances to the exclusion of the rest, you gave your citizenship to Evagoras [a] of Cyprus and to Dionysius [b] of Syracuse, to them and their descendants. Now, if you can persuade either of these peoples to restore their exiled tyrants, then you may apply to me for as much of Thrace as was ruled by Teres and Cersobleptes. But if you have not a word to say against those who overthrew Evagoras and Dionysius, but persist in harassing me, have I not a perfect right to defend myself against you?

Now I prefer to pass over many complaints that I might justly make, but I admit that I am helping the Cardians,[c] for I was their ally before the peace, and you refused to submit your claim to arbitration, though you were often pressed to do so by me, and not infrequently by the Cardians. Should I not be utterly contemptible if I threw over my allies and paid more regard to you, who are harassing me in every way, than to those who have always been my staunch friends?

The following affront also should not be passed over. Though formerly you confined yourselves to the charges I have mentioned, your arrogance is now such that, when the people of Peparethus [d] complained of the latest "outrage," you instructed your

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never reinstated. His grandfather, of the same name, the friend and helper of Conon, was made an Athenian citizen.

[b] The younger, expelled by Dion in 356 and by Timoleon in 343.

[c] See the speech *On the Chersonese.*

[d] See the speech *On Halonnesus.*

ετάξατε τῷ στρατηγῷ δίκην παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων, οὓς ἐγὼ μὲν ἐτιμωρησάμην ἐνδεεστέρως ἢ προσῆκεν, ἐκεῖνοι δ' εἰρήνης οὔσης καταλαβόντες Ἁλόννησον οὔτε τὸ χωρίον οὔτε τοὺς φρουροὺς ἀπεδίδοσαν πέμψαντος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἐμοῦ πολλάκις.
13 ὑμεῖς δ' ὧν μὲν ἠδίκησαν ἐμὲ Πεπαρήθιοι, τούτων μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπεσκέψασθε, τὴν δὲ τιμωρίαν, ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες. καίτοι τὴν νῆσον οὔτ' ἐκείνους οὔθ' ὑμᾶς ἀφειλόμην, ἀλλὰ τὸν λῃστὴν Σώστρατον. εἰ μὲν οὖν αὐτοί φατε παραδοῦναι Σωστράτῳ, λῃστὰς ὁμολογεῖτε καταπέμπειν· εἰ δ' ἀκόντων ὑμῶν ἐκεῖνος κατεκράτει, τί δεινὸν πεπόνθατε λαβόντος ἐμοῦ καὶ τὸν τόπον τοῖς πλέουσιν ἀσφαλῆ παρ-
14 έχοντος; τοσαύτην δέ μου ποιουμένου πρόνοιαν τῆς ὑμετέρας πόλεως, καὶ διδόντος αὐτῇ τὴν νῆσον, οἱ ῥήτορες λαμβάνειν μὲν οὐκ εἴων, ἀπολαβεῖν δὲ συνεβούλευον, ὅπως ὑπομείνας μὲν τὸ προσταττόμενον τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν ἔχειν ὁμολογῶ, μὴ προέμενος[1] δὲ τὸ χωρίον ὕποπτος γένωμαι τῷ πλήθει. γνοὺς ἐγὼ ταῦτα προὐκαλούμην κριθῆναι περὶ τούτων πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ἵν' ἐὰν μὲν ἐμὴ γνωσθῇ, παρ' ἐμοῦ δοθῇ τὸ χωρίον ὑμῖν, ἐὰν δ' ὑμετέρα κριθῇ, τότ'
15 ἀποδῶ τῷ δήμῳ. ταῦτα δ' ἐμοῦ πολλάκις ἀξιοῦντος, ὑμεῖς μὲν οὐ προσείχετε, Πεπαρήθιοι δὲ τὴν νῆσον κατέλαβον. τί οὖν ἐχρῆν με ποιεῖν; οὐ δίκην λαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν ὑπερβεβηκότων τοὺς ὅρκους; οὐ τιμωρήσασθαι τοὺς οὕτως ὑπερηφάνως ἀσελγαίνοντας; καὶ γὰρ εἰ Πεπαρηθίων ἦν ἡ νῆσος,
[163] τί προσῆκεν ἀπαιτεῖν Ἀθηναίους; εἰ δ' ὑμετέρα, πῶς οὐκ ἐκείνοις ὀργίζεσθε καταλαβοῦσι τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν;

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[1] So Cobet: προειμένος Dindorf with MSS.

general to demand redress from me on their behalf. I actually punished them less rigorously than they deserved, for they seized Halonnesus in time of peace and refused to restore either the fortress or the garrison in spite of my repeated remonstrances. But you, with full knowledge of the facts, ignored their offences against me, and only considered their punishment. Yet I robbed neither them nor you of the island, but only the pirate chief, Sostratus. Now, if you say that you handed it over to Sostratus, you admit that you employ pirates; if he captured it against your wishes, why this indignation against me for taking it and making the district safe for traders? In my regard for the interests of your city, I offered you the island, but your statesmen urged you to refuse it as a gift and demand it as an act of restitution, in order that, if I submit to their dictation, I may thereby confess that I have no right to the place, but if I do not give it up, I may arouse the suspicions of your democracy. Conscious of this, I challenged you to submit our claims to arbitration, so that if the island was adjudged to be mine, I might give it to you; if yours, then I might restore it to your people. I repeatedly demanded a trial, but you paid me no attention, and the Peparethians occupied the island. What, then, was I to do? Was I not to punish those who had violated their oaths? Was I not to take vengeance for such a wanton outrage? For if the island belonged to the Peparethians, what right had the Athenians to demand it back? If it was yours, why are you not angry with the Peparethians for seizing the territory of others?

16 Εἰς τοῦτο δὲ προβεβήκαμεν ἔχθρας ὥστε βουλόμενος
ταῖς ναυσὶν εἰς τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον παραβαλεῖν
ἠναγκάσθην αὐτὰς παραπέμψαι διὰ Χερρονήσου
τῇ στρατιᾷ, τῶν μὲν κληρούχων κατὰ τὸ Πολυκράτους
δόγμα πολεμούντων ἡμῖν, ὑμῶν δὲ τοιαῦτα
ψηφιζομένων, τοῦ δὲ στρατηγοῦ Βυζαντίους
τε παρακαλοῦντος καὶ διαγγέλλοντος πρὸς ἅπαντας
ὅτι πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ προστάττετε, ἂν καιρὸν λάβῃ.
τοιαῦτα δὲ πάσχων ὅμως τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν
τριήρων καὶ τῆς χώρας ἀπεσχόμην, ἱκανὸς ὢν τὰ
πλεῖστα λαβεῖν ἢ πάντα, καὶ διατετέλεκα προκαλούμενος
ὑμᾶς εἰς κρίσιν ἐλθεῖν ὑπὲρ ὧν αἰτιώμεθ'
17 ἀλλήλους. καίτοι σκοπεῖσθε πότερον κάλλιόν ἐστιν
ὅπλοις ἢ λόγοις διακρίνεσθαι, καὶ πότερον αὐτοὺς
εἶναι βραβευτὰς ἢ πεῖσαί τινας ἑτέρους· καὶ
λογίζεσθ' ὡς ἄλογόν ἐστιν Ἀθηναίους Θασίους μὲν
καὶ Μαρωνίτας ἀναγκάσαι περὶ Στρύμης διακριθῆναι
λόγοις, αὐτοὺς δὲ πρὸς ἐμὲ μὴ διαλύσασθαι
περὶ ὧν ἀμφισβητοῦμεν τὸν τρόπον
τοῦτον, ἄλλως τε καὶ γιγνώσκοντας ὅτι νικηθέντες
μὲν οὐδὲν ἀποβαλεῖτε, κρατήσαντες δὲ λήψεσθε τὰ
νῦν ὑφ' ἡμῖν ὄντα.

18 Πάντων δέ μοι δοκεῖ παραλογώτατον εἶναι, διότι πέμψαντος ἐμοῦ πρέσβεις ἀπὸ τῆς συμμαχίας πάσης, ἵν' ὦσι μάρτυρες, καὶ βουλομένου ποιήσασθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς δικαίας ὁμολογίας ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὐδὲ τοὺς περὶ τούτων λόγους ἐδέξασθε παρὰ τῶν πρεσβευόντων, ἐξὸν ὑμῖν ἢ τῶν κινδύνων ἀπαλλάξαι τοὺς δυσχερὲς ὑποπτεύοντάς τι καθ'

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[a] Unknown; apparently the author of the decree by which the colony was sent out.

Our mutual hostility has become so acute that, when I wanted to convey my fleet to the Hellespont, I was compelled to escort it with my army through the Chersonese, because your settlers there were at war with us in accordance with the decree of Polycrates,[a] backed up by your resolutions, and your general was inciting the Byzantines and publicly announcing that your orders were to make war on me, if he got the chance. In spite of this provocation, I kept my hands off the fleets and the territory of your state, though I was strong enough to seize most, if not all, of these, and I have not ceased to appeal to you to have the points in dispute between us settled by arbitration. Yet consider which is the more honourable—to settle the dispute by arms or by arguments, to be yourselves the umpires or to win the verdict from others. Also reflect how unreasonable it is that Athenians should force Thasians and Maronites[b] to submit to arbitration about Stryme, but should not themselves in this way settle with me the points on which we are at variance, especially when you realize that, if you lose the verdict, you will sacrifice nothing, and if you win it, you will gain territory which is now in my possession.

But the crowning absurdity, I think, is that, though I sent ambassadors from all my allies to attend as witnesses, and was willing to come to a just agreement with you in the interests of the Greek world, you turned a deaf ear to the representations of the ambassadors, when you might perfectly well have relieved the fears of those who attributed sinister

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[b] Maronea and Stryme were neighbouring towns on the coast of Thrace, eastward from the island of Thasos. Maronea laid claim to Stryme, which was a colony of Thasos.

[164] ἡμῶν, ἢ φανερῶς ἐξελέγξαι με φαυλότατον ὄντα
19 τῶν ἁπάντων. τῷ μὲν οὖν δήμῳ ταῦτα συνέφερε,
τοῖς δὲ λέγουσιν οὐκ ἐλυσιτέλει. φασὶ γὰρ οἱ τῆς
πολιτείας τῆς παρ' ὑμῖν ἔμπειροι τὴν μὲν εἰρήνην
πόλεμον αὐτοῖς εἶναι, τὸν δὲ πόλεμον εἰρήνην· ἢ
γὰρ συναγωνιζομένους τοῖς στρατηγοῖς ἢ συκοφαντοῦντας
ἀεί τι λαμβάνειν παρ' αὐτῶν, ἔτι δὲ
τῶν πολιτῶν τοῖς γνωριμωτάτοις καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν
τοῖς ἐνδοξοτάτοις λοιδορουμένους ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος
περιποιεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους δόξαν ὡς εἰσὶ
δημοτικοί.

20 Ῥᾴδιον μὲν οὖν ἐστί μοι παῦσαι τῆς βλασφημίας
αὐτοὺς μικρὰ πάνυ προεμένῳ, καὶ ποιῆσαι λέγειν
ἐπαίνους ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν. ἀλλ' αἰσχυνοίμην ἄν, εἰ τὴν
πρὸς ὑμᾶς εὔνοιαν παρὰ τούτων φαινοίμην ὠνούμενος,
οἳ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰς τοῦτο τόλμης
ἥκουσιν, ὥστε καὶ περὶ Ἀμφιπόλεως πρὸς ἡμᾶς
ἀμφισβητεῖν ἐπιχειροῦσιν, ὑπὲρ ἧς τῶν ἀντιποιουμένων
αὐτῆς οἶμαι πολὺ δικαιότερα λέγειν
21 αὐτός. εἴτε γὰρ τῶν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κρατησάντων
γίγνεται, πῶς οὐ δικαίως ἡμεῖς αὐτὴν ἔχομεν,
Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ προγόνου πρώτου κατασχόντος
τὸν τόπον, ὅθεν καὶ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων Μήδων
ἀπαρχὴν ἀνδριάντα χρυσοῦν ἀνέστησεν εἰς Δελφούς;
εἴτε τούτων μὲν ἀμφισβητήσειέ τις, ἀξιοῖ
δὲ γίγνεσθαι τῶν ὕστερον γενομένων κυρίων,
ὑπάρχει μοι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ δίκαιον· ἐκπολιορκήσας
γὰρ τοὺς ὑμᾶς μὲν ἐκβαλόντας, ὑπὸ Λακεδαι-

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[a] Readers of Herodotus will remember Alexander, who after Salamis tried to tempt the Athenians to desert the

motives to me, or else have proved me beyond all doubt the most worthless of mankind. Such a course was indeed in the interests of your people, but it would not have paid your talkers. For those who have any experience of your constitution say that to the orators peace means war and war means peace; because they always manage to make something out of the generals either by backing them up or by blackmailing them, and also, by abusing from the public platform your most prominent citizens and the most esteemed of your foreign residents, they win a reputation with the mob for democratic zeal.

Now it would be easy for me, at a trifling expense, to stop their abuse and set them singing my praises. But I should be ashamed if I were known to purchase your goodwill from men who, besides their other faults, have reached such a height of impudence that they even venture to dispute with me about Amphipolis, to which I think I can advance a far better claim than my rivals. For, if it belongs to the original conquerors, have not we a right to hold it? It was my ancestor, Alexander,[a] who first occupied the site, and, as the first-fruits of the Persian captives taken there, set up a golden statue at Delphi. Or if anyone disputes this and claims it for its later owners, here again the right is mine, because I besieged and captured the city, after its inhabitants had expelled you and accepted the Lacedaemonians

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Greek cause (viii. 140), but made amends by revealing to them the decision of the Persians before Plataea (ix. 44); and also the statue erected at Delphi from the plunder of Salamis (viii. 121). But Amphipolis was not in existence at the time, nor were the Persians in their retreat attacked by Macedonians but by Thracians (ix. 89). Perhaps the Macedonians had their own history of the Persian invasion.

μονίων δὲ κατοικισθέντας, ἔλαβον τὸ χωρίον.
22 καίτοι πάντες οἰκοῦμεν τὰς πόλεις ἢ τῶν προγόνων
παραδόντων ἢ κατὰ πόλεμον κύριοι καταστάντες.
ὑμεῖς δ' οὔτε πρῶτοι λαβόντες οὔτε νῦν ἔχοντες,
[165] ἐλάχιστον δὲ χρόνον ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐμμείναντες,
ἀντιποιεῖσθε τῆς πόλεως, καὶ ταῦτα πίστιν ὑπὲρ
ἡμῶν αὐτοὶ βεβαιοτάτην ἐπιθέντες· πολλάκις γὰρ
ἐμοῦ γράφοντος ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς,
ἐγνώκατε δικαίως ἔχειν ἡμᾶς, τότε μὲν ποιησάμενοι
τὴν εἰρήνην ἔχοντος ἐμοῦ τὴν πόλιν, κᾆτα
23 συμμαχίαν ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς ὁμολογίαις. καίτοι
πῶς ἂν ἑτέρα γένοιτο βεβαιοτέρα ταύτης κτῆσις,
τῆς τὸ μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς καταλειφθείσης ἡμῖν ὑπὸ τῶν
προγόνων, πάλιν δὲ κατὰ πόλεμον ἐμῆς γεγενημένης,
τρίτον δὲ συγχωρηθείσης ὑφ' ὑμῶν τῶν
εἰθισμένων ἀμφισβητεῖν καὶ τῶν οὐδὲν ὑμῖν
προσηκόντων;

Ἃ μὲν οὖν ἐγκαλῶ, ταῦτ' ἐστίν· ὡς δὲ προϋπαρχόντων
καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐμὴν εὐλάβειαν μᾶλλον ἤδη
τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιτιθεμένων καὶ καθ' ὅσον ἂν
δύνησθε κακοποιούντων, ὑμᾶς ἀμυνοῦμαι μετὰ τοῦ
δικαίου, καὶ μάρτυρας τοὺς θεοὺς ποιησάμενος
διαλήψομαι περὶ τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς.

as their founders.[a] Yet we all of us occupy our cities either by inheritance from our ancestors or by right of conquest in war. But you, who were not the first to take Amphipolis, who do not possess it to-day, and who made the briefest sojourn in that district, now lay claim to the city, and that in spite of your own most solemn assurances in my favour. For I wrote to you again and again on the subject, and you acknowledged that I was in the right by making peace with me at a time when I was in occupation of the city, and subsequently by concluding an alliance with me on the same terms. Yet what stronger title to possession could there be than that the city was originally inherited by me from my ancestors, was again captured by me in war, and thirdly was conceded to me by you, who are in the habit of claiming even that to which you have no shadow of a right?

Such are the complaints I have to make. As you were the aggressors and, thanks to my forbearance, are making still further attacks on my interests and doing me all the harm in your power, I shall defend myself, with justice on my side, and, calling the gods to witness, I shall bring my dispute with you to an issue.

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[a] Brasidas, after his death in 422, was worshipped at Amphipolis as hero and founder in place of Hagnon (Thuc. v. 11).

ON ORGANIZATION

INTRODUCTION

Few will suspect Demosthenes of being the author of this tame speech or pamphlet, though it is put into his mouth (§ 12), expresses his known sentiments, and borrows or parodies phrases from his speeches, especially from the *Third Olynthiac* and the speech against Aristocrates. The topical allusions are as vague as the title and do not help us to assign it to any particular occasion, though § 8 shows that it was composed after the overthrow of democracy at Rhodes in 351.

The speaker nowhere tells us what was the actual proposal before the Assembly. He urges that the surplus revenue should be distributed, not as doles through the Theoric Fund, but as rewards for service, especially service in the field, so that the national force might consist of citizens rather than of mercenaries; to those not qualified for active service should be allotted administrative tasks (3-8). The citizens think only of their fee for admission to the theatre (9, 10). They must organize at once, to be ready for future needs (11). He has been denounced as a mere speaker, but he claims to have done good service in saving them from alarmists and in pointing out that their real danger is apathy (12-15). They must rely on their forces, not on their law-courts (16, 17). Their favourite advisers are selfish votecatchers who are rewarded with statues and wealth (18-20). The Athenians of old did not so reward their great men, nor did they attribute their victories solely to their generals, as now (21, 22). The services of eminent foreigners were not rewarded with the citizenship, but now that honour is lavished on worthless persons—a sign that the Athenians have lost their nobility of spirit (23-25). He compares the achievements of the past with the failures of the present (26-30). The cause of this deterioration is that the power, formerly vested in the people, now belongs to favoured individuals (31). Hence their high-sounding decrees are belied by their feeble performances. They must either provide a more adequate force or renounce their pretentions to the leading place among Greek states (32-36).

XIII. ΠΕΡΙ ΣΥΝΤΑΞΕΩΣ

Περὶ μὲν τοῦ παρόντος ἀργυρίου καὶ ὧν ἕνεκα
τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ποιεῖσθ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
οὐδέτερόν μοι δοκεῖ τῶν χαλεπῶν εἶναι, οὔτ' ἐπιτιμήσαντα
τοῖς νέμουσι καὶ διδοῦσι τὰ κοινὰ
εὐδοκιμῆσαι παρὰ τοῖς βλάπτεσθαι διὰ τούτων
ἡγουμένοις τὴν πόλιν, οὔτε συνειπόντα καὶ παραινέσανθ'
ὡς δεῖ λαμβάνειν χαρίσασθαι τοῖς σφόδρ'
ἐν χρείᾳ τοῦ λαβεῖν οὖσιν· οὐδέτεροι γὰρ πρὸς
τὸ τῇ πόλει συμφέρον σκοποῦντες οὔτ' ἐπαινοῦσιν
οὔτε δυσχεραίνουσι τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἀλλ' ὡς ἑκάτεροι
2 χρείας καὶ περιουσίας ἔχουσιν. ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτο
μὲν οὔτ' ἂν εἰσηγησαίμην, οὔτ' ἂν ἀντείποιμ' ὡς
οὐ δεῖ λαμβάνειν· παραινῶ μέντοι σκοπεῖν καὶ
λογίζεσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ὅτι τἀργύριον μέν
ἐστι τοῦθ', ὑπὲρ οὗ βουλεύεσθε, μικρόν, τὸ δ'
ἔθος μέγα, ὃ γίγνεται μετὰ τούτου. εἰ μὲν οὖν
μετὰ τοῦ πράττειν ἃ προσήκει καὶ τὸ λαμβάνειν
κατασκευάσεσθε, οὐ μόνον οὐ βλάψετε, ἀλλὰ καὶ
τὰ μέγιστ' ὠφελήσετε τὴν πόλιν καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς·
[167] εἰ δὲ τοῦ μὲν λαμβάνειν καὶ ἑορτὴ καὶ πᾶσ' ἀρκέσει
πρόφασις, τοῦ δ' ἃ πρὸς τούτοις δεῖ ποιεῖν μηδὲ
τοὺς λόγους ἀκούειν ἐθελήσετε, ὁρᾶτε μήποθ', ἃ
νῦν ὀρθῶς ἡγεῖσθε πράττειν, σφόδρ' ἡμαρτηκέναι

XIII. ON ORGANIZATION

In dealing with the sum of money under discussion and the other matters referred to this Assembly, I see no difficulty, men of Athens, in either of two methods: I may attack the officials who assign and distribute the public funds and may thus gain credit with those who regard this system as detrimental to the State, or I may approve and commend the right to receive these doles and so gratify those who are especially in need of them. For neither class has the interest of the State in view, when they approve or complain of the system, but they are prompted respectively by their poverty or their affluence. I myself would neither propose such a distribution of the doles, nor oppose the right to receive them; but I do urge you to reflect seriously in your own minds that while the sum of money you are discussing is a trifle, the habit of mind that it fosters is a serious matter. Now if you so organize the receipt of money that it is associated with the performance of duties, so far from injuring, you will actually confer on the State and on yourselves the greatest benefit; but if a festival or any other pretext is good enough to justify a dole, and yet you refuse even to listen to the suggestion that there is any obligation attached to it, beware lest you end by acknowledging that what you now consider a proper practice was a

3 νομίσητε. ἐγὼ δέ φημι δεῖν (καί μοι μὴ θορυβήσητ'
ἐφ' ᾧ μέλλω λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἀκούσαντες κρίνατε),
ὡς περὶ τοῦ[1] λαβεῖν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπεδώκαμεν, οὕτω
καὶ περὶ τοῦ συνταχθῆναι καὶ παρασκευασθῆναι
τὰ πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον ἐκκλησίαν ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ
παρασχεῖν ἕκαστον αὑτὸν μὴ μόνον ταῦτ' ἀκούειν
ἐθέλοντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πράττειν βουλόμενον, ἵν', ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰς ἐλπίδας δι'
ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἔχητε, καὶ μὴ τὸν δεῖνα μηδὲ τὸν
4 δεῖνα πυνθάνησθε τί πράττει. καὶ τὰ μὲν προσιόντα
τῇ πόλει πάντα, καὶ ἃ νῦν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων
παραναλίσκετ' εἰς οὐδὲν δέον καὶ ὅσ' ἐκ τῶν
συμμάχων ὑπάρχει, λαμβάνειν ὑμᾶς φημὶ χρῆναι
τὸ ἴσον ἕκαστον, τοὺς μὲν ἐν ἡλικίᾳ στρατιωτικόν,
τοὺς δ' ὑπὲρ τὸν κατάλογον ἐξεταστικὸν ἢ ὅπως
ἄν τις ὀνομάσαι τοῦτο, στρατεύεσθαι δ' αὐτοὺς
5 καὶ μηδενὶ τούτου παραχωρεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν δύναμιν
τῆς πόλεως οἰκείαν εἶναι, κατεσκευασμένην ἀπὸ
τούτων, ἵν' εὐπορῆτε καὶ τὰ δέοντα ποιῆτε, καὶ
τὸν στρατηγὸν ἡγεῖσθαι ταύτης, ἵν' ὑμῖν, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ τοιαῦθ' οἷάπερ νυνὶ συμβαίνῃ· τοὺς
στρατηγοὺς κρίνετε, καὶ περίεσθ' ὑμῖν ἐκ τῶν
πραγμάτων “ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος τὸν δεῖν' εἰσήγγειλεν,”
6 ἄλλο δ' οὐδέν. ἀλλὰ τί ὑμῖν γένηται;
πρῶτον μὲν οἱ σύμμαχοι μὴ φρουραῖς, ἀλλὰ τῷ
ταὐτὰ συμφέρειν ὑμῖν κἀκείνοις ὦσιν οἰκεῖοι,
ἔπειθ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ μὴ ξένους ἔχοντες τοὺς μὲν
συμμάχους ἄγωσι καὶ φέρωσι, τοὺς δὲ πολεμίους
[168] μηδ' ὁρῶσιν, ἀφ' ὧν αἱ μὲν ὠφέλειαι τούτων
εἰσὶν ἴδιαι, τὰ δὲ μίση καὶ τὰ ἐγκλήματ' ἐφ' ὅλην

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[1] So G. H. Schaefer: ὥσπερ τῷ vulg., ὥσπερ τοῦ S, ὥσπερ περὶ τοῦ Dindorf.

grievous error. My idea of our duty—do not drown with your clamour what I am about to say, but hear me before you judge—my idea is that, as we have devoted a meeting of the Assembly to the question of receiving the dole, so we ought also to devote a meeting to organization and to equipment for war; and everyone must show himself not merely ready to hear what is said, but also willing to act, so that you may depend on yourselves, Athenians, for your hopes of success, and not be always asking what service this individual or that is rendering. The total revenues of the State, including your own resources, now squandered on unnecessary objects, and the contributions of your allies, must be shared by each citizen equally, as pay by those of military age and as overseers' fees, or whatever you like to call it, by those beyond the age-limit; and you must serve in person and not resign that duty to others, but our army must be a national force, equipped from the resources I have named, so that you may be well provided for the performance of your task, and that we may have no repetition of what usually happens now, when you are always bringing your generals to trial and the net result of your exertions is the announcement that "So-and-so, the son of So-and-so, has impeached So-and-so." But what is to be the result for you? In the first place, that your allies may be kept loyal, not by maintaining garrisons among them, but by making their interests identical with yours; next, that our generals may not lead mercenaries to the plunder of our allies without even coming in sight of the enemy, so that the profit is all their own, while the State at large incurs the hatred and the abuse, but that they may

ἔρχεται τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλὰ πολίτας τοὺς ἀκολουθοῦντας ἔχοντες τοὺς ἐχθρούς, ἃ νῦν τοὺς φίλους,
7 ποιῶσιν. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων πολλὰ τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν ὑμετέραν ποθεῖ παρουσίαν, καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους πολέμους οἰκείᾳ χρῆσθαι δυνάμει συμφέρειν, καὶ πρὸς τἄλλα πράγματ᾿ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἡσυχίαν ἔχειν ὑμῖν ἀπέχρη καὶ μηδὲν τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν περιεργάζεσθαι ὅπως ἔχει,
8 ἄλλος ἂν ἦν λόγος· νῦν δὲ πρωτεύειν μὲν ὑμεῖς ἀξιοῦτε καὶ τὰ δίκαι᾿ ὁρίζειν τοῖς ἄλλοις, τὴν δὲ ταῦτ᾿ ἐποπτεύσουσαν καὶ φυλάξουσαν δύναμιν οὔτε κατεσκεύασθ᾿ οὔτε κατασκευάζεσθε, ἀλλ᾿ ἐπὶ πολλῆς μὲν ἡσυχίας καὶ ἐρημίας[1] ὑμῶν ὁ Μυτιληναίων δῆμος καταλέλυται, ἐπὶ πολλῆς δ᾿ ἡσυχίας ὁ Ῥοδίων, ἐχθρός γ᾿ ὢν ἡμῖν, φαίη τις
9 ἄν· ἀλλὰ μείζω χρὴ νομίζειν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν πρὸς τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῆς προαιρέσεως ἔχθραν ἢ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς δήμους ὑπὲρ ὧν ποτ᾿ ἂν ᾖ. ἀλλ᾿ ἵν᾿ ἐκεῖσ᾿ ἐπανέλθω, φημὶ δεῖν ὑμᾶς συντετάχθαι, καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ τε λαβεῖν καὶ τοῦ ποιεῖν ἃ προσήκει σύνταξιν εἶναι. διελέχθην δ᾿ ὑμῖν περὶ τούτων καὶ πρότερον, καὶ διεξῆλθον ὡς ἂν συνταχθείητε, οἵ θ᾿ ὁπλῖται καὶ οἱ ἱππεῖς καὶ ὅσοι τούτων ἐκτός ἐστε, καὶ εὐπορία
10 τις ἂν ἅπασι γένοιτο κοινή. ὃ δέ μοι πλείστην ἀθυμίαν παρέσχεν ἁπάντων, ἐρῶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι, ὅτι πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων καὶ καλῶν ὄντων τούτων ἁπάντων, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων
[169] οὐδενὸς οὐδεὶς μέμνηται, τοῖν δυοῖν δ᾿ ὀβολοῖν

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[1] ἠρεμίας Dindorf.

have their own citizens at their back, and may so deal with our enemies as they now deal with our friends. But apart from this, many operations demand your actual presence, and beside the advantage of using a national force in a national quarrel, this is necessary on every other ground. For if you were content to let things slide and not worry about the state of Greece, it would be another matter. But, as it is, you claim to take the lead and to determine the rights of other states; yet neither in the past nor to-day have you furnished a sufficient force to superintend and secure this claim. On the contrary, it was when you stood utterly aloof and indifferent that the democracies of Mytilene and of Rhodes were destroyed. "Yes, but Rhodes was our enemy," you may say. But you should consider, men of Athens, that our hostility towards oligarchies, purely on the ground of principle, is stronger than our hostility towards democracies on any grounds whatever. But to return to my point. My view is that you must be brought under a system, and there must be a uniform scheme for receiving public money and for performing necessary services. I have addressed you before on this subject and have described the method of organizing you, whether you serve in the infantry or the cavalry or in other ways, and also how ample provision may be ensured for all alike. I will tell you without any concealment what has caused me most disappointment. It is that though the many reforms proposed were all of them important and honourable, no one remembers any of them, but everyone remembers the two obols.[a]

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[a] The charge for admission to the theatre defrayed by the State.

ἅπαντες. καίτοι τοὺς μὲν οὐκ ἔστι πλείονος ἢ δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν ἀξίους εἶναι, τἄλλα δὲ μετὰ τούτων ὧν εἶπον τῶν βασιλέως ἄξι᾿ ἐστὶ χρημάτων, πόλιν τοσούτους ὁπλίτας ἔχουσαν καὶ τριήρεις καὶ ἵππους καὶ χρημάτων πρόσοδον συντετάχθαι καὶ παρεσκευάσθαι.

11 Τί οὖν ταῦτα νῦν, φαίη τις ἄν, λέγω; ὅτι φημὶ δεῖν ὑμᾶς, ἐπειδὴ τὸ μὲν πάντας μισθοφορεῖν δυσχεραίνουσί τινες, τὸ δὲ συνταχθῆναι καὶ παρασκευασθῆναι παρὰ πάντων χρήσιμον εἶναι δοκιμάζεται, ἐντεῦθεν ἄρξασθαι τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ προθεῖναι περὶ τούτων τῷ βουλομένῳ γνώμην ἀποφήνασθαι. ὡς οὕτως ἔχει· ἂν μὲν ὑμεῖς νῦν πεισθῆτε τούτων καιρὸν εἶναι, ὅταν αὐτῶν εἰς χρείαν ἔλθητε, ἕτοιμ᾿ ὑπάρξει· ἂν δ᾿ ἀκαιρίαν ἡγησάμενοι παρίδητε, ὅταν δέῃ χρῆσθαι, τότ᾿ ἀναγκασθήσεσθε παρασκευάζεσθαι.

12 Ἤδη δέ τις εἶπεν ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοί που λέγων, οὐχ ὑμῶν τῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν διαρρηγνυμένων εἰ ταῦτα γενήσεται, "τί δ᾿ ἡμῖν ἀπὸ τῶν Δημοσθένους λόγων ἀγαθὸν γέγονεν; παρελθὼν ἡμῶν, ὁπόταν αὐτῷ δόξῃ, ἐνέπλησε τὰ ὦτα λόγων, καὶ διέσυρε τὰ παρόντα, καὶ τοὺς προγόνους ἐπῄνεσε,

13 καὶ μετεωρίσας καὶ φυσήσας ἡμᾶς κατέβη." ἐγὼ δ᾿ εἰ μὲν ὑμᾶς δυναίμην ὧν λέγω τι πεῖσαι, τηλικαῦτ᾿ ἂν οἶμαι τὴν πόλιν πρᾶξαι ἀγαθὰ ὥστ᾿, εἰ νῦν εἰπεῖν ἐπιχειρήσαιμι, πολλοὺς ἂν ἀπιστῆσαι ὡς μείζοσιν ἢ δυνατοῖς· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτο μικρὸν ὠφελεῖν οἶμαι, εἰ τὰ βέλτιστ᾿ ἀκούειν ὑμᾶς συν-

Yet these can never be worth more than two obols, but the other reforms, together with those that I proposed, are worth all the wealth of the Great King—that a city, so well provided with infantry, triremes, cavalry, and revenues, should be duly organized and equipped.

Why then, you may ask, do I choose the present time for these remarks? Because I think that, as the principle that all citizens should serve for pay is displeasing to some people, and yet the advantage of organization and equipment is approved by all, you ought to begin the business at this point, giving everyone a chance of stating his views on the subject. For the case stands thus: if you are convinced that now is the opportunity for these reforms, all things will be ready when the need of them arrives, but if you pass over the opportunity as unsuitable, then, just when you want to use them, you will be compelled to begin your preparations.

It has been before now remarked, men of Athens, by some speaker—not one of the great body of citizens, but one of those who are likely to have a fit if these reforms are carried out—"What good have we ever got from the speeches of Demosthenes? He comes forward, whenever he thinks well, fills our ears with phrases, denounces our present state, extols our ancestors, and then descends from the platform after raising our hopes and inflating our pride." But if I could only induce you to accept any of my proposals, I think that I should confer such benefits on the State that if I tried to describe them now, many of you would disbelieve them, as being too good to be true. And yet even this too I consider no mean benefit, if I accustom you to listen to the best advice.

[170] εθίζω. δεῖ γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὸν βουλόμενόν
τι ποιῆσαι τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἀγαθὸν τὰ ὦτα πρῶτον
ὑμῶν ἰάσασθαι· διέφθαρται γάρ· οὕτω πολλὰ καὶ
ψευδῆ καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ βέλτιστ᾽ ἀκούειν
14 συνειθίσθε. οἷον (ὅπως δὲ μὴ θορυβήσει μοι
μηδείς, πρὶν ἂν ἅπαντ᾽ εἴπω) ἀνέῳξαν δήπου
πρώην τινὲς τὸν ὀπισθόδομον. οὐκοῦν οἱ παριόντες
ἅπαντες τὸν δῆμον καταλελύσθαι, τοὺς
νόμους οὐκέτ᾽ εἶναι, τοιαῦτ᾽ ἔλεγον. καίτοι, ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, (καὶ σκοπεῖτ᾽ ἂν ἀληθῆ λέγω)
οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ποιοῦντες ἄξι᾽ ἐποίουν θανάτου, ὁ
δῆμος δ᾽ οὐ διὰ τούτων καταλύεται. πάλιν κώπας
τις ὑφείλετο· μαστιγοῦν, στρεβλοῦν πάντες οἱ
λέγοντες, τὸν δῆμον καταλύεσθαι. ἐγὼ δὲ τί
φημί; τὸν μὲν ὑφαιρούμενον θανάτου ποιεῖν ἄξια,
ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνοι, τὸν δῆμον δ᾽ οὐ διὰ τούτων καταλύεσθαι.
15 ἀλλὰ πῶς καταλύεται, οὐδεὶς λέγει οὐδὲ
παρρησιάζεται. ἐγὼ δὲ φράσω· ὅταν ὑμεῖς, ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φαύλως ἠγμένοι, πολλοὶ καὶ
ἄποροι καὶ ἄοπλοι καὶ ἀσύντακτοι καὶ μὴ ταὐτὰ
γιγνώσκοντες ἦτε, καὶ μήτε στρατηγὸς μήτ᾽
ἄλλος μηδεὶς ὧν ἂν ὑμεῖς ψηφίσησθε φροντίζῃ,
καὶ ταῦτα μηδεὶς λέγειν ἐθέλῃ μηδ᾽ ἐπανορθοῖ,
μηδ᾽ ὅπως παύσεται τοιαῦτ᾽ ὄντα πράττῃ, ὃ νῦν
16 ἀεὶ συμβαίνει. καὶ νὴ Δί᾽,[1] ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
ἕτεροί γε λόγοι παρερρυήκασι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ψευδεῖς
καὶ πολλὰ τὴν πολιτείαν βλάπτοντες, οἷον "ἐν
τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ὑμῖν ἐστιν ἡ σωτηρία," καὶ
"δεῖ τῇ ψήφῳ τὴν πολιτείαν ὑμᾶς φυλάττειν."
[171] ἐγὼ δ᾽ οἶδ᾽ ὅτι ταῦτα μὲν ὑμῖν τὰ δικαστήρια

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[1] νὴ Δία γε Dindorf with S, omitting the γε after ἕτεροι.

For he who would benefit the State, Athenians, must first purge your ears, for they have been poisoned; so many lies have you been accustomed to hear—anything, in fact, rather than the best advice. Let me give you an instance, and let no one interrupt me till I have finished my story. You know that a day or two ago the treasury of the Parthenon[a] was broken into. So the speakers in the Assembly, one and all, cried that the democracy was overthrown, that the laws were null and void, and so on. And yet, Athenians, though the culprits—mark whether my words are true—deserved death, it is not through them that the democracy is endangered. Again, a few oars were stolen. "Scourge the thieves; torture them," cried the orators; "the democracy is in danger." But what is my opinion? I say, like the others, that the thief deserves death, but not that the democracy is endangered by such means. The real danger to democracy no one is bold enough to name; but I will name it. It is in danger when you, men of Athens, are wrongly led, when in spite of your numbers you are helpless, unarmed, unorganized and at variance, when no general or anyone else pays any heed to your resolutions, when no one cares to tell you the truth or set you right, when no one makes an effort to remedy this state of things. And that is what always happens now. Yes, by heavens, men of Athens, and there are other phrases, false and injurious to the State, that have passed into your common speech, such as "In the law-courts lies your salvation," and "It is the ballot-box that must save the State." I know that these courts are sovereign

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[a] The chamber at the back of the *cella* of the Parthenon was used as a treasury.

τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαίων ἐστὶν κύρια,[1] ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὅπλοις δεῖ κρατεῖν τῶν ἐχθρῶν, καὶ διὰ 17 τούτων ἐστὶν ἡ σωτηρία τῆς πολιτείας. οὐ γὰρ τὸ ψηφίσασθαι τοῖς ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ποιήσει τὸ νικᾶν, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μετὰ τούτων κρατοῦντες τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ ψηφίζεσθαι καὶ ἄλλ᾽ ὅ τι ἂν βούλησθε ποιεῖν ὑμῖν ἐξουσίαν καὶ ἄδειαν παρασκευάσουσι· δεῖ γὰρ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ὅπλοις φοβερούς, ἐν δὲ τοῖς δικαστηρίοις φιλανθρώπους εἶναι.

18 Εἰ δέ τῳ δοκῶ μείζους ἢ κατ᾽ ἐμαυτὸν λέγειν λόγους, αὐτὸ τοῦτ᾽ ὀρθῶς αὐτῶν ἔχει· τὸν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τηλικαύτης πόλεως ῥηθησόμενον λόγον καὶ τοιούτων πραγμάτων παντὸς ἑνὸς τοῦ λέγοντος ἀεὶ μείζω φαίνεσθαι δεῖ, καὶ τῆς ἀξίας τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐγγὺς εἶναι, μὴ τῆς τοῦ λέγοντος. ὅτι δ᾽ οὐδεὶς τῶν ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν τιμωμένων ταῦτα λέγει, τὰς προ-
19 φάσεις ἐγὼ διέξειμ᾽ ὑμῖν. οἱ μὲν πρὸς ἀρχαιρεσίας καὶ ταύτην τὴν τάξιν προσιόντες δοῦλοι τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ χειροτονεῖσθαι χάριτος περιέρχονται, τελεσθῆναι στρατηγὸς ἕκαστος σπουδάζων, οὐκ ἀνδρὸς ἔργον οὐδὲν πρᾶξαι. εἰ δέ τις καὶ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν οἷος ἐγχειρεῖν ἔργῳ τῳ, νῦν μὲν ἡγεῖται τὴν τῆς πόλεως δόξαν ἀφορμὴν ἔχων καὶ τοὔνομα, τῆς τῶν ἐναντιωσομένων ἐρημίας ἀπολαύων, τὰς ἐλπίδας ὑμῖν ὑποτείνων, ἄλλο δ᾽ οὐδὲ ἕν, κληρονομήσειν αὐτὸς τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀγαθῶν, ὅπερ ἐστίν, ἂν δ᾽ ὑμεῖς δι᾽ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἕκαστα πράττητε, τὸ ἴσον τοῖς ἄλλοις ὥσπερ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν, οὕτω
20 καὶ τῶν ἐκ τούτων ἕξειν. οἱ δὲ πολιτευόμενοι
[172] καὶ περὶ ταῦτ᾽ ὄντες, τὸ τὰ βέλτιστα σκοπεῖν ὑμῖν ἀφέντες, προσκεχωρήκασι πρὸς τούτους· καὶ πρότερον μὲν κατὰ συμμορίας εἰσεφέρετε,

to uphold the rights of citizen against citizen, but it is by arms that you must conquer the enemy, and upon arms depends the safety of the State. For resolutions will not give your men victory in battle, but those who with the help of arms conquer the enemy shall win for you power and security to pass resolutions and to do what you will. For in the field you ought to be terrible, but in the courts sympathetic.

If my speeches seem to be greater than my own worth, that is itself a virtue in them. For a speech, if it is to be delivered on behalf of this great city and our wide interests, ought always to appear greater than the individual who utters it; it ought to approximate to your reputation, not to the reputation of the speaker. But none of the men whom you delight to honour speaks like that, and I will tell you what their excuse is. Men who aim at office and at official rank go to and fro cringing to the favours of the electorate; each one's ambition is to join the sacred ranks of the generals, not to do a man's work. If anyone is really capable of undertaking a job, he thinks that by exploiting the reputation and renown of Athens, profiting by the absence of opposition, holding out hopes to you and nothing but hopes, he will be sole inheritor of your advantages—and so he is; but if you act as your own agents in every case, he will only have his equal share with the rest, both in the labours and also in their results. The politicians, absorbed in their profession, neglect to devise the best policy for you and have joined the ranks of the office-seekers; and you conduct your party-politics

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[1] Madvig's conj. for κοινά, which Dindorf keeps.

νυνὶ δὲ πολιτεύεσθε κατὰ συμμορίας. ῥήτωρ ἡγεμὼν καὶ στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ βοησόμενοι μεθ᾽ ἑκατέρων τριακόσιοι· οἱ δ᾽ ἄλλοι προσνενέμησθε οἱ μὲν ὡς τούτους, οἱ δ᾽ ὡς ἐκείνους. τοιγαροῦν ὑμῖν περίεστιν ἐκ τούτων ὁ δεῖνα χαλκοῦς καὶ ὁ δεῖν᾽ εὐδαίμων, εἷς ἢ δύο, ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν· οἱ δ᾽ ἄλλοι μάρτυρες τῆς τούτων εὐδαιμονίας κάθησθε, τῆς καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ῥᾳθυμίας πολλὴν καὶ μεγάλην ὑπάρχουσαν ὑμῖν εὐδαιμονίαν τούτοις προϊέμενοι.

21 Καίτοι σκέψασθε πῶς ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων ταῦτ᾽
εἶχεν· οὐ γὰρ ἀλλοτρίοις ὑμῖν παραδείγμασι
χρησαμένοις, ἀλλ᾽ οἰκείοις ἔξεσθ᾽ ἃ προσήκει
πράττειν εἰδέναι. ἐκεῖνοι Θεμιστοκλέα τὸν τὴν
ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν στρατηγοῦντα καὶ Μιλτιάδην
τὸν ἡγούμενον Μαραθῶνι καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους,
οὐκ ἴσα τοῖς νῦν στρατηγοῖς ἀγάθ᾽ εἰργασμένους,
μὰ Δί᾽ οὐ χαλκοῦς ἵστασαν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτῶν
22 κρείττους ὄντας, οὕτως ἐτίμων. καὶ γάρ τοι
τῶν ἔργων οὐδενός, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν τότ᾽
ἀπεστέρησαν αὐτούς, οὐδ᾽ ἔστ᾽ οὐδεὶς ὅστις ἂν
εἴποι τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν Θεμιστοκλέους,
ἀλλ᾽ Ἀθηναίων, οὐδὲ τὴν ἐν Μαραθῶνι μάχην
Μιλτιάδου, ἀλλὰ τῆς πόλεως. νῦν δὲ πολλοὶ
τοῦτο λέγουσιν, ὡς Κέρκυραν εἷλε Τιμόθεος καὶ
τὴν μόραν κατέκοψεν Ἰφικράτης καὶ τὴν περὶ
Νάξον ναυμαχίαν ἐνίκα Χαβρίας· δοκεῖτε γὰρ
αὐτοὶ τῶν ἔργων τούτων παραχωρεῖν τῶν τιμῶν
ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς αἷς δεδώκατ᾽ ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἑκάστῳ
23 τούτων. τὰς μὲν δὴ πολιτικὰς δωρεὰς οὕτως

as you used to conduct your tax-paying—by syndicates.[a] There is an orator for chairman, with a general under him, and three hundred to do the shouting. The rest of you are attached now to one party and now to another. Hence all that you gain is that So-and-so has a public statue and So-and-so makes his fortune—just one or two men profiting at the expense of the State. The rest of you are idle witnesses of their prosperity, surrendering to them, for the sake of an easy life from day to day, the great and glorious prosperity which is yours by inheritance.

Yet consider how things were managed in the days of your ancestors, for you need not go abroad for examples to teach you your duty. Take Themistocles, who was your general in the sea-fight at Salamis, and Miltiades, who commanded at Marathon, and many more whose good services were far greater than those of our present generals: verily our ancestors put up no bronze statues to them, but rewarded them as men in no way superior to themselves. For truly, men of Athens, they never robbed themselves of any of their achievements, nor would anyone dream of speaking of Themistocles' fight at Salamis, but of the Athenians' fight, nor of Miltiades' battle at Marathon, but of the Athenians' battle. But now we often hear it said that Timotheus took Corcyra, that Iphicrates cut up the Spartan detachment, or that Chabrias won the sea-fight off Naxos.[b] For you seem to waive your own right to these successes by the extravagant honours which you have bestowed on each of these officers. Rewards to

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[a] See *Olynth.* ii. 29.

[b] In 376, 390, and 376 respectively.

[173] ἐκεῖνοί τε καλῶς καὶ ὑμεῖς οὐκ ὀρθῶς· τὰς δὲ
τῶν ξένων πῶς; ἐκεῖνοι Μένωνι τῷ Φαρσαλίῳ
δώδεκα μὲν τάλαντ' ἀργυρίου δόντι πρὸς τὸν ἐπ'
Ἠιόνι τῇ πρὸς Ἀμφιπόλει πόλεμον, διακοσίοις
δ' ἱππεῦσι πενέσταις ἰδίοις βοηθήσαντι, οὐκ ἐψηφίσαντο
πολιτείαν, ἀλλ' ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκαν μόνον.
24 καὶ πρότερον τούτου Περδίκκᾳ τῷ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ
βαρβάρου ποτ' ἐπιστρατείαν βασιλεύοντι Μακεδονίας,
τοὺς ἀναχωροῦντας ἐκ Πλαταιῶν τῶν
βαρβάρων ἀπὸ τῆς ἥττης διαφθείραντι καὶ τέλειον
τἀτύχημα ποιήσαντι τῷ βασιλεῖ, οὐκ ἐψηφίσαντο
πολιτείαν, ἀλλ' ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκαν μόνον, μεγάλην
καὶ τιμίαν, οἶμαι, καὶ σεμνὴν τὴν αὑτῶν πατρίδ'
ἡγούμενοι καὶ πάσης μείζον' εὐεργεσίας. νῦν
δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φθόρους ἀνθρώπους
οἰκοτρίβων οἰκότριβας, τιμὴν ὥσπερ ἄλλου του
25 τῶν ὠνίων λαμβάνοντες, ποιεῖσθε πολίτας. ταῦτα
δ' ὑμῖν ἐπελήλυθε πράττειν, οὐχ ὅτι τὰς φύσεις
χείρους ἐστὲ τῶν προγόνων, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἐφ'
αὑτοῖς παρειστήκει μέγα φρονεῖν, ὑμῶν δ', ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περιῄρηται τοῦτο. ἔστι δ'
οὐδέποτ', οἶμαι, δυνατὸν μικρὰ καὶ φαῦλα πράττοντας
μέγα καὶ νεανικὸν φρόνημα λαβεῖν, ὥσπερ
οὐδὲ λαμπρὰ καὶ καλὰ πράττοντας μικρὸν καὶ
ταπεινὸν φρονεῖν· ὁποῖ' ἄττα γὰρ ἂν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα
τῶν ἀνθρώπων ᾖ, τοιοῦτον ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ
φρόνημ' ἔχειν.

26 Σκέψασθε δ' ἅ τις κεφάλαι' ἂν ἔχοι τῶν πραγμάτων
εἰπεῖν,[1] τῶν τ' ἐκείνοις πεπραγμένων καὶ

[1] S and A add ἵν' ἀκούσαντες, which Dindorf keeps: vulg. adds περὶ. *Cf. Ol.* iii. 23.

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[a] Presumably in 424, but Thucydides does not mention

citizens, rightly thus granted by our ancestors, are wrongly granted by you. But how about foreigners? When Meno of Pharsalus gave twelve talents of silver towards the war at Eïon near Amphipolis [a] and supported us with two hundred cavalry of his own vassals, our ancestors did not vote him the citizenship, but only gave him immunity from taxes. On an earlier occasion, when Perdiccas,[b] who was king of Macedonia at the time of the Persian invasions, destroyed the barbarians who were retreating after their defeat at Plataea and so completed the discomfiture of the Great King, they did not vote him the citizenship, but only gave him immunity from taxes; because, I presume, they regarded their own country as great, glorious, and venerable, and as something greater than any service rendered. But now, Athenians, you make citizens of the scum of mankind, menial sons of menial fathers, charging a price for it as for any other commodity. You have got into the habit of acting thus, not because in ability you are inferior to your ancestors, but because it was second nature with them to have a high opinion of themselves, while you, Athenians, have lost that virtue. You cannot, I suppose, have a proud and chivalrous spirit, if your conduct is mean and paltry, any more than your spirit can be mean and humble, if your conduct is honourable and glorious; for whatever a man's actions are, such must be his spirit.

But reflect on what might be named as the outstanding achievements of your ancestors and of

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it. The historical examples here are borrowed from Demosth. *In Aristocratem.*

[b] According to Herodotus, it was the Thracians, not the Macedonians, who harassed the retreating Persians, and the king of Macedonia was Alexander, the father of Perdiccas.

[174] τῶν ὑμῖν, ἂν ἄρ᾽ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τούτων γε
δύνησθε γενέσθαι.[1] πέντε μὲν καὶ τετταράκοντ᾽
ἔτη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἦρξαν ἑκόντων ἐκεῖνοι, πλείω
δ᾽ ἢ μύρια τάλαντ᾽ εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνήγαγον,
πολλὰ δὲ καὶ καλὰ καὶ πεζῇ καὶ ναυμαχοῦντες
ἔστησαν τρόπαια, ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἡμεῖς φιλο-
τιμούμεθα. καίτοι νομίζετ᾽ αὐτοὺς ταῦτα στῆσαι,
οὐχ ἵνα θαυμάζωμεν ἡμεῖς θεωροῦντες αὐτά, ἀλλ᾽
ἵνα καὶ μιμώμεθα τὰς τῶν ἀναθέντων ἀρετάς.
27 ἐκεῖνοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτα· ἡμεῖς δ᾽, ὅσης ἅπαντες
ὁρᾶτ᾽ ἐρημίας ἐπειλημμένοι, σκέψασθ᾽ εἰ παρα-
πλήσια. οὐ πλείω μὲν ἢ χίλια καὶ πεντακόσια
τάλαντ᾽ ἀνήλωται μάτην εἰς τοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων
ἀπόρους, ἐξανήλωνται δ᾽ οἵ τ᾽ ἴδιοι πάντες οἶκοι
καὶ τὰ κοινὰ τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων,
οὓς δ᾽ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ συμμάχους ἐκτησάμεθα,οὗτοι
28 νῦν ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἀπολώλασιν; ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία ταῦτα
μόνον τότ᾽ εἶχε βέλτιον ἢ νῦν, τὰ δ᾽ ἄλλα χεῖρον.
πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ᾽ ὅ τι βούλεσθ᾽ ἐξετάσωμεν.
οἰκοδομήματα μέν γε καὶ κόσμον τῆς πόλεως,
ἱερῶν καὶ λιμένων καὶ τῶν ἀκολούθων τούτοις,
τοιοῦτον καὶ τοσοῦτον κατέλιπον ἐκεῖνοι, ὥστε
μηδενὶ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων ὑπερβολὴν λελεῖφθαι,
προπύλαια ταῦτα, νεώσοικοι, στοαί, τἄλλα, οἷς
ἐκεῖνοι κοσμήσαντες τὴν πόλιν ἡμῖν παρέδωκαν·
29 τὰς δ᾽ ἰδίας οἰκίας τῶν ἐν δυνάμει γενομένων
οὕτω μετρίας καὶ τῷ τῆς πολιτείας ὀνόματι
ἀκολούθους ὥστε τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους καὶ τὴν
[175] Κίμωνος καὶ τὴν Ἀριστείδου καὶ τῶν τότε λαμπρῶν

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[1] κρείττους, which Dindorf keeps, is found in the mss. before or after γενέσθαι, with variant βελτίους: Cobet omits; for the expression *cf. Phil.* i. 7.

yourselves, if haply the comparison may yet enable you to become your own masters. For five and forty years [a] they commanded the willing obedience of the Greeks; more than ten thousand talents did they accumulate in our Acropolis; many honourable trophies for victories on sea and on land did they erect, in which even yet we take a pride. Yet remember that they erected them, not that we might wonder as we gaze at them, but that we might also imitate the virtues of the dedicators. Thus did our ancestors; but as for us, who have gained, as you all see, a clear field, consider whether we can match them. Have we not wasted more than fifteen hundred talents on the needy communities of Greece?[b] Have we not squandered our private estates, our public funds, and the contributions of our allies? Have not the allies gained in war been lost in the peace? But, it may be said, in these respects alone things were better then than now, but in other respects worse. Far from it; but let us examine any instance you please. The buildings which they left behind them to adorn our city—temples, harbours, and their accessories—were so great and so fair that we who come after must despair of ever surpassing them; the Propylaea yonder, the docks, the porticoes and the rest, with which they beautified the city that they have bequeathed to us. But the private houses of those who rose to power were so modest and so in accordance with the style of our constitution that the homes of their famous men, of Themistocles and Cimon and Aristides, as any of you

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[a] Between the Persian and Peloponnesian wars.

[b] No one knows to what this refers; but the passage is only a parody of the *Third Olynthiac.*

οἰκίαν, εἴ τις ἄρ᾽ ὑμῶν οἶδεν ὁποία ποτ᾽ ἐστίν, ὁρᾷ τῆς τοῦ γείτονος οὐδὲν σεμνοτέραν οὖσαν.
30 νῦν δ᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δημοσίᾳ μὲν ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν τὰς ὁδοὺς ἀγαπᾷ κατασκευάζουσα καὶ κρήνας καὶ κονιάματα καὶ λήρους (καὶ οὐ τοῖς εἰσηγησαμένοις ταῦτ᾽ ἐπιτιμῶ, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δέω, ἀλλ᾽ ὑμῖν, εἰ ταῦθ᾽ ἱκανὰ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ὑπολαμβάνετ᾽ εἶναι), ἰδίᾳ δ᾽ οἱ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπί τῳ γεγενημένοι οἱ μὲν τῶν δημοσίων οἰκοδομημάτων σεμνοτέρας τὰς ἰδίας οἰκίας κατεσκευάκασιν, οὐ μόνον τῶν πολλῶν ὑπερηφανωτέρας, οἱ δὲ γῆν συνεωνημένοι γεωργοῦσιν ὅσην οὐδ᾽ ὄναρ
31 ἤλπισαν πώποτε. τούτων δ᾽ αἴτιον ἁπάντων, ὅτι τότε μὲν ὁ δῆμος δεσπότης ἦν καὶ κύριος ἁπάντων, καὶ ἀγαπητὸν ἦν παρ᾽ ἐκείνου τῶν ἄλλων ἑκάστῳ καὶ τιμῆς καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἀγαθοῦ τινὸς μεταλαμβάνειν, νῦν δὲ τοὐναντίον κύριοι μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν οὗτοι, καὶ διὰ τούτων ἅπαντα πράττεται, ὁ δὲ δῆμος ἐν ὑπηρέτου καὶ προσθήκης μέρει, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀγαπᾶθ᾽ ἃ ἂν οὗτοι μεταδιδῶσι λαμβάνοντες.

32 Τοιγαροῦν ἐκ τούτων τοιαῦτα τὰ πράγματα τῆς πόλεώς ἐστιν ὥστε, εἴ τις ἀναγνοίη τὰ ψηφίσμαθ᾽ ὑμῶν καὶ τὰς πράξεις ἐφεξῆς διέλθοι, οὐδ᾽ ἂν εἷς πιστεύσαι τῶν αὐτῶν εἶναι ταῦτα κἀκεῖνα. οἷον ἃ πρὸς τοὺς καταράτους Μεγαρέας ἐψηφίσασθ᾽ ἀποτεμνομένους τὴν ὀργάδα, ἐξιέναι, κωλύειν, μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν· ἃ πρὸς Φλειασίους, ὅτ᾽ ἐξέπεσον ἔναγχος, βοηθεῖν, μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν τοῖς

can see that knows them, are not a whit more splendid than those of their neighbours. But to-day, men of Athens, while our public works are confined to the provision of roads and fountains, whitewash and balderdash (and I blame, not those who introduced these improvements—far from it!—but you, if you imagine that these are all that is required of you), private individuals, who control any of the State-funds, have some of them reared private houses, not merely finer than the majority, but more stately than our public edifices, and others have purchased and cultivated estates more vast than they ever dreamed of before. The cause of all this change is that then the people controlled and dispensed everything, and the rest were well content to accept at their hand honour and authority and reward; but now, on the contrary, the politicians hold the purse-strings and manage everything, while the people are in the position of lackeys and hangers-on, and you are content to accept whatever your masters dole out to you.

Such, in consequence, is the state of our public affairs that if anyone read out your resolutions and then went on to describe your performances, not a soul would believe that the same men were responsible for the one and for the other. Take for instance the decrees that you passed against the accursed Megarians,[a] when they appropriated the sacred demesne, that you should march out and prevent it and forbid it; in favour of the Phliasians, when they were exiled the other day, that you should help them and not give them up to their murderers, and

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[a] Neither this nor the following allusion can be determined with certainty.

σφαγεῦσι, τῶν ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ τοὺς βουλομένους
33 παρακαλεῖν. ἅπαντα καλά, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
[176] ταῦτα καὶ δίκαια καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄξια· τὰ ἔργα
δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ τούτων οὐδαμοῦ. οὐκοῦν τὴν μὲν
ἀπέχθειαν διὰ τῶν ψηφισμάτων ἐκφέρεσθε, τῶν
δ' ἔργων οὐδενὸς κύριοι γίγνεσθε· τὰ μὲν γὰρ
ψηφίσματα πρὸς τὸ τῆς πόλεως ἀξίωμα ψηφίζεσθε,
τὴν δύναμιν δ' οὐκ ἀκόλουθον ὧν ψηφίζεσθ' ἔχετε.
34 ἐγὼ δὲ παραινέσαιμ' ἂν ὑμῖν (καί μοι μηδὲν
ὀργισθῆτε) ἔλαττον φρονεῖν καὶ τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν
ἀγαπᾶν πράττοντας, ἢ μείζω δύναμιν παρασκευάζεσθαι.
εἰ μὲν οὖν Σιφνίοις ἢ Κυθνίοις ἤ τισιν
ἄλλοις τοιούτοις οὖσι συνῄδειν ὑμῖν, ἔλαττον
φρονεῖν συνεβούλευον ἄν· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἔστ' Ἀθηναῖοι,
τὸ τὴν δύναμιν παρασκευάσασθαι παραινῶ· αἰσχρὸν
γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, αἰσχρὸν λιπεῖν τὴν τοῦ
φρονήματος τάξιν, ἣν ὑμῖν οἱ πρόγονοι παρέδωκαν.
35 πρὸς δὲ τούτοις οὐδ' ἔστιν ἐφ' ὑμῖν, οὐδ' ἂν
ἀποστῆναι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν βούλησθε· πολλὰ γὰρ
ὑμῖν ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου πέπρακται, καὶ τοὺς
μὲν φίλους τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας αἰσχρὸν προέσθαι,
τοῖς δ' οὖσιν ἐχθροῖς οὐκ ἔνι πιστεῦσαι καὶ μεγάλους
ἐᾶσαι γενέσθαι. ὅλως δ' ὅπερ οἱ πολιτευόμενοι
πεπόνθασι πρὸς ὑμᾶς (οὐκ ἔνεστιν αὐτοῖς,
ὅταν βούλωνται, παύσασθαι) τοῦτο καὶ ὑμῖν περιέστηκε·
πεπολίτευσθε γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν.

36 Ἔστι δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κεφάλαιον ἁπάντων
τῶν εἰρημένων· οὐδέποθ' ὑμᾶς οἱ λέγοντες οὔτε
πονηροὺς οὔτε χρηστοὺς ποιοῦσιν, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς
τούτους, ὁπότερ' ἂν βούλησθε· οὐ γὰρ ὑμεῖς ὧν
οὗτοι βούλονται στοχάζεσθε, ἀλλ' οὗτοι ὧν ἂν

should call for volunteers from the Peloponnese. That, Athenians, was all very noble and right and worthy of our city; but the resultant action was simply of no account. So your hostility is expressed in your decrees, but action is beyond your control. Your decrees accord with the traditions of Athens, but your powers bear no relation to your decrees. I, however, would advise you—do not be angry with me—either to humble yourselves and be content to mind your own affairs, or else to get ready a more powerful force. If I felt sure that you were Siphnians or Cythnians [a] or people of that sort, I should counsel you to be less proud, but since you are Athenians, I urge you to get your force ready. For it would be a disgrace, men of Athens, a disgrace to desert that post of honour which your ancestors bequeathed to you. But besides it is no longer in your power, even if you wished it, to hold aloof from Greek affairs. For you have many exploits to your credit from the earliest times, and it would be disgraceful to abandon the friends you have, while it is impossible to trust your enemies and allow them to grow powerful. In short, you stand in the same position as your statesmen stand to you—they cannot retire when they would; for you are definitely involved in the politics of Greece.

This, Athenians, is the sum of all that I have said. Your orators never make you either bad men or good, but you make them whichever you choose; for it is not you that aim at what they wish for, but they who aim at whatever they think you desire. You there-

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[a] Siphnos and Cythnos are two of the Cyclades, S.E. of Athens. Perhaps the speaker remembered the retort of Themistocles to the man of Seriphos (Plut. *Them.* 18).

ὑμᾶς ἐπιθυμεῖν οἴωνται. ὑμᾶς οὖν ὑπάρξαι δεῖ [177] χρηστὰ βουλομένους, καὶ πάνθ᾿ ἕξει καλῶς· ἢ γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἐρεῖ φλαῦρον οὐδέν, ἢ οὐδὲν αὐτῷ πλέον ἔσται μὴ ἔχοντι τοὺς πεισομένους.

fore must start with a noble ambition and all will be well, for then no orator will give you base counsel, or else he will gain nothing by it, having no one to take him at his word.

ON THE NAVY-BOARDS

INTRODUCTION

When the Athenians were involved in the Social War, their general, Chares, was tempted by lack of pay for his troops to enter the service of the satrap Artabazus, then in revolt against the king of Persia, Artaxerxes III. (Ochus). In deference to Persian remonstrances the Athenians recalled Chares, but they were alarmed by rumours of naval preparations, which they feared were intended for the help of their revolted allies. They hastily patched up a peace with them, acknowledging their independence (355), and it was at this time that Isocrates issued his pamphlet *On the Peace*, urging the Athenians to abandon imperialism and to content themselves with leading a free confederation of states. The alarming rumours, however, of Persian armaments persisted, and in 354 an Assembly was held to discuss the situation. The "jingoes" actually proposed to declare war on Persia and to send the fiery cross round Greece, and they indulged freely in the hackneyed allusions to Marathon and Salamis. Demosthenes, who was then twenty-eight and had never before addressed the Assembly, took part in the debate. The speech of the young orator is most remarkable, under the circumstances, for its restraint and its business-like statesmanship.[a] He was successful in averting a rash declaration of war, but his proposed reform of the trierarchy had to wait for fourteen years.

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[a] Perhaps the only sign of youthfulness is the comparative frequency with which ἐγώ appears at the beginning of a sentence.

XIV. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΜΜΟΡΙΩΝ

[178] Οἱ μὲν ἐπαινοῦντες, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς προγόνους ὑμῶν λόγον εἰπεῖν μοι δοκοῦσι προαιρεῖσθαι κεχαρισμένον, οὐ μὴν συμφέροντά γ' ἐκείνοις οὓς ἐγκωμιάζουσι ποιεῖν· περὶ γὰρ πραγμάτων ἐγχειροῦντες λέγειν ὧν οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ἀξίως ἐφικέσθαι τῷ λόγῳ δύναιτο, αὐτοὶ μὲν τοῦ δοκεῖν δύνασθαι λέγειν δόξαν ἐκφέρονται, τὴν δ' ἐκείνων ἀρετὴν ἐλάττω τῆς ὑπειλημμένης παρὰ τοῖς ἀκούουσι φαίνεσθαι ποιοῦσιν. ἐγὼ δ' ἐκείνων μὲν ἔπαινον τὸν χρόνον ἡγοῦμαι μέγιστον, οὗ πολλοῦ γεγενημένου μείζω τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνων πραχθέντων οὐδένες ἄλλοι παραδείξασθαι δεδύνηνται·

2 αὐτὸς δὲ πειράσομαι τὸν τρόπον εἰπεῖν ὃν ἄν μοι δοκεῖτε μάλιστα δύνασθαι παρασκευάσασθαι. καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει· εἰ μὲν ἡμεῖς ἅπαντες οἱ μέλλοντες λέγειν δεινοὶ φανείημεν ὄντες, οὐδὲν ἂν τὰ ὑμέτερ' εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι βέλτιον σχοίη· εἰ δὲ παρελθὼν εἷς ὁστισοῦν δύναιτο διδάξαι καὶ πεῖσαι, τίς παρασκευὴ καὶ πόση καὶ πόθεν πορισθεῖσα χρήσιμος ἔσται τῇ πόλει, πᾶς ὁ παρὼν φόβος λελύσεται. ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦτ', ἂν ἄρ' οἷός τ' ὦ, πειράσομαι ποιῆσαι, μικρὰ προειπὼν ὑμῖν ὡς ἔχω γνώμης περὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.

3 Ἐγὼ νομίζω κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν ἁπάντων τῶν

XIV. ON THE NAVY-BOARDS

Those who praise your ancestors, men of Athens, seem to me to choose an acceptable theme, which yet fails to do any real service to those whom they eulogize ; for when they attempt to speak about achievements to which no words could possibly do justice, they earn for themselves the reputation of clever speakers, but leave their hearers with a lower estimate of the merits of those famous men. Indeed, I think the best testimony to their merits is the length of time that has elapsed, during which no other men have been able to surpass their achievements. For my own part, however, I shall confine myself to pointing out how you can best prepare for war. For this is how things stand. Even if all of us who are to address you should prove capable speakers, you would, I am sure, be no better off ; but if someone, whoever he may be, could come forward and point out convincingly the nature and size of the force that will be serviceable to the city, and show how it is to be provided, all our present fears will be relieved. This is what I will try to do, if only I am able, first giving you briefly my views about our relations with the Great King.

I admit that he is the common enemy of all the

Ἑλλήνων εἶναι βασιλέα, οὐ μὴν διὰ τοῦτο παραινέσαιμ᾽ ἂν μόνοις τῶν ἄλλων ὑμῖν πόλεμον πρὸς
[179] αὐτὸν ἄρασθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὁρῶ κοινοὺς ἀλλήλοις ὄντας φίλους, ἀλλ᾽ ἐνίους μᾶλλον ἐκείνῳ πιστεύοντας ἤ τισιν αὐτῶν. ἐκ δὴ τῶν τοιούτων νομίζω συμφέρειν ὑμῖν τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν τοῦ πολέμου ζητεῖν ὅπως ἴση καὶ δικαία γενήσεται, παρασκευάζεσθαι δ᾽ ἃ προσήκει πάντα
4 καὶ τοῦθ᾽ ὑποκεῖσθαι. ἡγοῦμαι γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς Ἕλληνας, εἰ μὲν ἐναργές τι γένοιτο καὶ σαφὲς ὡς βασιλεὺς αὐτοῖς ἐπιχειρεῖ, κἂν συμμαχῆσαι[1] καὶ χάριν μεγάλην ἔχειν τοῖς πρὸ αὐτῶν καὶ μετ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνον ἀμυνομένοις· εἰ δ᾽ ἔτ᾽ ἀδήλου τούτου καθεστηκότος προαπεχθησόμεθ᾽ ἡμεῖς, δέδι᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ τούτοις μετ᾽ ἐκείνου πολεμεῖν ἀναγκασθῶμεν, ὑπὲρ ὧν προ-
5 νοούμεθα. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐπισχὼν ὧν ὥρμηκεν, εἰ ἄρ᾽ ἐγχειρεῖν ἔγνωκε τοῖς Ἕλλησι, χρήματα δώσει τισὶν αὐτῶν καὶ φιλίαν προτενεῖται, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἰδίους πολέμους ἐπανορθῶσαι βουλόμενοι καὶ τοῦτον τὸν νοῦν ἔχοντες τὴν κοινὴν ἁπάντων σωτηρίαν παρόψονται. εἰς δὲ τὴν ταραχὴν ταύτην καὶ τὴν ἀγνωμοσύνην παραινῶ μὴ προκαθεῖναι
6 τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ἴσης ὁρῶ τοῖς τ᾽ ἄλλοις Ἕλλησι καὶ ὑμῖν περὶ τῶν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὴν βουλὴν οὖσαν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκείνων μὲν πολλοῖς ἐνδέχεσθαί μοι δοκεῖ τῶν ἰδίᾳ τι συμφερόντων διοικουμένοις τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἀμελῆσαι, ὑμῖν δ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἀδικουμένοις παρὰ τῶν ἀδικούντων καλόν ἐστι λαβεῖν ταύτην τὴν δίκην,

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[1] *καὶ συμμαχήσειν* vulg., Dindorf: *καὶ συμμαχῆσαι* S etc.: *κἂν σ.* Tournier.

Greeks; yet I would not on that account advise you to undertake a war against him by yourselves apart from the rest, for I observe that the Greeks themselves are by no means common friends of one another, but that certain of them repose more confidence in the King than in some of their neighbours. From this state of things I conclude that it is to your interest to be careful that your grounds for entering on war shall be equitable and just, but to proceed with all the necessary preparations, making that the foundation of your policy. For I believe, Athenians, that if there were clear and unmistakable signs of the King's hostile intentions, the other Greeks would join with us, and would be deeply grateful to those who would stand up for them and with them against his attacks; but if we force on a war, while his aims are still obscure, I am afraid, men of Athens, that we shall be obliged to encounter, not only the King, but also those whom we are minded to protect. For the King, suspending his designs—if he really intends to invade Greece—will distribute money among them and tempt them with offers of friendship, while they, anxious to bring their private quarrels to a successful issue and keeping that object in view, will overlook the common safety of all. Into such a welter of confusion and folly I beseech you not to plunge our country. For indeed, as regards your policy towards the King, I see that you are by no means on the same footing as the other Greeks; for many of them it is, I suppose, possible to pursue their private interests and abandon the cause of their countrymen, but for you, even when wronged by them, it would not be honourable to

ἐᾶσαί τινας αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῷ βαρβάρῳ γενέσθαι.
7 ὅτε δ' οὕτως ταῦτ' ἔχει, σκεπτέον ὅπως μήθ'
ἡμεῖς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ γενησόμεθ' οὐκ ἴσοι, μήτ'
[180] ἐκεῖνος, ὃν ἡμεῖς ἐπιβουλεύειν ἡγούμεθα τοῖς
Ἕλλησι, τὴν τοῦ φίλος αὐτοῖς δοκεῖν εἶναι πίστιν
λήψεται. πῶς οὖν ταῦτ' ἔσται; ἂν ἡ μὲν δύναμις
τῆς πόλεως ἐξητασμένη καὶ παρεσκευασμένη πᾶσιν
ᾖ φανερά, φαίνηται δὲ δίκαια φρονεῖν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ
8 τῇ προαιρέσει. τοῖς δὲ θρασυνομένοις καὶ σφόδρ'
ἑτοίμως πολεμεῖν κελεύουσιν ἐκεῖνο λέγω, ὅτι οὐκ
ἔστι χαλεπὸν οὔθ' ὅταν βουλεύεσθαι δέῃ, δόξαν
ἀνδρείας λαβεῖν, οὔθ' ὅταν κίνδυνός τις ἐγγὺς ᾖ,
δεινὸν εἰπεῖν φανῆναι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο καὶ χαλεπὸν
καὶ προσῆκον, ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν κινδύνων τὴν ἀνδρείαν
ἐνδείκνυσθαι, ἐν δὲ τῷ συμβουλεύειν φρονιμώτερα
9 τῶν ἄλλων εἰπεῖν ἔχειν. ἐγὼ δ', ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, νομίζω τὸν μὲν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς
βασιλέα χαλεπὸν τῇ πόλει, τὸν δ' ἀγῶνα τὸν
ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου ῥᾴδιον ἂν συμβῆναι.[1] διὰ τί;
ὅτι τοὺς μὲν πολέμους ἅπαντας ἀναγκαίως ἡγοῦμαι
τριήρων καὶ χρημάτων καὶ τόπων δεῖσθαι, ταῦτα
δὲ πάντ' ἀφθονώτερ' ἐκεῖνον ἔχονθ' ἡμῶν εὑρίσκω·
τοὺς δ' ἀγῶνας οὐδενὸς οὕτω τῶν ἄλλων ὁρῶ
δεομένους ὡς ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν, τούτους δ' ἡμῖν
καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμῶν κινδυνεύουσι πλείους ὑπάρχειν
10 νομίζω. τὸν μὲν δὴ πόλεμον διὰ ταῦτα παραινῶ
μηδ' ἐξ ἑνὸς τρόπου προτέρους ἀνελέσθαι, ἐπὶ
δὲ τὸν ἀγῶν' ὀρθῶς φημι παρεσκευασμένους ὑπάρχειν
χρῆναι. εἰ μὲν οὖν ἕτερός τις τρόπος ἦν

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[1] So Cobet: συμβῆναι ῥᾴδιον ἂν S: ῥᾴδιον ἂν συμβάντα vulg., Dindorf.

exact such a penalty from the wrong-doers as to leave any of them under the heel of the barbarian. But as long as this is so, we must take care that we are not involved in war at a disadvantage, and that the King, whom we believe to have designs against the Greeks, does not win the credit of appearing as their friend. How then can this be ensured? If we make it plain to all that our forces are already marshalled and equipped, but equally plain that our policy is founded on sentiments of justice. To your rash advisers, who are so eager to hurry you into war, I have this to say, that it is not difficult, when deliberation is needed, to gain a reputation for courage, nor when danger is at hand, to display skill in oratory; but there is something that is both difficult and essential—to display courage in the face of danger, and in deliberation to offer sounder advice than one's fellows. I believe, men of Athens, that the war with the King is a difficult undertaking for our city, though any conflict which the war involved might prove easy enough.[a] Why so? Because the first requisites for every war are necessarily, I suppose, fleets and money and strong positions, and I find that the King is more fully supplied with these than we are; but for the actual conflict I observe that nothing is needed so much as brave soldiers, and of these we and those who share the danger with us have the better supply. That is why I advise that we should not on any grounds be the first to plunge into war, but for the conflict we must be properly equipped from the start. If indeed there were one kind of force suitable for

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[a] In *Phil.* iii. 52 he notes that the reverse would be the case in a contest with Philip.

δυνάμεως ᾧ τοὺς βαρβάρους οἷόν τ' ἦν ἀμύνασθαι,
ἕτερος δέ τις ᾧ τοὺς Ἕλληνας, εἰκότως ἂν
ἴσως φανεροὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐγιγνόμεθ' ἀντιταττόμενοι·
11 ἐπεὶ δὲ πάσης ἐστὶ παρασκευῆς ὁ αὐτὸς τρόπος
καὶ δεῖ ταῦτ' εἶναι κεφάλαια τῆς δυνάμεως, τοὺς
[181] ἐχθροὺς ἀμύνασθαι δύνασθαι, τοῖς οὖσι συμμάχοις
βοηθεῖν, τὰ ὑπάρχοντ' ἀγαθὰ σῴζειν, τί τοὺς ὁμολογουμένους
ἐχθροὺς ἔχοντες ἑτέρους ζητοῦμεν;
ἀλλὰ παρασκευασώμεθα μὲν πρὸς αὐτούς, ἀμυνούμεθα
12 δὲ κἀκεῖνον, ἂν ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν ἐπιχειρῇ. καὶ
νῦν μὲν καλεῖτε πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς τοὺς Ἕλληνας·
ἂν δ' ἃ κελεύουσιν οὗτοι μὴ ποιῆτε, οὐχ ἡδέως
ἐνίων ὑμῖν ἐχόντων, πῶς χρὴ προσδοκᾶν τιν'
ὑπακούσεσθαι; ὅτι νὴ Δί' ἀκούσονται παρ' ὑμῶν
ὡς ἐπιβουλεύει βασιλεὺς αὐτοῖς. αὐτοὺς δ' οὐ
προορᾶν, ὦ πρὸς τοῦ Διός, οἴεσθε τοῦτο; ἐγὼ
μὲν γὰρ οἶμαι. ἀλλ' οὔπω μείζων ἔσθ' ὁ φόβος
τῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐνίοις διαφορῶν.
οὐδὲν οὖν ἀλλ' ἢ ῥαψῳδήσουσιν οἱ πρέσβεις περιιόντες.
13 τότε δ', ἂν ἄρ' ἃ νῦν οἰόμεθ' ἡμεῖς πράττηται,
οὐδεὶς δήπου τῶν πάντων Ἑλλήνων τηλικοῦτον
ἐφ' αὐτῷ φρονεῖ, ὅστις ὁρῶν ὑμῖν χιλίους
μὲν ἱππέας, ὁπλίτας δ' ὅσους ἂν ἐθέλῃ τις, ναῦς
δὲ τριακοσίας, οὐχ ἥξει καὶ δεήσεται, μετὰ τούτων
ἀσφαλέστατ' ἂν ἡγούμενος σωθῆναι. οὐκοῦν ἐκ
μὲν τοῦ καλεῖν ἤδη τὸ δεῖσθαι κἂν μὴ τύχητ'
ἀφαμαρτεῖν, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ μετὰ τοῦ παρεσκευάσθαι
τὰ ὑμέτερ' αὐτῶν ἐπισχεῖν δεομένους σῴζειν καὶ
εὖ εἰδέναι πάντας ἥξοντάς ἐστιν.

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[a] The ambassadors are compared to rhapsodists, the wandering professional reciters of epic poetry, whose art was falling into contempt in an age of wider education.

defence against Persians and another for defence against Greeks, then we might reasonably be suspected of marshalling ourselves against the King; but when all preparation for war is on the same lines and the main objects of an armed force are the same—to be strong enough to repel the enemy, to assist one's allies, and to preserve one's own possessions—why, having open enemies enough, must we be looking out for another? Let us rather make our preparations against them, and then we shall defend ourselves against him too, if he ventures to molest us. Moreover you are now calling on the Greeks to join you; but if you refuse to do their bidding—and your relations with some of them are not cordial—how can you expect any of them to answer your call? "Because," you say, "we shall warn them that the King has designs on them." But seriously, do you imagine that they cannot detect that for themselves? I am sure they can. But as yet their fear of Persia is subordinate to their feuds with you and, in some cases, with one another. Therefore your ambassadors will only go round repeating their heroics.[a] But later on, if what we now deem probable comes to pass, surely no Greek community has such a good conceit of itself that when they see that you have a thousand cavalry and as many infantry as one could desire and three hundred ships, they will not come as our suitors, feeling that with such support their safety is assured. Therefore to invite them at once means that you are the suppliants and, if unsuccessful, have failed utterly, but to wait and at the same time complete your own preparations means saving them at their request, and being well assured that they will all join you.

14 Ἐγὼ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ταῦτά τε
καὶ παραπλήσια τούτοις λογιζόμενος λόγον μὲν
οὐδέν’ ἐβουλόμην θρασὺν οὐδ’ ἔχοντα μάταιον
μῆκος εὑρεῖν· τὴν μέντοι παρασκευήν, ὅπως ὡς
ἄριστα καὶ τάχιστα γενήσεται, πάνυ πολλὰ πράγματ’
ἔσχον σκοπῶν. οἴομαι δὴ δεῖν ἀκούσαντας
[182] ὑμᾶς αὐτήν, ἂν ὑμῖν ἀρέσκῃ, ψηφίσασθαι. ἔστι
τοίνυν πρῶτον μὲν τῆς παρασκευῆς, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ μέγιστον, οὕτω διακεῖσθαι τὰς
γνώμας ὑμᾶς ὡς ἕκαστον ἑκόντα προθύμως ὅ
15 τι ἂν δέῃ ποιήσοντα. ὁρᾶτε γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
ὅτι, ὅσα μὲν πώποθ’ ἅπαντες ἐβουλήθητε
καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ πράττειν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ
προσήκειν ἡγήσατο, οὐδὲν πώποθ’ ὑμᾶς ἐξέφυγεν,
ὅσα δ’ ἐβουλήθητε μέν, μετὰ ταῦτα δ’ ἀπεβλέψατ’
εἰς ἀλλήλους· ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ἕκαστος οὐ ποιήσων,
τὸν δὲ πλησίον πράξοντα, οὐδὲν πώποθ’ ὑμῖν
16 ἐγένετο. ἐχόντων δ’ ὑμῶν οὕτω καὶ παρωξυμμένων,
τοὺς διακοσίους καὶ χιλίους ἀναπληρῶσαί
φημι χρῆναι καὶ ποιῆσαι δισχιλίους, ὀκτακοσίους
αὐτοῖς προσνείμαντας· ἐὰν γὰρ τοῦτ’ ἀποδείξητε
τὸ πλῆθος, ἡγοῦμαι, τῶν ἐπικλήρων καὶ τῶν
ὀρφανῶν καὶ τῶν κληρουχικῶν καὶ τῶν κοινωνικῶν
καὶ εἴ τις ἀδύνατος ἀφαιρεθέντων, ἔσεσθαι
17 χίλια καὶ διακόσια ταῦθ’ ὑμῖν σώματα. ἐκ τοίνυν
τούτων οἶμαι δεῖν ποιῆσαι συμμορίας εἴκοσιν,
ὥσπερ νῦν εἰσιν, ἑξήκοντα σώματ’ ἔχουσαν ἑκάστην.
τούτων δὲ τῶν συμμοριῶν ἑκάστην διελεῖν κελεύω
πέντε μέρη κατὰ δώδεκ’ ἄνδρας, ἀνταναπληροῦντας
πρὸς τὸν εὐπορώτατον ἀεὶ τοὺς ἀπορωτάτους.
καὶ τὰ μὲν σώματα ταῦθ’ οὕτω συντετάχθαι φημὶ

Therefore, men of Athens, moved by this and similar considerations, I was unwilling to compose a confident oration or one of futile length, but I have been at very great pains to consider the best and speediest method of completing our equipment. I venture to think that you ought to hear my plan and vote for it, if it satisfies you. Now the first and most important step in our equipment, men of Athens, is that you should be filled with such resolution that everyone shall be willing and eager to do his part. For you will notice, men of Athens, that whenever you have collectively formed some project, and thereafter each individual has realized that it was his personal duty to carry it out, nothing has ever escaped your grasp; but whenever you have formed your project and thereafter have looked to one another to carry it out, each expecting to do nothing while his neighbour worked, then nothing has succeeded with you. But seeing you thus resolved and enthusiastic, I propose that the register of the twelve hundred[a] should be filled up and enlarged to two thousand by the addition of eight hundred names; for if you fix on that number, I believe that you will get your twelve hundred persons, after striking out wards, orphans, settlers in colonies, joint holders of estates, and anyone otherwise ineligible. Then I propose to divide these into twenty boards, as at present, each containing sixty persons. Each of these boards I would subdivide into five groups of twelve men, always attaching to the wealthiest man those who are poorest, to keep the balance. That is how I propose to arrange these persons; you will understand why,

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[a] The wealthiest citizens (συντελεῖς).

δεῖν· δι' ὃ δ', εἴσεσθε, ἐπειδὰν ὅλον τὸν τρόπον
18 τῆς συντάξεως ἀκούσητε. τὰς δὲ τριήρεις πῶς;
τὸν ἅπαντ' ἀριθμὸν κελεύω τριακοσίας ἀποδείξαντας,
κατὰ πεντεκαιδεκαναΐαν εἴκοσι ποιῆσαι μέρη,
τῶν πρώτων ἑκατὸν πέντε, καὶ τῶν δευτέρων
[183] ἑκατὸν πέντε, καὶ τῶν τρίτων ἑκατὸν πένθ' ἑκάστῳ
μέρει διδόντας, εἶτα συγκληρῶσαι συμμορίᾳ σωμάτων
ἑκάστῃ τὴν πεντεκαιδεκαναΐαν, τὴν δὲ συμμορίαν
ἑκάστῳ τῷ μέρει σφῶν αὐτῶν τρεῖς ἀποδοῦναι
19 τριήρεις. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχονθ' ὑπάρχῃ,
κελεύω, ἐπειδὴ τὸ τίμημ' ἐστὶ τῆς χώρας ἑξακισχιλίων
ταλάντων, ἵν' ὑμῖν καὶ τὰ χρήματ' ᾖ συντεταγμένα,
διελεῖν τοῦτο καὶ ποιῆσαι καθ' ἑξήκοντα
τάλανθ' ἑκατὸν μέρη, εἶτα πένθ' ἑξηκονταταλαντίας
εἰς ἑκάστην τῶν μεγάλων τῶν εἴκοσι συμμοριῶν
ἐπικληρῶσαι, τὴν δὲ συμμορίαν ἑκάστῳ τῶν μερῶν
20 μίαν ἑξηκονταταλαντίαν ἀποδοῦναι, ὅπως, ἂν μὲν
ὑμῖν ἑκατὸν δέῃ τριήρων, τὴν μὲν δαπάνην ἑξήκοντα
τάλαντα συντελῇ, τριήραρχοι δ' ὦσι δώδεκα, ἂν
δὲ διακοσίων, τριάκοντα μὲν ᾖ τάλαντα τὴν δαπάνην
συντελοῦντα, ἓξ δὲ σώματα τριηραρχοῦντα,
ἐὰν δὲ τριακοσίων, εἴκοσι μὲν ᾖ τάλαντα τὴν
δαπάνην διαλύοντα, τέτταρα δὲ σώματα τριηραρχοῦντα.
21 τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον καὶ τὰ νῦν ὀφειλόμεν',
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν σκευῶν ἐπὶ τὰς τριήρεις
τιμήσαντας ἅπαντ' ἐκ τοῦ διαγράμματος νεῖμαι
κελεύω μέρη εἴκοσιν, ἔπειτα ταῖς μεγάλαις ἐπικληρῶσαι
συμμορίαις μέρος ἓν χρήστων ἑκάστῃ,
τὴν δὲ συμμορίαν ἑκάστην διανεῖμαι τῶν αὐτῆς

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[a] Ships of the first rate, apparently.

when you have heard the whole of the arrangement. Now what about the war-galleys? I propose to fix the total number at three hundred, divided into twenty squadrons of fifteen ships each, assigning to each squadron five of the first hundred,[a] five of the second, and five of the third; and next to allot a squadron of fifteen to each board, and the board must assign three vessels to each of its own groups. When these preliminaries are settled, I propose that your wealth also should be organized, and that as the ratable value of the country is six thousand talents, this sum should be divided into a hundred parts of sixty talents each, and that then five of these parts should be allotted to each of the twenty full boards, and that the board itself should assign one part, consisting of sixty talents, to each of its own five groups. Thus, if you want a hundred war-galleys the cost of each will be covered by the sixty talents[b] and there will be twelve trierarchs for each; if you want two hundred, there will be thirty talents to cover the cost and six persons to serve as trierarchs; if you want three hundred, there will be twenty talents for the cost and four persons to serve. In the same way I propose, men of Athens, that all ships' gear now on loan should be valued and divided according to the inventory into twenty parts, and then that one part of the debtors liable for it should be allotted to each of the full boards, and that each board should assign an equal share to each of its own

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[b] *i.e.* by a tax on this fraction, one hundredth, of the whole ratable value. The actual cost of a trierarchy was from 40 minae to one talent. The value of a mina (= 100 drachmae) is usually put at £4 and that of a talent at £240: but the actual value must have been much greater, as a drachma was the average wage of an artisan.

μερῶν ἑκάστῳ τὸ ἴσον, τοὺς δὲ δώδεκα τοὺς ἐν
ἑκάστῳ τῷ μέρει ταῦτ᾽ εἰσπράξαντας τὰς τριήρεις,
ἃς ἂν ἕκαστοι λάχωσι, παρεσκευασμένας παρέχειν.
22 τὴν μὲν δαπάνην καὶ τὰ σκάφη καὶ τοὺς
τριηράρχους καὶ τὴν τῶν σκευῶν εἴσπραξιν οὕτως
ἂν ἄρισθ᾽ ἡγοῦμαι καὶ πορισθῆναι καὶ παρασκευασθῆναι·
πλήρωσιν δ᾽, ᾗ καὶ σαφὴς ἔσται
[184] καὶ ῥᾳδία, μετὰ ταῦτα λέγω. φημὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς
δεῖν διανεῖμαι τόπους δέκα τῶν νεωρίων,
σκεψαμένους ὅπως ὡς ἐγγύτατ᾽ ἀλλήλων κατὰ
τριάκοντ᾽ ὦσι νεώσοικοι, ἐπειδὰν δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσωσι
δύο συμμορίας καὶ τριάκοντα τριήρεις τούτων
ἑκάστῳ προσνεῖμαι τῶν τόπων, εἶτ᾽ ἐπικληρῶσαι
23 τὰς φυλάς· τὸν δὲ ταξίαρχον ἕκαστον, ὃν ἂν ἡ
φυλὴ τόπον λάχῃ, διελεῖν τρίχα καὶ τὰς ναῦς
ὡσαύτως, εἶτ᾽ ἐπικληρῶσαι τὰς τριττῦς, ὅπως
ἂν τῶν μὲν ὅλων νεωρίων ἓν ἑκάστη μέρος ᾖ τῶν
φυλῶν, τοῦ δὲ μέρους ἑκάστου τὸ τρίτον μέρος
ἡ τριττὺς ἔχῃ, εἰδῆτε δ᾽, ἄν τι δέῃ, πρῶτον μὲν
τὴν φυλήν, ὅπου τέτακται, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ τὴν
τριττύν, εἶτα τριήραρχοι τίνες καὶ τριήρεις ποῖαι,
καὶ τριάκοντα μὲν ἡ φυλή, δέκα δ᾽ ἡ τριττὺς
ἑκάστη τριήρεις ἔχῃ. ἐὰν γὰρ ταῦθ᾽ οὕτως εἰς
ὁδὸν καταστῇ, εἴ τι καὶ παραλείπομεν νῦν (πάντα
γὰρ ἴσως εὑρεῖν οὐ ῥᾴδιον), αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμ᾽ ἑαυτῷ

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[a] The following table may make this paragraph clearer. Column A represents the totals, B the boards, C the groups.

		A	B	C
No. of ships required		300	15	3
		200	10	2
		100	5	1
No. of trierarchs		1200	60	12
Capital represented (in talents)		6000	300	60

groups ; and that the twelve members of the group should exact the same from the debtors, and so provide, fully equipped, as many galleys as they are severally responsible for. That, I think, would be the best way of providing and organizing the money, the hulls, the trierarchs, and the calling in of the ships' gear.[a]

I now proceed to describe a clear and easy way of manning the ships. I suggest that the generals should divide the dockyards into ten areas, so arranging it that there may be dock-room in each for thirty ships, as close together as possible, and that when they have done this, they should apportion two boards and thirty galleys to each area, and then assign the tribes by lot to the areas. And each brigade-commander [b] must divide into three parts whatever area his tribe has taken over, and the ships in the same way, and then he must allot the thirds of his tribe in such a way that of the whole space of the dockyards each tribe may have one area and each third of a tribe a third of an area ; so that you can know at once, if necessary, where each tribe and each third of a tribe is stationed, who are the trierarchs and what ships they have, and that so each tribe may have thirty ships and each third of a tribe ten. For if we can only get this started, any detail at present omitted (for it is perhaps difficult to provide for everything) will be discovered by the actual working

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[b] Each of the ten taxiarchs commanded the infantry belonging to his tribe.

εὑρήσει, καὶ μία σύνταξις καὶ πασῶν τῶν νεῶν
καὶ μέρους ἔσται.
24 Ὑπὲρ δὲ χρημάτων καὶ πόρου φανεροῦ τινος
ἤδη παράδοξον μὲν οἶδα λόγον μέλλων λέγειν,
ὅμως δ' εἰρήσεται· πιστεύω γάρ, ἐάν τις ὀρθῶς
σκοπῇ, μόνος τἀληθῆ καὶ τὰ γενησόμεν' εἰρηκὼς
φανεῖσθαι. ἐγώ φημι χρῆναι μὴ λέγειν νυνὶ περὶ
χρημάτων· εἶναι γὰρ πόρον, ἂν δέῃ, μέγαν καὶ
καλὸν καὶ δίκαιον, ὃν ἂν μὲν ἤδη ζητῶμεν, οὐδ'
εἰς τόθ' ὑπάρχειν ἡγησόμεθ' ἡμῖν· οὕτω πολὺ
τοῦ πορίσαι νῦν ἀποσχήσομεν· ἐὰν δ' ἐῶμεν, ἔσται.
τίς οὖν ἔσθ' οὗτος ὁ νῦν μὲν οὐκ ὤν, ὑπάρξων δ'
[185] εἰς τότε; αἰνίγματι γὰρ ὅμοιον τοῦτό γε. ἐγὼ
25 φράσω. ὁρᾶτε τὴν πόλιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
πᾶσαν ταύτην. ἐν ταύτῃ χρήματ' ἔνεστιν ὀλίγου
δέω πρὸς ἁπάσας τὰς ἄλλας εἰπεῖν πόλεις. ταῦτα
δ' οἱ κεκτημένοι τοιοῦτον ἔχουσι νοῦν ὥστ', εἰ
πάντες οἱ λέγοντες φοβοῖεν ὡς ἥξει βασιλεύς, ὡς
πάρεστιν, ὡς οὐδ' οἷόν τε ταῦτ' ἄλλως ἔχειν, καὶ
μετὰ τῶν λεγόντων ἴσοι τὸ πλῆθος τούτοις χρησμῳδοῖεν,
οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἂν εἰσενέγκαιεν, ἀλλ' οὐδ'
26 ἂν δείξαιεν οὐδ' ἂν ὁμολογήσαιεν κεκτῆσθαι. εἰ
μέντοι τὰ νῦν διὰ τῶν λόγων φοβερὰ ἔργῳ πραττόμεν'
αἴσθοιντο, οὐδεὶς οὕτως ἠλίθιός ἐστιν ὅστις
οὐχὶ κἂν δοίη καὶ πρῶτος εἰσενέγκαι· τίς γὰρ
αἱρήσεται μᾶλλον αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ ὄντ' ἀπολωλέναι
ἢ μέρος τῶν ὄντων ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν
εἰσενεγκεῖν; χρήματα μὲν δή φημ' εἶναι τότε, ἂν
ὡς ἀληθῶς δέῃ, πρότερον δ' οὔ. διὸ μηδὲ ζητεῖν

of the plan, and we shall have a uniform system both for the whole navy and for every part of it.

But as regards money and a ready supply of it at once, I am aware that I am going to make a startling proposal. The proposal shall, however, be made, because I am confident that if you take the right point of view, it will be clear that I alone have told you the truth, as it is and as it will be. My view is that we ought not to talk about money now; for if we need it, we have a source of supply, abundant, honourable and fair; if we look for it at once, we shall fail so utterly to supply it now that we shall conclude that it is not even in reserve for our future use, but if we leave it alone, it will be there. What, then, is this supply, which is not now, but will be hereafter? That sounds like a riddle, but I will explain. Look at the great city that lies around you, men of Athens. In that city there is wealth, I might almost say, equal to that of all the other Greek cities together. But that wealth is in the hands of men whose temper is such that if all our orators started a scare that the King is coming, that he is close at hand, that the report must be true, and if the orators were backed by an equal number of oracle-mongers, not only would they fail to contribute, but they would refuse to declare or acknowledge their wealth. But if once they saw that what alarms them now as a mere rumour was actually taking place, none of them is so foolish that he would not be the first to pay his contribution; for who will choose to sacrifice life and property sooner than contribute a fraction to ensure his person and the remainder of his wealth? The money, I say, we have when it is really needed, but not before. Therefore I advise you not to seek it

παραινῶ· ὅσα γὰρ νῦν πορίσαιτ᾽ ἄν, εἰ προέλοισθε
27 πορίζειν, πλείων ἐστὶ γέλως τοῦ μηδενός. φέρε
γάρ, ἑκατοστήν τις εἰσφέρειν ἐρεῖ νῦν; οὐκοῦν
ἑξήκοντα τάλαντα. ἀλλὰ πεντηκοστήν τις ἐρεῖ,
τὸ διπλοῦν; οὐκοῦν ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι. καὶ τί
τοῦτ᾽ ἔστι πρὸς διακοσίας καὶ χιλίας καμήλους,
ἃς βασιλεῖ τὰ χρήματ᾽ ἄγειν φασὶν οὗτοι; ἀλλὰ
θῶ βούλεσθε δωδεκάτην ἡμᾶς εἰσοίσειν, πεντακόσια
τάλαντα; ἀλλ᾽ οὔτ᾽ ἂν ἀνάσχοισθ᾽ οὔτ᾽, εἰ καταθεῖτε,
28 ἄξια τοῦ πολέμου τὰ χρήματα. δεῖ τοίνυν
ὑμᾶς τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παρασκευάσασθαι, τὰ δὲ χρήματα
νῦν μὲν ἐᾶν τοὺς κεκτημένους ἔχειν (οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ
ἂν ἐν καλλίονι σῴζοιτο τῇ πόλει), ἐὰν δέ ποθ᾽
[186] οὗτος ὁ καιρὸς ἔλθῃ, τόθ᾽ ἑκόντων εἰσφερόντων
αὐτῶν λαμβάνειν. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ δυνατά ἐστιν, ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ πράττειν καλὰ καὶ συμφέροντα
καὶ βασιλεῖ περὶ ὑμῶν ἐπιτήδει᾽ ἀπαγγελθῆναι,
καὶ φόβος οὐκ ὀλίγος γένοιτ᾽ ἂν ἐκείνῳ
29 διὰ τούτων. οἶδε μέν γε διακοσίαις τριήρεσιν, ὧν
ἑκατὸν παρεσχόμεθ᾽ ἡμεῖς, τοὺς προγόνους αὐτοῦ
χιλίας ἀπολέσαντας ναῦς, ἀκούσεται δὲ τριακοσίας
αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς νῦν παρεσκευασμένους τριήρεις·
ὥστε μὴ κομιδῇ, μηδ᾽ εἰ πάνυ μαίνοιτο, νομίσαι
ῥᾴδιόν τι τὸ τὴν ἡμετέραν πόλιν ἐχθρὰν ποιήσασθαι.
ἀλλὰ μὴν εἴ γ᾽ ἐπὶ χρήμασιν αὐτῷ μέγ᾽ ἐπέρχεται
φρονεῖν, καὶ ταύτην ἀσθενεστέραν ἀφορμὴν τῆς
30 ὑμετέρας εὑρήσει. ὁ μέν γε χρυσίον, ὥς φασιν,
ἄγει πολύ. τοῦτο δ᾽ ἂν διαδῷ ζητήσει· καὶ γὰρ
τὰς κρήνας καὶ τὰ φρέατ᾽ ἐπιλείπειν πέφυκεν,
ἐάν τις ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀθρόα πολλὰ λαμβάνῃ. ἡμῖν
δὲ τὸ τῆς χώρας τίμημ᾽ ὑπάρχον ἀφορμὴν [ἑξακισ-

out, for the whole sum that you could raise, if you insisted on raising it, would be more ridiculous than nothing at all. For consider ; will anyone propose a tax of one per cent now ? Then we get sixty talents. Or double it and make it two per cent ? Still only a hundred and twenty talents. And what is that to the twelve hundred camels laden, as our friends here tell us, with the King's treasure ? Then would you have me assume that we shall contribute a twelfth of your wealth, or five hundred talents ? But you would not submit to such a tax, nor if you paid up, would the money be sufficient for the war. You must therefore make all your other preparations, but let the money remain for the present in the hands of its owners, for it could not be in better keeping, for the benefit of the State ; but if ever the threatened crisis comes, then accept it as a voluntary contribution.

These proposals, men of Athens, are both practicable and honourable and advantageous, fit to be reported of you to the King and calculated to inspire him with no little alarm. He knows that with two hundred galleys, of which we provided one hundred, our ancestors destroyed a thousand of his ships, and he will hear that we have three hundred of our own ready for sea, so that even if he were raving mad, he would scarcely think it a light thing to incur the hostility of our city. But indeed, if he bases his confidence on his wealth, he will find this too a less sure foundation than yours. He is bringing, they say, gold in plenty. But if he disburses it, he will look in vain for more ; for even springs and wells have a way of failing, if one draws from them constantly and lavishly. But he will hear that our resources consist of the ratable value of our country, and how

χίλια τάλαντα] ἀκούσεται, ὑπὲρ ἧς ὡς μὲν τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἐκείνων ἀμυνόμεθα,[1] οἱ Μαραθῶνι τῶν προγόνων αὐτοῦ μάλιστ' ἂν εἰδεῖεν, ἕως δ' ἂν κρατῶμεν, οὐκ ἔνι δήπου χρήμαθ' ἡμᾶς ἐπιλείπειν.

31 Καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ὅ τινες δεδίασι, μὴ ξενικὸν πολὺ συστήσηται χρήματ' ἔχων, ἀληθὲς εἶναί μοι δοκεῖ. ἐγὼ γὰρ ἡγοῦμαι ἐπὶ μὲν Αἴγυπτον καὶ Ὀρόνταν καί τινας τῶν ἄλλων βαρβάρων πολλοὺς ἂν ἐθελῆσαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων μισθοφορεῖν παρ' ἐκείνῳ, οὐχ ἵν' ἐκεῖνος ἕλῃ τινὰ τούτων, ἀλλ' ἵν' εὐπορίαν τιν' ἕκαστος ἑαυτῷ κτησάμενος ἀπαλλαγῇ τῆς ὑπαρ- [187] χούσης πενίας· ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλάδα Ἕλλην' οὐδέν' ἂν ἐλθεῖν ἡγοῦμαι. ποῖ γὰρ αὐτὸς τρέψεται μετὰ 32 ταῦτα; εἰς Φρυγίαν ἐλθὼν δουλεύσει; οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἄλλου τινός ἐστιν ὁ πρὸς τὸν βάρβαρον πόλεμος ἢ περὶ χώρας καὶ βίου καὶ ἐθῶν καὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων. τίς οὖν οὕτως δυστυχής ἐστιν ὅστις ἑαυτόν, γονέας, τάφους, πατρίδ' ἕνεκα κέρδους βραχέος προέσθαι βουλήσεται; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδέν' ἡγοῦμαι. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκείνῳ συμφέρει ξένους κρατῆσαι τῶν Ἑλλήνων· οἱ γὰρ ἡμῶν κρατήσαντες ἐκείνου γε πάλαι κρείττους ὑπάρχουσι· βούλεται δ' ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἀνελὼν ἡμᾶς ἐπ' ἄλλοις εἶναι, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα μὲν πάντων, εἰ δὲ μή γ', τῶν ὑπαρχόντων δούλων ἑαυτῷ νῦν ἄρχειν.

33 Εἰ τοίνυν τις οἴεται Θηβαίους ἔσεσθαι μετ' ἐκείνου, ἔστι μὲν χαλεπὸς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὁ περὶ τούτων λόγος· διὰ γὰρ τὸ μισεῖν αὐτοὺς οὐδ' ἂν ἀληθὲς οὐδὲν ἡδέως

[1] So Cobet: ἀμυνούμεθα Dindorf with mss.

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[a] Egypt had been in revolt for many years, and in 363 most of the satraps of western Asia, including Orontes,

we can fight in defence of it against invaders from his land, those ancestors of his who fought at Marathon best know ; but as long as we are victorious, there is surely no prospect of money failing us.

Again, what frightens some of you—that his wealth will attract a large mercenary army—does not strike me as true. For although I believe that many Greeks would consent to serve in his pay against the Egyptians and Orontes [a] and other barbarians, not so much to enable him to subdue any of those enemies as to win for themselves wealth and relief from their present poverty, yet I do not think that any Greek would attack Greece. For where would he retire afterwards ? Will he go to Phrygia and be a slave ? For the objects at stake in a war against the barbarian are nothing less than our country, our life, our habits, our freedom, and all such blessings. Who, then, is so desperate that he will sacrifice himself, his ancestors, his sepulchres, and his native land, all for the sake of a paltry profit ? I cannot think that there is such a man. Moreover, it is not even to the King's advantage that mercenaries should beat the Greeks, for the men who shall beat us have been *his* masters long ago.[b] No; his object is not, after destroying us, to find himself in the power of others, but to rule all the world, if he can, or if not, at least those who are now his slaves.

Now, if anyone expects the Thebans to take our side, it is difficult to speak to you about them, because you have such a hearty dislike of them that you would

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satrap of Mysia, joined in the rebellion. Agesilaus, Iphicrates and Chabrias were among the Greek generals who took part on one side or the other.

[b] *i.e.* by beating us they will show that at any time they could have beaten him.

ἀγαθὸν περὶ αὐτῶν ἀκούσαιτε· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ δεῖ
τοὺς περὶ πραγμάτων μεγάλων σκοποῦντας μηδένα
συμφέροντα λογισμὸν παραλιπεῖν διὰ μηδεμίαν
πρόφασιν. ἐγὼ τοίνυν οἶμαι τοσοῦτον ἀπέχειν
Θηβαίους τοῦ μετ᾽ ἐκείνου ποτ᾽ ἂν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς
34 Ἕλληνας, ὥστε πολλῶν ἂν χρημάτων, εἰ ἔχοιεν
δοῦναι, πρίασθαι γενέσθαι τιν᾽ αὐτοῖς καιρὸν δι᾽
οὗ τὰς προτέρας ἀναλύσονται πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας
ἁμαρτίας. εἰ δ᾽ ἄρα παντάπασί τις οὕτως οἴεται
φύσει δυστυχεῖς Θηβαίους εἶναι, ἐκεῖνό γε δήπουθεν
ἅπαντες ἐπίστασθε, ὅτι Θηβαίων τἀκείνου φρονούντων,
ἀνάγκη τοὺς τούτων ἐχθροὺς τὰ τῶν
Ἑλλήνων φρονεῖν.

35 [188] Ἡγοῦμαι τοίνυν ἐγὼ ταύτην τὴν τάξιν τοῦ
δικαίου καὶ τοὺς μετ᾽ αὐτῆς ὄντας κρείττους τῶν
προδοτῶν καὶ τοῦ βαρβάρου ἔσεσθαι πρὸς ἅπαντας.
ὥστ᾽ οὔτε φοβεῖσθαί φημι δεῖν πέρα τοῦ μετρίου,
οὔθ᾽ ὑπαχθῆναι προτέρους ἐκφέρειν τὸν πόλεμον.
καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδέν᾽ ἂν εἰκότως Ἑλλήνων
36 φοβηθέντα τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον ὁρῶ. τίς
γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν αὐτῶν ὅτι, τέως μὲν κοινὸν ἐχθρὸν
ἐκεῖνον ὑπειληφότες ὡμονόουν ἀλλήλοις, πολλῶν
ἀγαθῶν ἦσαν κύριοι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ φίλον αὐτὸν νομίσαντες
αὑτοῖς ὑπάρχειν περὶ τῶν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς
διηνέχθησαν διαφόρων, ὅσ᾽ ἂν οὐδὲ καταρώμενος
ηὗρέ τις αὑτοῖς τοσαῦτα πεπόνθασι κακά; εἶθ᾽
ὃν ἡ τύχη καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον φίλον μὲν ἀλυσιτελῆ,
συμφέροντα δ᾽ ἐχθρὸν ἐμφανίζει, τοῦτον ἡμεῖς φοβώμεθα;
μηδαμῶς· ἀλλὰ μηδ᾽ ἀδικῶμεν, αὐτῶν
ἡμῶν ἕνεκα καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ταραχῆς
37 καὶ ἀπιστίας· ἐπεὶ εἴ γ᾽ ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἦν μετὰ πάντων

not care to hear any good of them, even if it were true ; but yet, when dealing with grave matters, one must not on any pretext pass over an important consideration. For my part, I believe that the Thebans are so little likely to join the King in an attack on Greece that they would pay a large sum, if they had it, to get a chance of expiating their former sins against the Greeks.[a] If, however, some think that the Thebans are fated always to be on the wrong side, at any rate you all know this, that if the Thebans stand by the King, their enemies are bound to stand by the Greeks.

I believe, then, that the cause of justice and those who defend it will prove stronger than the traitors and the barbarian against all opposition. Therefore I say that we must not be unduly alarmed, nor must we be tempted to commence hostilities. And indeed I cannot see that any of the other Greeks have reason to dread this war. For who of them does not know that as long as they were of one mind and regarded the Persian as their common enemy, they could count on many advantages, but ever since they thought of him as a friend to fall back on and were torn asunder by their own private quarrels, they have suffered such disasters as no one would have devised for them even in an imprecation. If that is so, are we to fear this man, whom fortune and the voice of Heaven proclaim to be an unprofitable friend and an auspicious foe ? Never ! Yet let us do him no wrong either, both in our own interests and in view of the unrest and disloyalty of the other Greeks. If indeed we could attack

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[a] Their " Medism " during the Persian wars.

ἐπιθέσθαι μόνῳ, οὐδ' ἀδικεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐκεῖνον ἀδίκημ'
ἂν ἔθηκα. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτ' οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, φυλάττεσθαί
φημι δεῖν μὴ πρόφασιν δῶμεν βασιλεῖ
τοῦ τὰ δίκαι' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ζητεῖν·
ἡσυχίαν μὲν γὰρ ἐχόντων ὑμῶν ὕποπτος ἂν εἴη
τοιοῦτόν τι πράττων, πόλεμον δὲ ποιησαμένων
προτέρων εἰκότως ἂν δοκοίη διὰ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς
38 ἔχθραν τοῖς ἄλλοις φίλος εἶναι βούλεσθαι. μὴ
οὖν ἐξελέγξηθ' ὡς κακῶς ἔχει τὰ Ἑλληνικά,
συγκαλοῦντες ὅτ' οὐ πείσονται, καὶ πολεμοῦντες
ὅτ' οὐ δυνήσεσθε· ἀλλ' ἔχεθ' ἡσυχίαν θαρροῦντες
καὶ παρασκευαζόμενοι, καὶ βούλεσθ' ἀπαγγέλλεσθαι
[189] μὲν περὶ ὑμῶν πρὸς βασιλέα, μὴ μὰ Δί'
ὡς ἀποροῦσιν ἢ φοβοῦνται ἢ θορυβοῦνται πάντες
39 οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι, πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ'
ὅτι, εἰ μὲν μὴ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὁμοίως αἰσχρὸν ἦν
τὸ ψεύδεσθαι καὶ ἐπιορκεῖν ὥσπερ ἐκείνῳ καλόν,
πάλαι ἂν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς ἐπορεύεσθε, νῦν δὲ τοῦτο
μὲν οὐκ ἂν ποιήσαιτε ὑμῶν ἕνεκ' αὐτῶν, εὔχεσθε
δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς θεοῖς τὴν αὐτὴν λαβεῖν παράνοιαν
ἐκεῖνον ἥνπερ ποτὲ τοὺς προγόνους αὐτοῦ. καὶ
ταῦτ' ἂν ἐπίῃ σκοπεῖν αὐτῷ, οὐκ ὀλιγώρως ὑμᾶς
40 βουλευομένους εὑρήσει. ἐκ μέν γε τῶν πρὸς τοὺς
ἑαυτοῦ προγόνους πολέμων σύνοιδε τὴν πόλιν
εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην γεγενημένην, ἐκ δὲ τῆς
ἡσυχίας ἧς ἦγέ ποτε, οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλληνίδων
πόλεων τοσοῦτον ὅσον νῦν ὑπεραίρουσαν.
καὶ μὴν καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ὁρᾷ δεομένους ἤτοι
τινὸς ἑκουσίου ἢ ἀκουσίου διαλλακτοῦ, τοῦτον δ'

him with unanimity, all banded against one, I should not count it wrong in us to do him wrong.[a] But since this is impossible, I suggest that we ought to be careful not to give the King an opportunity to pose as the champion of the other Greeks ; for as long as you remain quiet, any such action on his part would excite suspicion, but if you are the aggressors, he will seem naturally anxious to befriend the rest, because they are hostile to you. Do not, then, expose the weakness of the Greeks by issuing a summons which they will not obey and declaring a war which you cannot wage ; but in quietness and confidence go on with your preparations, and be content that this report of you be brought to the King's ears, not (Heaven forbid !) that all the Greeks, including the Athenians, are helpless, terrified and distracted—that is far from being the case—but that if falsehood and perjury were not as disgraceful in the eyes of the Greeks as they are respectable in his, you would long ago have marched against him ; that as it is, you will not for your own sakes do this, but you pray to all the gods that he may be smitten with the same infatuation as were his ancestors of old. And if it comes into his mind to reflect on this, he will find that your resolutions are not carelessly taken. He knows that the wars we fought against his ancestors have made our city prosperous and powerful, but that the policy of inaction that she once pursued gave her no such supremacy over any of the other Greek states as she enjoys to-day. And indeed he sees that the Greeks stand in need of a peacemaker, whether voluntary or involuntary, and he knows that in that character he would himself appear to them, if he

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[a] A curious piece of casuistry.

αὑτὸν ἂν οἶδε φανέντ᾿ αὐτοῖς, εἰ πόλεμον κινοίη. ὥστε καὶ γνώριμα καὶ πίστ᾿ αὐτῷ τῶν ἀπαγγελλόντων ἀκούειν ἔσται.

41 Ἵνα δ᾿, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ μακρὰ λίαν λέγων ἐνοχλῶ, τὰ κεφάλαι᾿ ὧν συμβουλεύω φράσας ἄπειμι. παρασκευάζεσθαι μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας ἐχθροὺς κελεύω, ἀμύνεσθαι δὲ βασιλέα καὶ πάντας, ἐὰν ἀδικεῖν ἐπιχειρῶσι, ταύτῃ τῇ αὐτῇ δυνάμει φημὶ δεῖν, ἄρχειν δὲ μηδενὸς μήτε λόγου μήτ᾿ ἔργου ἀδίκου, τὰ δ᾿ ἔργ᾿ ἡμῶν ὅπως ἄξια τῶν προγόνων ἔσται σκοπεῖν, μὴ τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος λόγους. κἂν ταῦτα ποιῆτε, καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς τἀναντία πείθουσι συμφέροντα πράξετε· οὐ γὰρ ὀργιεῖσθ᾿ αὐτοῖς ὕστερον, νῦν ἁμαρτόντες.

tried to stir up war. Therefore he will find the reports that reach him easy to understand and easy to believe.

To spare you the tedium of a lengthy speech, men of Athens, I will sum up my suggestions and step down. I recommend you to equip your forces against your existing enemies, but I add that you must employ those same forces in self-defence against the King and against all who venture to do you wrong, though you must not set the example of wrong, either in word or in deed ; and you must see to it that our actions, rather than the speeches delivered from this platform, are worthy of our fathers. If you act thus, you will be acting for the good both of yourselves and also of those who give you the contrary advice, since you will not have to be angry with them hereafter for errors you have committed now.

FOR THE LIBERTY OF THE RHODIANS

INTRODUCTION

Rhodes joined in the revolt of the Athenian allies, and after the peace of 355 Mausolus, the ambitious satrap of Caria, who had helped the revolters, established an oligarchy in the island with a Carian garrison to support it. Some time after the death of Mausolus in 353 the exiled democrats appealed to Athens for help, but the general feeling of the Athenians was one of resentment against their former allies and satisfaction at the fate they had drawn down upon themselves. Demosthenes in this speech pleads unsuccessfully for a more generous, if more hazardous, policy. He certainly underestimates the risks of a war with Caria or Persia, relying on the two facts that the power collected by Mausolus was now wielded by a woman (Artemisia, the wife of Mausolus), and that the Great King was still struggling with his own rebels in Egypt and elsewhere. The traditional date, 351, is supported by the mention of Artemisia (§ 11), who survived her husband by two years. This speech therefore comes very soon after the First Philippic.

[190] XV. ΥΠΕΡ ΤΗΣ ΡΟΔΙΩΝ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΣ

Οἶμαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, περὶ
τηλικούτων βουλευομένους διδόναι παρρησίαν
ἑκάστῳ τῶν συμβουλευόντων. ἐγὼ δ᾿ οὐδεπώποθ᾿
ἡγησάμην χαλεπὸν τὸ διδάξαι τὰ βέλτισθ᾿ ὑμᾶς
[191] (ὡς γὰρ εἰπεῖν ἁπλῶς, ἅπαντες ὑπάρχειν ἐγνωκότες
μοι δοκεῖτε), ἀλλὰ τὸ πεῖσαι πράττειν ταῦτα·
ἐπειδὰν γάρ τι δόξῃ καὶ ψηφισθῇ, τότ᾿ ἴσον τοῦ
2 πραχθῆναι ἀπέχει ὅσονπερ πρὶν δόξαι. ἔστι μὲν
οὖν ἓν ὧν ἐγὼ νομίζω χάριν ὑμᾶς τοῖς θεοῖς
ὀφείλειν, τὸ τοὺς διὰ τὴν αὑτῶν ὕβριν ὑμῖν πολεμήσαντας
οὐ πάλαι νῦν ἐν ὑμῖν μόνοις τῆς αὑτῶν
σωτηρίας ἔχειν τὰς ἐλπίδας. ἄξιον δ᾿ ἡσθῆναι
τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ· συμβήσεται γὰρ ὑμῖν, ἐὰν ἃ
χρὴ βουλεύσησθε περὶ αὐτοῦ, τὰς παρὰ τῶν
διαβαλλόντων τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν βλασφημίας ἔργῳ
3 μετὰ δόξης καλῆς ἀπολύσασθαι. ᾐτιάσαντο μὲν
γὰρ ἡμᾶς ἐπιβουλεύειν αὑτοῖς Χῖοι καὶ Βυζάντιοι
καὶ Ῥόδιοι, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα συνέστησαν ἐφ᾿ ἡμᾶς
τὸν τελευταῖον τουτονὶ πόλεμον· φανήσεται δ᾿ ὁ
μὲν πρυτανεύσας ταῦτα καὶ πείσας Μαύσωλος,
φίλος εἶναι φάσκων Ῥοδίων, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν
αὐτῶν ἀφῃρημένος, οἱ δ᾿ ἀποδείξαντες ἑαυτοὺς
συμμάχους Χῖοι καὶ Βυζάντιοι τοῖς ἀτυχήμασιν
4 αὐτῶν οὐ βεβοηθηκότες, ὑμεῖς δ᾿, οὓς ἐφοβοῦντο,

XV. FOR THE LIBERTY OF THE RHODIANS

Your duty, men of Athens, when debating such important matters, is, I think, to allow freedom of speech to every one of your counsellors. Personally, I never thought it a difficult task to point out to you the best policy—for, to speak plainly, you all seem to me to have discerned it already—but rather to induce you to put it into operation; for when a resolution has been approved and passed, it is no nearer accomplishment than before it was approved. Now, it is one of the blessings for which, I think, the gods deserve your gratitude, that the same men who not long ago attacked you in the wantonness of their pride, now find in you alone the hope of their salvation. You ought to be delighted at your present opportunity, because, if you decide aright, you will in fact succeed, with honour to yourselves, in silencing the evil tongues that traduce our city. For we were charged by the Chians, Byzantines and Rhodians with plotting against them, and that was why they concerted the last war against us; but we shall be able to prove that whereas Mausolus, the prime mover and instigator in the business, while calling himself the friend of the Rhodians, has robbed them of their liberty, and whereas the Chians and Byzantines, who posed as their allies, never helped them in distress, it is to you, whom they dreaded, to you

μόνοι τῶν πάντων τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς αἴτιοι.
ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ταῦθ' ὑφ' ἁπάντων ὀφθῆναι ποιήσετε
τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν ἁπάσαις ταῖς πόλεσι τοῦτο
ποιεῖσθαι σύμβολον τῆς αὐτῶν σωτηρίας, ἐὰν
ὑμῖν ὦσι φίλοι· οὗ μεῖζον οὐδὲν ἂν ὑμῖν γένοιτ'
ἀγαθόν, ἢ παρὰ πάντων ἑκόντων ἀνυπόπτου τυχεῖν
εὐνοίας.

5 Θαυμάζω δ' ὅτι τοὺς αὐτοὺς ὁρῶ ὑπὲρ μὲν
Αἰγυπτίων τἀναντία πράττειν βασιλεῖ τὴν πόλιν
πείθοντας, ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ Ῥοδίων δήμου φοβουμένους
τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον. καίτοι τοὺς μὲν Ἕλληνας
[192] ὄντας ἅπαντες ἴσασι, τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τῇ 'κείνου
6 μεμερισμένους. οἶμαι δ' ὑμῶν μνημονεύειν ἐνίους,
ὅτι ἡνίκ' ἐβουλεύεσθ' ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλικῶν, παρελθὼν
πρῶτος ἐγὼ παρῄνεσα, οἶμαι δὲ μόνος
ἢ δεύτερος εἰπεῖν, ὅτι μοι σωφρονεῖν ἂν δοκεῖτε,
εἰ τὴν πρόφασιν τῆς παρασκευῆς μὴ τὴν πρὸς
ἐκεῖνον ἔχθραν ποιοῖσθε, ἀλλὰ παρασκευάζοισθε
μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπάρχοντας ἐχθρούς, ἀμύνοισθε
δὲ κἀκεῖνον, ἐὰν ὑμᾶς ἀδικεῖν ἐπιχειρῇ. καὶ οὐκ
ἐγὼ μὲν εἶπον ταῦθ', ὑμῖν δ' οὐκ ἐδόκουν ὀρθῶς
7 λέγειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμῖν ἤρεσκε ταῦτα. ἀκόλουθος
τοίνυν ὁ νῦν λόγος ἐστί μοι τῷ τότε ῥηθέντι. ἐγὼ
γάρ, εἰ βασιλεὺς παρ' αὐτὸν ὄντα με σύμβουλον
ποιοῖτο, ταὔτ'[1] ἂν αὐτῷ παραινέσαιμ' ἅπερ ὑμῖν,
ὑπὲρ μὲν τῶν αὑτοῦ πολεμεῖν, ἐάν τις ἐναντιῶται
τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ὧν δὲ μηδὲν αὐτῷ προσήκει,
8 τούτων μηδ' ἀντιποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀρχήν. εἰ μὲν
οὖν ὅλως ἐγνώκατ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅσων
ἂν βασιλεὺς ἐγκρατὴς γένηται φθάσας ἢ παρακρουσάμενός
τινας τῶν ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, παραχωρεῖν,

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[1] So Baiter: ταῦτ' Dindorf with mss.

alone of all the states that they owe their deliverance. By making this clear to all, you will teach the democrats in every state to consider friendship with you as the pledge of their safety, and no greater advantage could you have than to win from all men their voluntary and unsuspecting goodwill.

I am surprised to see the same men urging the city, in the interests of the Egyptians, to oppose the King of Persia, but dreading him where the Rhodian democracy is concerned. Yet everyone knows that the Rhodians are Greeks, while Egypt is a division of the Persian Empire. Some of you, I suppose, remember that when you were discussing Persian affairs, I was the first to come forward with advice,[a] and I believe I was the only speaker, or perhaps one out of two, to say that I should think it prudent in you not to make your hostility to the King the pretext for your preparations, but while equipping yourselves against your existing enemies, to defend yourselves against him too, if he attempted to do you wrong. Nor did I fail to convince you that I was right, but you, too, approved of my suggestion. My present speech, then, is the sequel of my former one. For indeed, if the King admitted me to his presence and asked me for my advice, I should give him the same that I gave you—to defend his own subjects, if any of the Greeks attacked them, but to claim no sovereignty over those who owed him no allegiance. Now if you make it a general principle, men of Athens, to abandon to the King all places that he has got into his power, whether by surprise or by deceiving some of the inhabitants,

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[a] In the speech *On the Navy-boards.*

οὐ καλῶς ἐγνώκατε, ὡς ἐγὼ κρίνω· εἰ δ᾿ ὑπὲρ
τῶν δικαίων καὶ πολεμεῖν, ἂν τούτου δέῃ, καὶ
πάσχειν ὁτιοῦν οἴεσθε χρῆναι, πρῶτον μὲν ὑμῖν
ἧττον δεήσει τούτων, ὅσῳ ἂν μᾶλλον ἐγνωκότες
ἦτε ταῦτα, ἔπειθ᾿ ἃ προσήκει φρονεῖν δόξετε.

9 Ὅτι δ᾿ οὐδὲν καινὸν οὔτ᾿ ἐγὼ λέγω νῦν κελεύων
Ῥοδίους ἐλευθεροῦν, οὔθ᾿ ὑμεῖς, ἂν πεισθῆτέ μοι,
ποιήσετε, τῶν γεγενημένων ὑμᾶς τι καὶ συν-
ενηνοχότων ὑπομνήσω. ὑμεῖς ἐξεπέμψατε Τιμόθεόν
ποτ᾿, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, βοηθήσοντ᾿ Ἀριοβαρζάνῃ,
[193] προσγράψαντες τῷ ψηφίσματι "μὴ λύοντα τὰς
σπονδὰς τὰς πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα." ἰδὼν δ᾿ ἐκεῖνος
τὸν μὲν Ἀριοβαρζάνην φανερῶς ἀφεστῶτα βασι-
λέως, Σάμον δὲ φρουρουμένην ὑπὸ Κυπροθέμιδος,
ὃν κατέστησε Τιγράνης ὁ βασιλέως ὕπαρχος, τῷ
μὲν ἀπέγνω μὴ βοηθεῖν, τὴν δὲ προσκαθεζόμενος
10 καὶ βοηθήσας ἠλευθέρωσε· καὶ μέχρι τῆς τήμερον
ἡμέρας οὐ γέγονε πόλεμος διὰ ταῦθ᾿ ὑμῖν. οὐ
γὰρ ὁμοίως οὐδεὶς ὑπέρ τε τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν πολε-
μήσειεν ἂν καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ᾿ ὑπὲρ μὲν ὧν
ἐλαττοῦνται μέχρι τοῦ δυνατοῦ πάντες πολεμοῦσιν,
ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ πλεονεκτεῖν οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλ᾿ ἐφίενται
μέν, ἐάν τις ἐᾷ, ἐὰν δὲ κωλυθῶσιν, οὐδὲν ἠδικηκέναι
τοὺς ἐναντιωθέντας αὐτοῖς ἡγοῦνται.

11 Ὅτι δ᾿ οὐδ᾿ ἂν ἐναντιωθῆναί μοι δοκεῖ τῇ πράξει
ταύτῃ νῦν Ἀρτεμισία τῆς πόλεως οὔσης ἐπὶ τῶν
πραγμάτων, μίκρ᾿ ἀκούσαντες σκοπεῖτ᾿ εἴτ᾿ ὀρθῶς
λογίζομαι ταῦτ᾿ εἴτε μή. ἐγὼ νομίζω, πράττοντος
μὲν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ πάνθ᾿ ὡς ὥρμηκε βασιλέως, σφόδρ᾿

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[a] The satrap of Phrygia, who joined the revolt of the satraps in 362. He was soon afterwards betrayed and crucified.

then your principle is, I think, a wrong one; but if you feel that in the cause of justice you are bound to go to war and face the consequences, then, in the first place, the more you are determined on such action, the less frequently will it be necessary, and secondly, you will be showing the proper spirit.

To prove that there is precedent both for my proposal to free the Rhodians and for your action, if you adopt it, I will remind you of some things that you have done, and that successfully. You are the men, Athenians, who once sent Timotheus to the help of Ariobarzanes,[a] adding this clause to your instructions, "provided that he does not violate our treaty with the King." Timotheus, seeing that Ariobarzanes was in open revolt from the King and that Samos was garrisoned by Cyprothemis, who had been stationed there by Tigranes, the King's viceroy, abandoned his intention of helping the satrap, but invested the island and used his force to liberate it; and to this very day you have not been involved in war on those grounds. For no one would go to war as readily for aggrandizement as for the defence of his own possessions; but while all men fight desperately to keep what they are in danger of losing, it is not so with aggrandizement; men make it, indeed, their aim, but if prevented, they do not feel that they have suffered any injustice from their opponents.

But since I believe that neither would Artemisia now oppose this action on our part, if our State were once committed to it, give me your attention for a little and consider whether my reasoning is sound or not. I think that if the King's designs in Egypt were meeting with any success, Artemisia would

ἂν Ἀρτεμισίαν πειραθῆναι περιποιῆσαι Ῥόδον αὐτῷ,
οὐ τῇ βασιλέως εὐνοίᾳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ βούλεσθαι
πλησίον αὐτῆς διατρίβοντος ἐκείνου μεγάλην εὐεργεσίαν
καταθέσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ἵν᾽ ὡς οἰκειότατ᾽
12 αὐτὴν ἀποδέχηται· πράττοντος δ᾽ ὥς λέγεται, καὶ
διημαρτηκότος οἷς ἐπεχείρησεν, ἡγεῖσθαι τὴν
νῆσον ταύτην, ὅπερ ἔστιν, ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν ἂν εἶναι
βασιλεῖ χρησίμην ἐν τῷ παρόντι, τῆς δ᾽ αὐτῆς
ἀρχῆς ἐπιτείχισμα πρὸς τὸ μηδ᾽ ὁτιοῦν παρακινεῖν.
ὥστε μοι δοκεῖ μᾶλλον ἂν ὑμᾶς ἔχειν μὴ φανερῶς
[194] αὐτῆς ἐνδούσης ἢ ἐκεῖνον λαβεῖν βούλεσθαι. οἶμαι
μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ βοηθήσειν αὐτήν, ἂν δ᾽ ἄρα τοῦτο
13 ποιῇ, φαύλως καὶ κακῶς. ἐπεὶ καὶ βασιλέα γε,
ὅ τι μὲν ποιήσει μὰ Δί᾽ οὐκ ἂν εἴποιμ᾽ ἔγωγ᾽ ὡς
οἶδα, ὅτι μέντοι συμφέρει τῇ πόλει δῆλον ἤδη
γενέσθαι πότερ᾽ ἀντιποιήσεται τῆς πόλεως τῆς
Ῥοδίων ἢ οὔ, τοῦτ᾽ ἂν ἰσχυρισαίμην· οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ
Ῥοδίων βουλευτέον, ὅταν ἀντιποιῆται, μόνον, ἀλλ᾽
ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν πάντων Ἑλλήνων.

14 Οὐ μὴν οὐδ᾽ ἂν εἰ δι᾽ αὐτῶν εἶχον τὴν πόλιν
οἱ νῦν ὄντες ἐν αὐτῇ Ῥόδιοι, παρῄνεσ᾽ ἂν ὑμῖν
τούτους ἑλέσθαι, οὐδ᾽ εἰ πάνθ᾽ ὑπισχνοῦνθ᾽ ὑμῖν
ποιήσειν. ὁρῶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον, ὅπως
καταλύσωσι τὸν δῆμον, προσλαβόντας τινὰς τῶν
πολιτῶν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῦτ᾽ ἔπραξαν, πάλιν ἐκβαλόντας
τούτους· τοὺς οὖν μηδετέροις πιστῶς κεχρημένους
οὐδ᾽ ἂν ὑμῖν βεβαίους ἡγοῦμαι γενέσθαι συμμάχους.
15 καὶ ταῦτ᾽ οὐδεπώποτ᾽ εἶπον ἄν, εἰ τῷ Ῥοδίων
δήμῳ μόνον ἡγούμην συμφέρειν· οὔτε γὰρ προξενῶ

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[a] Acknowledging her as the successor of Mausolus.

make a big effort to secure Rhodes for him, not from any goodwill towards him, but because, while he is in her neighbourhood, she would like to put him under a great obligation, so that he may give her as cordial a recognition [a] as possible. But if the reports are true and he has failed in all his attempts, she must argue that this island would be of no use to him at present—which is true enough—but might serve as a fortress to overawe Caria and check any move on her part. Therefore I think she would rather that you had the island, if not too obviously surrendered by her, than that he should get it. I do not, indeed, expect that she will send any help to the Rhodian government, or if she does, it will be feeble and half-hearted; while as to the King, I should not like to say that I know what he is actually going to do, but that it is to our advantage that he should at once make it clear whether he is going to claim Rhodes or not—that I should maintain positively. For when he does claim it, you will have to take counsel, not for the Rhodians only, but for yourselves and all the Greeks.

And yet, even if the party at present in possession held Rhodes by their own strength, I should not have advised you to take their side, even if they promised to do everything you wished. For I notice that at the start, in order to overthrow the democracy, they enlisted some of the citizens on their side, and when they had succeeded, sent them into banishment again. Now men who have been faithful to neither side could never, I am sure, become steadfast allies to you. Moreover I should never have made this proposal, had I thought that it would benefit the Rhodian democrats alone, for I am not

τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὔτ' ἰδίᾳ ξένος αὐτῶν οὐδείς ἐστί μοι.
οὐ μὴν οὐδ' εἰ ταῦτ' ἀμφότερ' ἦν, εἰ μὴ συμφέρειν
ὑμῖν ἡγούμην, εἶπον ἄν, ἐπεὶ Ῥοδίοις γ', εἰ οἷόν
τε τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν τῷ συναγορεύοντι τῇ σωτηρίᾳ
αὐτῶν, συγχαίρω τῶν γεγενημένων. τοῦ κομίσασθαι
γὰρ τὰ ὑμέτερ' ὑμῖν φθονήσαντες τὴν
ἑαυτῶν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπολωλέκασι, καὶ παρὸν αὐτοῖς
Ἕλλησι καὶ βελτίοσιν αὐτῶν ὑμῖν ἐξ ἴσου συμμαχεῖν,
βαρβάροις καὶ δούλοις, οὓς εἰς τὰς ἀκροπόλεις
16 παρεῖνται, δουλεύουσιν. ὀλίγου δὲ δέω λέγειν,
[195] ἐὰν αὐτοῖς ὑμεῖς ἐθελήσητε βοηθῆσαι, ὡς καὶ συνενήνοχε
ταῦτ' αὐτοῖς· εὖ μὲν γὰρ πράττοντες
οὐκ οἶδ' εἴ ποτ' ἂν εὖ φρονῆσαι ἠθέλησαν, ὄντες
Ῥόδιοι, ἔργῳ δὲ πειραθέντες καὶ διδαχθέντες ὅτι
πολλῶν κακῶν ἡ ἄνοι' αἰτία τοῖς πολλοῖς γίγνεται,
τάχ' ἄν, εἰ τύχοιεν, σωφρονέστεροι πρὸς τὸν λοιπὸν
τοῦ χρόνου γένοιντο· τοῦτο δ' οὐ μικρὰν ὠφέλειαν
αὐτοῖς ἡγοῦμαι. φημὶ δὴ χρῆναι πειρᾶσθαι σῴζειν
τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ μὴ μνησικακεῖν, ἐνθυμουμένους
ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ ὑμεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιβουλευσάντων
ἐξηπάτησθε, ὧν οὐδενὸς αὐτοὶ δοῦναι δίκην δίκαιον
ἂν εἶναι φήσαιτε.

17 Ὁρᾶτε δὲ κἀκεῖν', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι
πολλοὺς ὑμεῖς πολέμους πεπολεμήκατε καὶ πρὸς
δημοκρατίας καὶ πρὸς ὀλιγαρχίας. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν
ἴστε καὶ αὐτοί· ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὧν πρὸς ἑκατέρους ἔσθ'
ὑμῖν ὁ πόλεμος, τοῦτ' ἴσως ὑμῶν οὐδεὶς λογίζεται.
ὑπὲρ τίνων οὖν ἐστίν; πρὸς μὲν τοὺς δήμους ἢ
περὶ τῶν ἰδίων ἐγκλημάτων, οὐ δυνηθέντων
δημοσίᾳ διαλύσασθαι ταῦτα, ἢ περὶ γῆς μέρους
ἢ ὅρων ἢ φιλονικίας ἢ τῆς ἡγεμονίας, πρὸς δὲ

the official patron of that party, nor do I count any of them among my private friends. Yet even if both these motives had been present, I should not have proposed it, if I had not thought that it would benefit you, since I share in your satisfaction at the fate of the Rhodians—if one who is pleading for their deliverance may be permitted to say so. For they grudged you the recovery of your rights, and now they have lost their own liberty ; they spurned an alliance with you who are Greeks and their betters, and now they are slaves of barbarians, slaves of slaves, whom they admitted into their citadels. I am almost inclined to say, if you choose to help them, that this has been a salutary lesson for them ; for in prosperity I doubt whether they would ever have chosen to show their good sense, being Rhodians, but when tested by experience and taught that folly is in most cases a fruitful source of evil, they may perhaps with luck grow more sensible for the future ; and that I regard as no small advantage for them. Accordingly, I say that it is your duty to try to save them and to let bygones be bygones, remembering that you too have in many cases been led by schemers into errors, for none of which you would yourselves admit that you ought to pay the penalty.

You may also observe, Athenians, that you have been engaged in many wars both with democracies and with oligarchies. You do not need to be told that ; but perhaps none of you considers what are your motives for war with either. What, then, are those motives ? With democracies, either private quarrels, when they could not be adjusted by the State, or a question of territory or boundaries, or else rivalry or the claim to leadership ; with oligarchies you

τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας ὑπὲρ μὲν τούτων οὐδενός, ὑπὲρ
18 δὲ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας· ὥστ' ἔγωγ'
οὐκ ἂν ὀκνήσαιμ' εἰπεῖν μᾶλλον ἡγεῖσθαι συμφέρειν
δημοκρατουμένους τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἅπαντας πολεμεῖν
ὑμῖν ἢ ὀλιγαρχουμένους φίλους εἶναι. πρὸς μὲν
γὰρ ἐλευθέρους ὄντας οὐ χαλεπῶς ἂν εἰρήνην ὑμᾶς
ποιήσασθαι νομίζω, ὁπότε βουληθείητε, πρὸς δ'
ὀλιγαρχουμένους οὐδὲ τὴν φιλίαν ἀσφαλῆ νομίζω·
οὐ γὰρ ἔσθ' ὅπως ὀλίγοι πολλοῖς καὶ ζητοῦντες
ἄρχειν τοῖς μετ' ἰσηγορίας ζῆν ᾑρημένοις εὖνοι
γένοιντ' ἄν.
19 [196] Θαυμάζω δ' εἰ μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ἡγεῖται Χίων
ὀλιγαρχουμένων καὶ Μυτιληναίων, καὶ νυνὶ Ῥοδίων
καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὀλίγου δέω λέγειν εἰς
ταύτην τὴν δουλείαν ὑπαγομένων, συγκινδυνεύειν
τὴν παρ' ἡμῖν πολιτείαν, μηδὲ λογίζεται τοῦθ'
ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως, εἰ δι' ὀλιγαρχίας ἅπαντα
συστήσεται, τὸν παρ' ὑμῖν δῆμον ἐάσουσιν. ἴσασι
γὰρ οὐδένας ἄλλους πάλιν εἰς ἐλευθερίαν τὰ πράγματ'
ἐπανάξοντας· ὅθεν δὴ κακὸν αὐτοῖς ἄν τι
γενέσθαι προσδοκῶσι, τοῦτ' ἀνελεῖν βουλήσονται.
20 τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄλλους τοὺς ἀδικοῦντάς τινας αὐτῶν
τῶν κακῶς πεπονθότων ἐχθροὺς ἡγεῖσθαι χρή·
τοὺς δὲ τὰς πολιτείας καταλύοντας καὶ μεθιστάντας
εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν κοινοὺς ἐχθροὺς παραινῶ νομίζειν
21 ἁπάντων τῶν ἐλευθερίας ἐπιθυμούντων. ἔπειτα
καὶ δίκαιον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δημοκρατουμένους
αὐτοὺς τοιαῦτα φρονοῦντας φαίνεσθαι περὶ
τῶν ἀτυχούντων δήμων, οἷάπερ ἂν τοὺς ἄλλους
ἀξιώσαιτε φρονεῖν περὶ ὑμῶν, εἴ ποθ', ὃ μὴ γένοιτο,
τοιοῦτό τι συμβαίη. καὶ γὰρ εἰ δίκαιά τις φήσει
Ῥοδίους πεπονθέναι, οὐκ ἐπιτήδειος ὁ καιρὸς

fight for none of these things, but for your constitution and your liberty. Therefore I should not hesitate to say that I think it a greater advantage that all the Greeks should be your enemies under democracy than your friends under oligarchy. For with free men I do not think that you would have any difficulty in making peace whenever you wished, but with an oligarchical state I do not believe that even friendly relations could be permanent, for the few can never be well disposed to the many, nor those who covet power to those who have chosen a life of equal privileges.

Seeing that Chios and Mytilene are ruled by oligarchs, and that Rhodes and, I might almost say, all the world are now being seduced into this form of slavery, I am surprised that none of you conceives that our constitution too is in danger, nor draws the conclusion that if all other states are organized on oligarchical principles, it is impossible that they should leave your democracy alone. For they know that none but you will bring freedom back again, and of course they want to destroy the source from which they are expecting ruin to themselves. Now, all other wrongdoers must be considered the enemies of those only whom they have wronged, but when men overthrow free constitutions and change them to oligarchies, I urge you to regard them as the common enemies of all who love freedom. Then again, Athenians, it is right that you, living under a democracy, should show the same sympathy for democracies in distress as you would expect others to show for you, if ever—which God forbid!—you were in the same plight. Even if anyone is prepared to say that the Rhodians are served right, this is not

ἐφησθῆναι· δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς εὐτυχοῦντας περὶ τῶν
ἀτυχούντων ἀεὶ φαίνεσθαι τὰ βέλτιστα βουλευομένους,
ἐπειδήπερ ἄδηλον τὸ μέλλον ἅπασιν
ἀνθρώποις.

22 Ἀκούω δ᾽ ἐγὼ πολλάκις ἐνταυθὶ παρ᾽ ὑμῖν
τινῶν λεγόντων ὡς, ὅτ᾽ ἠτύχησεν ὁ δῆμος ἡμῶν,
συνεβουλήθησάν τινες αὐτὸν σωθῆναι· ὧν ἐγὼ
μόνων Ἀργείων ἐν τῷ παρόντι μνησθήσομαι βραχύ
τι. οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑμᾶς βουλοίμην, δόξαν ἔχοντας
[197] τοῦ σῴζειν τοὺς ἀτυχοῦντας ἀεί, χείρους Ἀργείων
ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ πράξει φανῆναι, οἳ χώραν ὅμορον τῇ
Λακεδαιμονίων οἰκοῦντες, ὁρῶντες ἐκείνους γῆς
καὶ θαλάττης ἄρχοντας, οὐκ ἀπώκνησαν οὐδ᾽ ἐφοβήθησαν
εὐνοϊκῶς ὑμῖν ἔχοντες φανῆναι, ἀλλὰ
καὶ πρέσβεις ἐλθόντας ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος, ὥς φασιν,
ἐξαιτήσοντάς τινας τῶν φυγάδων τῶν ὑμετέρων
ἐψηφίσαντο, ἐὰν μὴ πρὸ ἡλίου δύντος ἀπαλλάττωνται,
23 πολεμίους κρινεῖν. εἶτ᾽ οὐκ αἰσχρόν, ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ τὸ μὲν Ἀργείων πλῆθος οὐκ
ἐφοβήθη τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρχὴν ἐν ἐκείνοις
τοῖς καιροῖς οὐδὲ τὴν ῥώμην, ὑμεῖς δ᾽ ὄντες Ἀθηναῖοι
βάρβαρον ἄνθρωπον, καὶ ταῦτα γυναῖκα,
φοβήσεσθε; καὶ μὴν οἱ μὲν ἔχοιεν ἂν εἰπεῖν ὅτι
πολλάκις ἥττηνται ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων, ὑμεῖς δὲ
νενικήκατε μὲν πολλάκις βασιλέα, ἥττησθε δ᾽ οὐδ᾽
ἅπαξ οὔθ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν δούλων τῶν βασιλέως οὔτ᾽
αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου· εἰ γάρ τί που κεκράτηκε τῆς πόλεως
βασιλεύς, ἢ τοὺς πονηροτάτους τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ
προδότας αὐτῶν χρήμασι πείσας ἢ οὐδαμῶς ἄλλως
24 κεκράτηκε. καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτ᾽ αὐτῷ συνενήνοχεν,

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[a] Under the Thirty Tyrants.

the time to exult over them, for prosperous communities ought always to show themselves ready to consult the best interests of the unfortunate, remembering that the future is hidden from all men's eyes.

I have repeatedly heard it said in this Assembly that when misfortune befell our democracy,[a] there were some people who urged that it should be restored, and of them I will here mention the Argives only, and that briefly. For I should be sorry if you, who are renowned for rescuing the unfortunate, should prove yourselves in this instance worse men than the Argives. They, being the immediate neighbours of the Lacedaemonians and seeing them masters of land and sea, did not hesitate or fear to show their goodwill to you, but actually carried a decree that the envoys, who, we are told, had come from Sparta to claim the persons of some of your refugees, should be denounced as enemies unless they took their departure before the setting of the sun. Then would it not be discreditable, men of Athens, if when the commons of Argos feared not the authority of the Lacedaemonians in the day of their might, you, who are Athenians, should fear one who is at once a barbarian and a woman? Indeed, the Argives might have pleaded that they had often been defeated by the Lacedaemonians, but you have beaten the King again and again, and have never been beaten either by his slaves or by their master himself; for if ever the King has gained some slight advantage over our city, he has done it by bribing the most worthless of the Greeks, the traitors to their cause, and never in any other way. And even that success has not benefited him, but you

ἀλλ᾽ ἅμ᾽ εὑρήσετ᾽ αὐτὸν τήν τε πόλιν διὰ Λακεδαιμονίων
ἀσθενῆ ποιήσαντα καὶ περὶ τῆς αὑτοῦ
βασιλείας κινδυνεύσαντα πρὸς Κλέαρχον καὶ Κῦρον.
οὔτ᾽ οὖν ἐκ φανεροῦ κεκράτηκεν οὔτ᾽ ἐπιβουλεῦσαι
συνενήνοχεν αὐτῷ. ὁρῶ δ᾽ ὑμῶν ἐνίους Φιλίππου
μὲν ὡς ἄρ᾽ οὐδενὸς ἀξίου πολλάκις ὀλιγωροῦντας,
βασιλέα δ᾽ ὡς ἰσχυρὸν ἐχθρὸν οἷς ἂν προέληται
φοβουμένους. εἰ δὲ τὸν μὲν ὡς φαῦλον οὐκ
ἀμυνούμεθα, τῷ δ᾽ ὡς φοβερῷ πάνθ᾽ ὑπείξομεν,
[198] πρὸς τίνας, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παραταξόμεθα;

25 Εἰσὶ δέ τινες, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, παρ᾽ ὑμῖν
δεινότατοι τὰ δίκαια λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἄλλων πρὸς
ὑμᾶς, οἷς παραινέσαιμ᾽ ἂν ἔγωγε τοσοῦτον μόνον,
ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ζητεῖν τὰ δίκαια
λέγειν, ἵν᾽ αὐτοὶ τὰ προσήκοντα πρῶτοι φαίνωνται
ποιοῦντες· ὡς ἔστ᾽ ἄτοπον περὶ τῶν δικαίων ὑμᾶς
διδάσκειν αὐτὸν οὐ δίκαια ποιοῦντα· οὐ γάρ ἐστι
δίκαιον ὄντα πολίτην τοὺς καθ᾽ ὑμῶν λόγους, ἀλλὰ
26 μὴ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐσκέφθαι. φέρε γὰρ πρὸς θεῶν
σκοπεῖτε, τί δήποτ᾽ ἐν Βυζαντίῳ οὐδείς ἐσθ᾽ ὁ
διδάξων ἐκείνους μὴ καταλαμβάνειν Χαλκηδόνα,
ἣ βασιλέως μέν ἐστιν, εἴχετε δ᾽ αὐτὴν ὑμεῖς,
ἐκείνοις δ᾽ οὐδαμόθεν προσῆκε· μηδὲ Σηλυμβρίαν,
πόλιν ὑμετέραν ποτὲ σύμμαχον οὖσαν, ὡς αὑτοὺς
συντελῆ ποιεῖν καὶ Βυζάντιον ὁρίζειν τὴν τούτων
χώραν παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας, ἐν
27 αἷς αὐτονόμους τὰς πόλεις εἶναι γέγραπται; οὐδὲ
Μαύσωλον ζῶντα, οὐδὲ τελευτήσαντος ἐκείνου
τὴν Ἀρτεμισίαν οὐδείς ἐσθ᾽ ὁ διδάξων μὴ κατα-

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[a] The Spartan Clearchus commanded the Greek mercenaries who marched with Cyrus the Younger to the battle of Cunaxa, 401.

will find him at one and the same time using the Lacedaemonians to cripple our city, and struggling for his own crown against Clearchus and Cyrus.[a] So he has never beaten us in the field, nor have his intrigues gained him any advantage. I observe that some of you are wont to dismiss Philip as a person of no account, but to speak with awe of the King as formidable to those whom he marks as his enemies. If we are not to stand up to the one because he is contemptible, and if we yield to the other because he is formidable, against whom, Athenians, shall we ever marshal our forces?

There are some among you, Athenians, who are very clever at pleading the rights of others against you, and I would just give them this piece of advice—to find something to say for your rights against others, so that they themselves may set the example of doing what is proper; since it is absurd for a man to lecture you about rights when he is not doing what is right himself, and it is not right that a citizen should have given his attention to all the arguments against you and to none in your favour. I beg you, in Heaven's name, to consider this point: why is there no man in Byzantium to dissuade his countrymen from seizing Chalcedon, which belongs to the King and was once held by you, while the Byzantines have no shadow of a claim to it? Or from taking Selymbria, once an ally of yours, and making it tributary to themselves, and including it in the territory of Byzantium, contrary to all oaths and agreements which guarantee the autonomy of those cities? No one has come forward to dissuade Mausolus when he was alive, or Artemisia since his death,

λαμβάνειν Κῶν καὶ Ῥόδον καὶ ἄλλας ἑτέρας πόλεις
Ἑλληνίδας, ὧν βασιλεὺς ὁ ἐκείνων δεσπότης ἐν
ταῖς συνθήκαις ἀπέστη τοῖς Ἕλλησι, καὶ περὶ ὧν
πολλοὺς κινδύνους καὶ καλοὺς ἀγῶνας οἱ κατ'
ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους Ἕλληνες ἐποιήσαντο. εἰ
δ' ἄρα καὶ λέγει τις ἀμφοτέροις αὐτοῖς, ἀλλ' οἵ
28 γε πεισόμενοι τούτοις, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐκ εἰσίν. ἐγὼ
δὲ δίκαιον μὲν εἶναι νομίζω κατάγειν τὸν Ῥοδίων
δῆμον· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ μὴ δίκαιον ἦν, ὅταν
εἰς ἃ ποιοῦσιν οὗτοι βλέψω, προσήκειν οἶμαι
[199] παραινεῖν κατάγειν. διὰ τί; ὅτι πάντων μέν, ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ὡρμηκότων
αἰσχρὸν ἡμᾶς μόνους μὴ ἐθέλειν, ἁπάντων δὲ
τῶν ἄλλων ὅπως ἀδικεῖν δυνήσονται παρασκευαζομένων
μόνους ἡμᾶς τὰ δίκαια προτείνεσθαι,
μηδενὸς ἀντιλαμβανομένους, οὐ δικαιοσύνην ἀλλ'
ἀνανδρίαν ἡγοῦμαι· ὁρῶ γὰρ ἅπαντας πρὸς τὴν
29 παροῦσαν δύναμιν τῶν δικαίων ἀξιουμένους. καὶ
παράδειγμα λέγειν ἔχω τούτου πᾶσιν ὑμῖν γνώριμον.
εἰσὶ συνθῆκαι τοῖς Ἕλλησι διτταὶ πρὸς βασιλέα,
ἃς ἐποιήσαθ' ἡ πόλις ἡ ἡμετέρα, ἃς ἅπαντες
ἐγκωμιάζουσι, καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ' ὕστερον Λακεδαιμόνιοι
ταύτας ὧν δὴ κατηγοροῦσι· κἂν ταύταις
οὐχὶ ταὐτὰ δίκαι' ἀμφοτέραις ὥρισται. τῶν μὲν
γὰρ ἰδίων δικαίων τῶν ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις οἱ νόμοι
κοινὴν τὴν μετουσίαν ἔδοσαν καὶ ἴσην καὶ τοῖς
ἀσθενέσι καὶ τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς· τῶν δ' Ἑλληνικῶν
δικαίων οἱ κρατοῦντες ὁρισταὶ τοῖς ἥττοσι γίγνονται.

30 Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν ὑμῖν ἐγνωκέναι τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν
ὑπάρχει, ὅπως καὶ πρᾶξαι ταῦτ' ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἔσται
δεῖ σκοπεῖν. ἔσται δὲ ταῦτ', ἐὰν ὑποληφθῆτε

from seizing Cos and Rhodes and various other Greek states, which the King, their overlord, ceded by treaty to the Greeks, and for which the Greeks of those days faced many dangers and won much honour in the field. At any rate, if there is anyone to give advice to either of these powers, there are none, it seems, to profit by his advice. In my opinion it is right to restore the Rhodian democracy; yet even if it were not right, I should feel justified in urging you to restore it, when I observe what these people are doing. Why so? Because, men of Athens, if every state were bent on doing right, it would be disgraceful if we alone refused; but when the others, without exception, are preparing the means to do wrong, for us alone to make profession of right, without engaging in any enterprise, seems to me not love of right but want of courage. For I notice that all men have their rights conceded to them in proportion to the power at their disposal. I can cite an instance that is familiar to you all. The Greeks have two treaties [a] with the King, one made by our city and commended by all, and the later one made by the Lacedaemonians, which is of course condemned by all; and in these two treaties rights are diversely defined. Of private rights within a state, the laws of that state grant an equal and impartial share to all, weak and strong alike; but the international rights of Greek states are defined by the strong for the weak.

Now, as you have already made up your minds to do right, you must take care that it is in your power to carry out your purpose; and it will be in your

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[a] The first is probably the so-called peace of Callias about 448; the second is certainly that of Antalcidas in 387.

κοινοὶ προστάται τῆς πάντων ἐλευθερίας εἶναι.
εἰκότως δέ μοι δοκεῖ χαλεπώτατον ὑμῖν εἶναι
πρᾶξαι τὰ δέοντα. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοις ἅπασιν
ἀνθρώποις εἷς ἀγών ἐστιν ὁ πρὸς τοὺς προδήλους
ἐχθρούς, ὧν ἂν κρατήσωσιν, οὐδὲν ἐμποδὼν αὐτοῖς
31 κυρίοις τῶν ἀγαθῶν εἶναι· ὑμῖν δ', ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, δύο, οὗτός θ' ὁ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ
πρόσεσθ' ἕτερος τούτου πρότερος καὶ μείζων· δεῖ
γὰρ ὑμᾶς βουλευομένους κρατῆσαι τῶν τἀναντία
[200] τῇ πόλει παρ' ὑμῖν πράττειν προῃρημένων. ὅταν
οὖν μηδὲν ᾖ διὰ τούτους ἀκονιτὶ τῶν δεόντων
γενέσθαι, πολλῶν διαμαρτάνειν ὑμᾶς εἰκότως
32 συμβαίνει. τοῦ μέντοι πολλοὺς ἀδεῶς ταύτην
τὴν τάξιν αἱρεῖσθαι τῆς πολιτείας, ἴσως μὲν αἱ
παρὰ τῶν μισθοδοτούντων αὐτοὺς ὠφέλειαι μάλιστ'
αἴτιαι, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑμᾶς ἄν τις ἔχοι δικαίως
αἰτιᾶσθαι. ἐχρῆν γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τὴν
αὐτὴν ἔχειν διάνοιαν ὑμᾶς περὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ
τάξεως ἥνπερ περὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις ἔχετε.
τίς οὖν ἐστιν αὕτη; ὑμεῖς τὸν λιπόντα τὴν ὑπὸ
τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τάξιν ταχθεῖσαν ἄτιμον οἴεσθε
προσήκειν εἶναι καὶ μηδενὸς τῶν κοινῶν μετέχειν.
33 χρῆν[1] τοίνυν καὶ τοὺς τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν προγόνων τάξιν
ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ παραδεδομένην λείποντας καὶ
πολιτευομένους ὀλιγαρχικῶς ἀτίμους τοῦ συμβουλεύειν
ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι· νῦν δὲ τῶν μὲν
συμμάχων τοὺς τὸν αὐτὸν ἐχθρὸν καὶ φίλον ὑμῖν
ὀμωμοκότας νομίζετ' εὐνουστάτους, τῶν δὲ πολιτευομένων
οὓς ἴστε σαφῶς τοὺς τῆς πόλεως
ἐχθροὺς ᾑρημένους, τούτους πιστοτάτους ἡγεῖσθε.
34 Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐχ ὅ τι τις κατηγορήσει τούτων ἢ

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[1] So Weil: χρὴ Dindorf with mss.

power, if you are accepted as the common champions of Greek liberty. But, inevitably, I think, it is very difficult for you to do all that is required. All other states have only their open enemies to contend with, and if they can beat them, there is nothing to hinder them from enjoying their advantage; but you, Athenians, have two struggles before you; one is the same that awaits the rest, but there is another and more serious struggle that comes before it, for you have got to defeat in your debates the faction that deliberately opposes the interests of your city. When, therefore, owing to this opposition, you can get nothing done without a struggle, the natural consequence is that you miss many advantages. If, however, there are many politicians who recklessly take up this position, perhaps the pay they receive from their employers is chiefly responsible, but nevertheless you too must bear some of the blame. For you ought to have the same feeling about the post a man occupies in politics as about the post he occupies in war. What feeling do I refer to? You consider that the man who deserts the post where his general has stationed him deserves to be disfranchised and deprived of his share in our common privileges. Then those who, by adopting oligarchical principles, abandon the post taken over by us from our ancestors, ought to be disqualified from ever giving you advice. As it is, you consider that those allies are most devoted to you who have sworn to regard your friends and your enemies as their own, but where politicians are concerned, you take as your most trusted advisers the men who, to your certain knowledge, have thrown in their lot with the enemies of the State.

But indeed it is not difficult to find matter of

τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑμῖν ἐπιπλήξει χαλεπὸν εὑρεῖν, ἀλλ’
ἀφ’ ὁποίων λόγων ἢ πράξεως ποίας ἐπανορθώσεταί
τις ἃ νῦν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχει, τοῦτ’ ἔργον εὑρεῖν. ἴσως
μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ τοῦ παρόντος καιροῦ περὶ πάντων
λέγειν· ἀλλ’ ἐὰν ἃ προῄρησθε δυνηθῆτ’ ἐπικυρῶσαι
συμφερούσῃ τινὶ πράξει, καὶ τἄλλ’ ἂν ἴσως
35 καθ’ ἓν ἀεὶ βέλτιον ἔχοι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν οἶμαι δεῖν
ὑμᾶς ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν πραγμάτων τούτων
[201] ἐρρωμένως, καὶ πράττειν ἄξια τῆς πόλεως, ἐνθυμουμένους
ὅτι χαίρετ’ ἀκούοντες, ὅταν τις
ἐπαινῇ τοὺς προγόνους ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ πεπραγμέν’
ἐκείνοις διεξίῃ καὶ τὰ τρόπαια λέγῃ. νομίζετε
τοίνυν ταῦτ’ ἀναθεῖναι τοὺς προγόνους ὑμῶν οὐχ
ἵνα θαυμάζητ’ αὐτὰ θεωροῦντες, ἀλλ’ ἵνα καὶ
μιμῆσθε τὰς τῶν ἀναθέντων ἀρετάς.

accusation against these politicians or of reproach against the rest of you, but our real task is to find by what arguments and by what course of action our present faults may be amended. Perhaps it does not suit the present occasion to deal with every side of the question, but if you can by some fitting action give effect to the policy you have adopted, then there might possibly be, step by step, a general improvement. My own view is that you ought to grapple with these problems vigorously and act as becomes Athenians, remembering how gladly you hear a speaker praising your ancestors, describing their exploits and enumerating their trophies. Reflect, then, that your ancestors set up those trophies, not that you may gaze at them in wonder, but that you may also imitate the virtues of the men who set them up.

FOR THE PEOPLE OF MEGALOPOLIS

INTRODUCTION

Megalopolis, the new capital of a united Arcadia, was founded under the auspices of Epaminondas after his victory at Leuctra (371) to be a permanent counterpoise to the power of Sparta in the Peloponnese. Soon afterwards the Messenians reestablished themselves as an independent state, protected by their new metropolis, Messene, under the shadow of Mount Ithome, where the massive walls and gateways still survive to astonish the traveller.[a] The Lacedaemonians, beaten again by the Thebans at Mantinea (362), waited till 353 B.C., when Thebes was hard pressed in the Phocian war. In that year Archidamus, the Spartan king, proposed a general readjustment of territory, based on ancient rights. Athens was to recover Oropus from Thebes; Thespiae, Plataea and Orchomenus were to be once more independent; Elis and Phlius were to regain some lost possessions; and lastly Sparta, though this was kept in the background, was to get back Messenia, the loss of which she had never acknowledged. The warlike preparations of the Lacedaemonians alarmed the Megalopolitans, and both sent embassies to lay their case before the Athenian Assembly.

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[a] Megalopolis, on the other hand, did not survive long; but was almost totally destroyed by Cleomenes III. about a century and a half later (Plut. *Cleom.* 25).

The appeal of Demosthenes on behalf of the Arcadians contains more argument than passion,[a] and some of the arguments are more ingenious than sound. Perhaps the Athenians were justified at the moment in rejecting his advice, and adopting the policy of non-intervention, recommended by Eubulus. But the sequel proved the orator right. After some desultory fighting the Arcadians managed to retain their independence; but meanwhile Thebes had been able to help them, and this drew them to the side of Thebes and subsequently of Philip, so that their support was lost to the Athenians when the more serious crisis arrived.

As the speech is not an easy one to follow, a summary of the arguments is added.

Previous speakers have been too ready to take sides with the Arcadians or the Lacedaemonians and forget the interests of Athens (1-3). Our policy is to weaken Thebes, without unduly strengthening Sparta (4, 5). It is objected that we ought not to fight against the Lacedaemonians after helping them at Mantinea. I agree, even though they may unjustly attack the Arcadians; but the capture of Megalopolis will be the prelude to an attack on the Messenians, whom we are bound by treaty to defend. It is better to make our stand against Sparta at the start (6-10). It is urged that we want the help of the Lacedaemonians in recovering Oropus. Surely in gratitude for our services at Mantinea they will not oppose us at Oropus, even if they are vexed by our thwarting them in their unjust designs against the Arcadians (11-13). We are not inconsistent in opposing our former allies; rather, we are consistent in opposing injustice everywhere (14, 15). The Spartans' proposal is intended to mask their designs against the Messenians. If we cannot recover Oropus without letting Sparta subdue all the Peloponnesus, it is better to give up Oropus; for Sparta, if mistress of the Peloponnesus, will again challenge us for the hegemony of Greece (16-18). The Arcadians, as allies of Thebes, may have wronged us, but, if Sparta subdues the Messenians as well, we shall be forced to come to the rescue of Thebes herself against Sparta (19-22). In your hatred of Thebes or Sparta, do not lose sight of the interests of Athens and the balance of power. Let our policy be justice all round; restore the freedom of the Boeotian cities and oppose the subjugation of the Peloponnesian cities (23-26). It is objected that, before we can accept the alliance of the Arcadians, we must call upon them to denounce their alliance with Thebes. By all means; but call at the same time upon the Lacedaemonians to keep the peace. If the former refuse, it shows that they prefer Theban ambition to justice; if the latter, it shows that their object is to subjugate the Peloponnesus while the Thebans' hands are full. Remember too that Thebes uses her allies against Sparta, Sparta uses hers against us (27-29). If the Arcadians are subdued, Sparta will become formidable; if they survive without our help, Thebes will be strengthened by their alliance. But if we help them, then Sparta, if victorious over Thebes, will be hampered by a strong enemy on her frontiers, and Thebes, if victorious over Sparta, will be weakened by the loss of an ally (30-32).

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[a] It will be noticed that the appeal ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι only occurs thrice in the speech.

XVI. ΥΠΕΡ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ

[202] Ἀμφότεροί μοι δοκοῦσιν ἁμαρτάνειν, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ οἱ τοῖς Ἀρκάσι καὶ οἱ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις
συνειρηκότες· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀφ᾽ ἑκατέρων
ἥκοντες, οὐχ ὑμῶν ὄντες πολῖται, πρὸς οὓς ἀμφότεροι
πρεσβεύουσι, κατηγοροῦσι καὶ διαβάλλουσιν
ἀλλήλους. ἦν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν τῶν ἀφιγμένων ἔργον,
τὸ δὲ κοινῶς ὑπὲρ τῶν πραγμάτων λέγειν καὶ τὰ
βέλτισθ᾽ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν σκοπεῖν ἄνευ φιλονικίας τῶν
2 ἐνθάδε συμβουλεύειν ἀξιούντων. νῦν δ᾽ ἔγωγε, εἴ
τις αὐτῶν ἀφέλοι τὸ γιγνώσκεσθαι καὶ τὸ τῇ
φωνῇ λέγειν Ἀττικῶς, πολλοὺς ἂν οἶμαι τοὺς μὲν
Ἀρκάδας, τοὺς δὲ Λάκωνας αὐτῶν εἶναι νομίσαι.
ἐγὼ δ᾽ ὁρῶ μὲν ὡς χαλεπὸν τὰ βέλτιστα λέγειν
ἐστί· συνεξηπατημένων γὰρ ὑμῶν, καὶ τῶν μὲν
ταυτί, τῶν δὲ ταυτὶ βουλομένων, ἂν τὰ μεταξύ
τις ἐγχειρῇ λέγειν καὶ ὑμεῖς μὴ περιμένητε μαθεῖν,
χαριεῖται μὲν οὐδετέροις, διαβεβλήσεται δὲ πρὸς
3 ἀμφοτέρους· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ᾽ αἱρήσομαι μᾶλλον αὐτός,
ἂν ἄρα τοῦτο πάθω, δοκεῖν φλυαρεῖν ἢ παρ᾽ ἃ
βέλτιστα νομίζω τῇ πόλει, προέσθαι τισὶν ὑμᾶς
ἐξαπατῆσαι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλ᾽ ὕστερον, ἂν ὑμῖν

XVI. FOR THE PEOPLE OF MEGALOPOLIS

Both sides seem to be in error, men of Athens, both those who have spoken in favour of the Arcadians and those who have done the same for the Lacedaemonians ; for, just as though they had come from one or other of those states and were not citizens of Athens, to which both embassies are addressed, they are indulging in mutual abuse and recrimination. That, indeed, might be a task for our visitors; but to take a broad view of the question and to explore the best policy, with a regard for your interests and yet without party-spirit, that is the task of men who claim to offer advice in this Assembly. As it is, apart from the fact that they were known persons and spoke Attic, I think myself that many would have taken them for Arcadians or Laconians. But I see how difficult it is to recommend the wisest course, because, when you share the delusions of your advisers, some wanting this and others that, anyone who attempts to suggest a middle course and finds you too impatient to be instructed, will please neither party and will be discredited with both. All the same, if that is to be my fate, I will choose rather to be charged with talking nonsense than allow you to be misled by certain speakers, contrary to what I judge to be best for the city. Other points I will, with your permission, discuss

βουλομένοις ᾖ, λέξω· ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ὁμολογουμένων
ὑφ᾽ ἁπάντων ἄρξομαι ἃ κράτιστα νομίζω διδάσκειν.
4 Οὔκουν οὐδ᾽ ἂν εἷς ἀντείποι ὡς οὐ συμφέρει
[203] τῇ πόλει καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀσθενεῖς εἶναι καὶ
Θηβαίους τουτουσί. ἔστι τοίνυν ἔν τινι τοιούτῳ
καιρῷ τὰ πράγματα νῦν, εἴ τι δεῖ τοῖς εἰρημένοις
πολλάκις παρ᾽ ὑμῖν λόγοις τεκμήρασθαι, ὥστε
Θηβαίους μὲν Ὀρχομενοῦ καὶ Θεσπιῶν καὶ
Πλαταιῶν οἰκισθεισῶν ἀσθενεῖς γενέσθαι, Λακεδαιμονίους
δ᾽, εἰ ποιήσονται τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν ὑφ᾽
ἑαυτοῖς καὶ Μεγάλην πόλιν ἀναιρήσουσι, πάλιν
5 ἰσχυροὺς γενήσεσθαι. σκεπτέον τοίνυν μὴ πρότερον
τούσδε γενέσθαι φοβεροὺς καὶ μεγάλους
ἐάσωμεν ἢ ἐκεῖνοι μικροὶ γενήσονται, καὶ λάθωσιν
ἡμᾶς πλείονι μείζους οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι γενόμενοι
ἢ ὅσῳ τοὺς Θηβαίους ἐλάττους συμφέρει γενέσθαι.
οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνό γ᾽ ἂν εἴποιμεν, ὡς ἀνταλλάξασθαι
βουλόμεθ᾽ ἀντιπάλους Λακεδαιμονίους ἀντὶ Θηβαίων,
οὐδὲ τοῦτ᾽ ἔσθ᾽ ὃ σπουδάζομεν, ἀλλ᾽ ὅπως
μηδέτεροι δυνήσονται μηδὲν ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν· οὕτω
γὰρ ἂν ἡμεῖς μετὰ πλείστης ἀδείας εἴημεν.
6 Ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως δεῖν ἔχειν
φήσομεν, δεινὸν δ᾽ εἰ, πρὸς οὓς παρετεττόμεθ᾽ ἐν
Μαντινείᾳ, τούτους συμμάχους αἱρησόμεθα, εἶτα
βοηθήσομεν τούτοις ἐναντί᾽ ἐκείνοις μεθ᾽ ὧν τότ᾽
ἐκινδυνεύομεν. κἀμοὶ ταῦτα δοκεῖ, προσδεῖσθαι
δ᾽ ἔτι τοῦ "τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐθελόντων τῶν
7 ἑτέρων." εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ἐθελήσουσιν εἰρήνην ἅπαντες
ἄγειν, οὐ βοηθήσομεν τοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις·

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[a] A gesture reminds his hearers how near neighbours the Thebans were.

later, but now, starting from principles admitted by all, I will try to explain what I consider the best policy.

Now no one would deny that our city is benefited by the weakness of the Lacedaemonians and of the Thebans yonder.[a] The position of affairs, then, if one may judge from statements repeatedly made in your Assembly, is such that the Thebans will be weakened by the refounding of Orchomenus, Thespiae and Plataea, but the Lacedaemonians will regain their power, if they get Arcadia into their hands and destroy Megalopolis. Our duty, then, is to take care lest the Lacedaemonians grow strong and formidable before the Thebans are weaker, and lest their increase of power should, unperceived by us, outbalance the diminution of the power of Thebes, which our interests demand. For this at least we should never admit, that we would sooner have the Lacedaemonians for our rivals than the Thebans, nor is that our serious aim, but rather to put it out of the power of either to do us harm, for in that way we shall enjoy the most complete security.

But perhaps we shall admit that that is how matters *ought* to stand, but that it is monstrous to choose as our allies the men whose ranks we faced at Mantinea,[b] and even to help them against those with whom we shared the dangers of that battle. And I too am of that opinion, but I think we must add the saving clause, " if the others consent to do what is just." If, then, all the powers consent to keep peace, we will not help the Megalopolitans, for it

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[b] The Athenians fought on the left wing of the Lacedaemonians at Mantinea against Thebans, Arcadians and other allies of Thebes.

οὐδὲν γὰρ δεήσει· ὥστ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ὁτιοῦν ὑπεναντίον
ἡμῖν ἔσται πρὸς τοὺς συμπαραταξαμένους, σύμ-
μαχοι δ᾽ ἡμῖν οἱ μὲν ὑπάρχουσιν, ὥς φασιν, οἱ δὲ
προσγενήσονται νυνί. καὶ τί ἂν ἄλλο βουλοίμεθα;
8 ἐὰν δ᾽ ἀδικῶσι καὶ πολεμεῖν οἴωνται δεῖν, εἰ μὲν
ὑπὲρ τούτου μόνον βουλευτέον, εἰ χρὴ Μεγάλην
[204] πόλιν ἡμᾶς προέσθαι Λακεδαιμονίοις ἢ μή, δίκαιον
μὲν οὔ, συγχωρῶ δ᾽ ἔγωγ᾽ ἐᾶσαι καὶ μηδὲν
ἐναντιωθῆναι τοῖς γε τῶν αὐτῶν μετασχοῦσι
κινδύνων· εἰ δ᾽ ἅπαντες ἐπίστασθ᾽ ὅτι, ταύτην ἂν
ἕλωσιν, ἴασιν ἐπὶ Μεσσήνην, φρασάτω τις ἐμοὶ
τῶν νῦν χαλεπῶν τοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις, τί τόθ᾽
9 ἡμῖν συμβουλεύσει ποιεῖν. ἀλλ᾽ οὐδεὶς ἐρεῖ. καὶ
μὴν πάντες ἐπίστασθ᾽ ὡς, καὶ παραινούντων τού-
των καὶ μή, βοηθητέον, καὶ διὰ τοὺς ὅρκους οὓς
ὀμωμόκαμεν Μεσσηνίοις καὶ διὰ τὸ συμφέρον
εἶναι κατοικεῖσθαι ταύτην τὴν πόλιν. σκοπεῖσθε
δὴ πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ποτέραν τὴν ἀρχὴν καλλίονα
καὶ φιλανθρωποτέραν ποιήσεσθε τοῦ μὴ ἐπι-
τρέπειν ἀδικεῖν Λακεδαιμονίοις, τὴν ὑπὲρ Μεγάλης
10 πόλεως ἢ τὴν ὑπὲρ Μεσσήνης. νῦν μέν γε βοηθεῖν
δόξετ᾽ Ἀρκάσι, καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην σπουδάζειν εἶναι
βεβαίαν, ὑπὲρ ἧς ἐκινδυνεύσατε καὶ παρετάξασθε·
τότε δ᾽ εὔδηλοι πᾶσιν ἔσεσθ᾽ οὐ τοῦ δικαίου μᾶλλον
ἕνεκα Μεσσήνην εἶναι βουλόμενοι ἢ τοῦ πρὸς
Λακεδαιμονίους φόβου. δεῖ δὲ σκοπεῖν μὲν καὶ
πράττειν ἀεὶ τὰ δίκαια, συμπαρατηρεῖν δ᾽ ὅπως
ἅμα καὶ συμφέροντ᾽ ἔσται ταῦτα.

11 Ἔστι τοίνυν τοιοῦτός τις λόγος παρὰ τῶν ἀντι-

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[a] At Mantinea.

will be unnecessary, so that there will be no question of our opposing our comrades in arms; some of them, indeed, already profess to be our allies, and the others will now come into line. And what more could we desire? But if the Lacedaemonians act unjustly and insist on fighting, then, on the one hand, if the only question to be decided is whether we shall abandon Megalopolis to them or not, just indeed it is not, but I for my part agree to allow it and to offer no opposition to the people who shared the same dangers with us[a]; but, on the other hand, if you are all aware that the capture of Megalopolis will be followed by an attack on Messene, I ask any of those who are now so hard on the Megalopolitans to tell me what he will advise us to do then. But I shall get no answer. Yet you all know that, whether these speakers advise it or not, you are bound to help the Messenians, both for the sake of your sworn agreement with them and for the advantage that you derive from the preservation of their city. Just ask yourselves at what point you would begin to make your stand against Lacedaemonian injustice with more honour and generosity—with the defence of Megalopolis or with the defence of Messene? In the one case, you will show yourselves ready to help the Arcadians and eager to confirm the peace for which you faced danger on the field of battle. In the other case, everyone will see clearly that you wish to preserve Messene less for the sake of justice than for fear of the Lacedaemonians. But the proper course is in all things to find out what is right and then do it, though at the same time we must take care that what we do is expedient as well.

Now my opponents argue that the recovery of

λεγόντων, ὡς κομίσασθαι τὸν Ὠρωπὸν ἡμᾶς
ἐγχειρεῖν δεῖ, εἰ δὲ τοὺς βοηθήσαντας ἂν ἡμῖν ἐπ'
αὐτὸν ἐχθροὺς κτησόμεθα, οὐχ ἕξομεν συμμάχους.
ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ μὲν κομίσασθαι Ὠρωπὸν πειρᾶσθαι
δεῖν φημι καὶ αὐτός· τὸ δ' ἐχθροὺς ἡμῖν Λακεδαιμονίους
ἔσεσθαι νῦν, ἐὰν ποιώμεθα συμμάχους
Ἀρκάδων τοὺς βουλομένους ἡμῖν εἶναι φίλους,
μόνοις οὐδ' εἰπεῖν ἐξεῖναι νομίζω τοῖς πείσασιν
12 ὑμᾶς, ὅτ' ἐκινδύνευον Λακεδαιμόνιοι, βοηθεῖν. οὐ
[205] γὰρ ταῦτα λέγοντες ἔπεισαν ὑμᾶς, πάντων Πελοποννησίων
ἐλθόντων ὡς ὑμᾶς καὶ μεθ' ὑμῶν ἀξιούντων
ἐπὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους ἰέναι, τοὺς μὲν μὴ
προσδέξασθαι (καὶ διὰ τοῦθ', ὅπερ ἦν ὑπόλοιπον
αὐτοῖς, ἐπὶ Θηβαίους ἦλθον), ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς Λακεδαιμονίων
σωτηρίας καὶ χρήματ' εἰσφέρειν καὶ τοῖς
σώμασι κινδυνεύειν· οὐδ' ἂν ὑμεῖς ἠθελήσατε δήπου
σῴζειν αὐτούς, εἰ τοῦτο προὔλεγον ὑμῖν, ὅτι
σωθέντες, ἐὰν μὴ ποιεῖν ὅ τι βούλονται πάλιν
αὐτοὺς ἐᾶτε καὶ ἀδικεῖν, οὐδεμίαν ὑμῖν χάριν
13 ἕξουσι τῆς σωτηρίας. καὶ μὴν εἰ σφόδρ' ἐναντίον
ἐστὶ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπιχειρήμασι τὸ τοὺς
Ἀρκάδας ἡμᾶς συμμάχους ποιήσασθαι, προσήκει
δήπου πλείω χάριν αὐτοὺς ἔχειν ὧν ἐσώθησαν
ὑφ' ἡμῶν εἰς τοὺς ἐσχάτους ἐλθόντες κινδύνους ἢ
ὧν ἀδικεῖν κωλύονται νῦν ὀργίζεσθαι. ὥστε πῶς
οὐ βοηθήσουσιν ἡμῖν ἐπ' Ὠρωπόν, ἢ κάκιστοι
πάντων ἀνθρώπων δόξουσιν εἶναι; μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς
ἔγωγ' οὐχ ὁρῶ.

14 Θαυμάζω τοίνυν καὶ τῶν λεγόντων τοῦτον τὸν
λόγον, ὡς εἰ συμμάχους ποιησόμεθ' Ἀρκάδας καὶ
ταῦτα πράξομεν, μεταβάλλεσθαι δόξει καὶ οὐδὲν
ἔχειν πιστὸν ἡ πόλις. ἐμοὶ μὲν γὰρ δοκεῖ τοὐναν-

Oropus is something that we ought to attempt, but that if we make enemies of those who would have helped us to recover it, we shall have no allies. I too think that we ought to recover Oropus, but to say that the Lacedaemonians will be our enemies as soon as we make allies of those Arcadians who are willing to be our friends—I think the only men who have no right even to suggest that are the men who persuaded you to help the Lacedaemonians in their hour of danger. For when all the Peloponnesians came to you and called on you to lead them against the Lacedaemonians, it was not by such arguments that these men persuaded you not to receive them—(and that was why they took the only remaining course of applying to the Thebans)—but to contribute funds and risk your lives for the safety of the Lacedaemonians. Yet you would surely never have consented to save them, if they had announced to you that when saved they would owe you no thanks for your help, unless you allowed them as before to commit whatever act of injustice they chose. Moreover, even if our alliance with the Arcadians is a serious impediment to the designs of the Lacedaemonians, yet surely they ought to be more grateful for the safety that we won for them, when they were in the gravest peril, than angry because of the wrongs that they are now prevented from committing. How, then, can they refuse to help us at Oropus without proving themselves the basest of mankind? By heavens! I see no escape for them.

Then there is another argument that astonishes me; that if we make an alliance with the Arcadians and act upon it, our city will seem to be changing its policy and breaking faith. For to me, men of

τίον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. διὰ τί; ὅτι τῶν πάντων
οὐδέν᾽ ἂν ἀντειπεῖν οἴομαι ὡς οὐ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους
καὶ πρότερον Θηβαίους καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον
Εὐβοέας ἔσωσεν ἡ πόλις, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα συμμάχους
ἐποιήσατο, ἕν τι καὶ ταὐτὸ βουλομένη ἀεὶ
15 πράττειν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τί; τοὺς ἀδικουμένους
σῴζειν. εἰ τοίνυν ταῦθ᾽ οὕτως ἔχει, οὐκέτ᾽ ἂν
ἡμεῖς εἴημεν οἱ μεταβαλλόμενοι, ἀλλ᾽ οἱ μὴ
[206] ἐθέλοντες τοῖς δικαίοις ἐμμένειν, καὶ φανήσεται τὰ
πράγματ᾽ ἀεὶ διὰ τοὺς πλεονεκτεῖν βουλομένους
μεταβαλλόμενα, οὐχ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν.

16 Δοκοῦσι δέ μοι Λακεδαιμόνιοι μάλα δεινῶν
ἀνθρώπων ἔργον ποιεῖν. νῦν γάρ φασιν ἐκεῖνοι
δεῖν Ἠλείους μὲν τῆς Τριφυλίας τινὰ κομίσασθαι,
Φλειασίους δὲ τὸ Τρικάρανον, ἄλλους δέ τινας τῶν
Ἀρκάδων τὴν αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸν Ὠρωπὸν ἡμᾶς,
οὐχ ἵν᾽ ἑκάστους ἡμῶν ἴδωσιν ἔχοντας τὰ αὐτῶν,
οὐδ᾽ ὀλίγου δεῖ· ὀψὲ γὰρ ἂν φιλάνθρωποι γένοιντο·
17 ἀλλ᾽ ἵνα πᾶσι δοκῶσι συμπράττειν ὅπως ἕκαστοι
κομίσωνται ταῦθ᾽ ἅ φασιν αὐτῶν εἶναι, ἵν᾽ ἐπειδὰν
ἴωσιν ἐπὶ Μεσσήνην αὐτοί, συστρατεύωνται πάντες
αὐτοῖς οὗτοι καὶ βοηθῶσι προθύμως, ἢ δοκῶσιν
ἀδικεῖν, περὶ ὧν ἔφασαν ἕκαστοι σφῶν αὐτῶν
εἶναι συμψήφους λαβόντες ἐκείνους, μὴ τὴν ὁμοίαν
18 αὐτοῖς χάριν ἀποδιδόντες. ἐγὼ δὲ νομίζω τὴν
πόλιν πρῶτον μὲν καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ καθυφεῖναί τινας
Λακεδαιμονίοις Ἀρκάδων Ὠρωπὸν ἂν κομίσασθαι,
καὶ μετ᾽ ἐκείνων, ἂν τὰ δίκαια ποιεῖν ἐθέλωσι, καὶ
μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν οὐκ οἰομένων δεῖν Θηβαίους

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[a] The references are to the battle of Mantinea (362), the alliance with Thebes against Sparta in 378, and the deliverance of Euboea from the Thebans in 357.

Athens, the exact opposite seems to be the case. How so? Because I do not think any one man would deny that Athens has saved the Lacedaemonians, and the Thebans before them, and the Euboeans recently,[a] and has afterwards made alliance with them, having always one and the same object in view. And what is that? To save the victims of injustice. If, then, this is so, it is not we who are inconsistent, but those who refuse to abide by the principles of justice; and it will be manifest that the circumstances are always changing, through the policy of ambitious men, but our city changes not.

The policy of the Lacedaemonians seems to me to be very sharp practice. For they now say that Elis ought to receive parts of Triphylia, and Phlius the district of Tricaranum, and certain Arcadian tribes the land belonging to them, and that we ought to have Oropus, not because they want to see each of us enjoying our own, far from it—(that would be a tardy exhibition of philanthropy)—but they want it to be generally supposed that they are co-operating with each state to recover the territory that it claims, so that when they march against Messene on their own account, all the others will join heartily in the expedition, or else will put themselves in the wrong by making no adequate return for the support they have enjoyed in regaining what each state claimed as its own. But my own impression is that, in the first place, without subjecting any of the Arcadians to Sparta, our city may recover Oropus with the help both of the Lacedaemonians, if they choose to act justly, and of all who think they ought not to let the Thebans keep other people's property.

ἐᾶν ἔχειν τἀλλότρια. εἰ δ᾿ ἄρα τοῦτ᾿ εὔδηλον ἡμῖν
γένοιτο, ὅτι μὴ Λακεδαιμονίους ἐῶντες τὴν Πελοπόννησον
καταστρέψασθαι οὐχ οἷοί τ᾿ ἐσόμεθ᾿
Ὠρωπὸν λαβεῖν, αἱρετώτερον, εἰ οἷόν τ᾿ εἰπεῖν,
ἡγοῦμαι τὸν Ὠρωπὸν ἐᾶν ἢ Λακεδαιμονίοις Μεσσήνην
προέσθαι καὶ Πελοπόννησον. οὐ γὰρ ἂν
ἡγοῦμαι περὶ τούτου μόνον ἡμῖν εἶναι τὸν λόγον
πρὸς ἐκείνους, ἀλλ᾿—ἐάσω τό γ᾿ ἐπελθὸν εἰπεῖν μοι·
περὶ πολλῶν δ᾿ ἂν οἶμαι κίνδυνον ἡμῖν γενέσθαι.

19 Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἅ γέ φασι πεπρᾶχθαι διὰ Θηβαίους
[207] τοῖς Μεγαλοπολίταις ὑπεναντία πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἄτοπον
νῦν μὲν ἐν κατηγορίας μέρει ποιεῖσθαι, βουλομένων
δὲ γενέσθαι φίλων αὐτῶν, ἵνα τοὐναντίον εὖ
ποιῶσιν ἡμᾶς, βασκαίνειν καὶ σκοπεῖν ἐξ ὅτου
τρόπου μὴ γενήσονται, καὶ μὴ γιγνώσκειν ὅτι,
ὅσῳ ἂν σπουδαιοτέρους τούτους περὶ Θηβαίους
γεγενημένους ἀποδείξωσι, τοσούτῳ πλείονος ὀργῆς
αὐτοὶ δικαίως ἂν τυγχάνοιεν, εἰ τοιούτων συμμάχων
τὴν πόλιν, ὅτ᾿ ἐφ᾿ ὑμᾶς προτέρους ἦλθον ἢ
20 Θηβαίους, ἀπεστέρησαν. ἀλλ᾿, οἶμαι, ταῦτα μέν
ἐστι δεύτερον ἀνθρώπων βουλομένων ἑτέρων ποιῆσαι
τούτους συμμάχους. ἐγὼ δ᾿ οἶδα, ὅσ᾿ ἂν ἐκ
λογισμοῦ σκοπῶν τις εἰκάσαι, καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς
οἶμαι ὑμῶν ἐμοὶ ταὐτὰ φήσειν, ὅτι εἰ λήψονται
Μεγάλην πόλιν Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κινδυνεύσει Μεσσήνη·
εἰ δὲ καὶ ταύτην λήψονται, φήμ᾿ ἡμᾶς
21 ἔσεσθαι συμμάχους Θηβαίων. πολὺ δὴ κάλλιον
καὶ ἄμεινον τὴν μὲν Θηβαίων συμμαχίαν αὐτοὺς

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[a] He seems to contemplate a renewed attempt of Sparta to establish her supremacy, involving perhaps a second

But supposing, on the other hand, it should become clear to us that unless we let the Lacedaemonians subdue the whole of the Peloponnese, we shall not be able to take Oropus, then I think it the better policy, if I may say so, to let Oropus go, rather than sacrifice Messene and the rest of the Peloponnese to the power of Sparta. For I do not think that Oropus would be the only subject of dispute between us, but also——. However, I will pass over what I intended to say ; only I fancy there are many dangers ahead of us.[a]

But further, with regard to any acts which they *say* the Megalopolitans have committed for the sake of the Thebans somewhat against your interests, it is ridiculous to make these now the count of an indictment, but when they want to become friends and make you some reparation, to look askance at them and devise means of preventing this, and not to realize that the more zealous they show themselves to have been in the cause of the Thebans, the more justly would these very speakers incur your anger, if they deprived the city of such useful allies, when they came to you before applying to Thebes. But these, I take it, are the allegations of men who want once again to drive the Megalopolitans elsewhere for an alliance. Now I know, as far as reasoning and conjecture can teach me, and I think that most of you will agree with me, that if the Lacedaemonians take Megalopolis, Messene will be in danger ; and if they take Messene also, I say that we shall find ourselves in alliance with Thebes. Surely it is more honourable and satisfactory that we should win the

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Peloponnesian war. He over-estimates Sparta's power of recovery.

παραλαβεῖν, τῇ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίων πλεονεξίᾳ μὴ
ἐπιτρέψαι, ἢ νῦν ὀκνοῦντας μὴ τοὺς Θηβαίων
σώσωμεν συμμάχους, τούτους μὲν προέσθαι, πάλιν
δὲ σῴζειν αὐτοὺς τοὺς Θηβαίους, καὶ προσέτ᾽ ἐν
22 φόβῳ καθεστάναι περὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἔγωγ᾽
ἀδεὲς τοῦθ᾽ ὑπολαμβάνω τῇ πόλει, τὸ λαβεῖν
Μεγάλην πόλιν Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ πάλιν γενέσθαι
μεγάλους. ὁρῶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ νῦν οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ
μὴ παθεῖν τι κακὸν πολεμεῖν αἱρουμένους, ἀλλ᾽
ὑπὲρ τοῦ κομίσασθαι τὴν πρότερον οὖσαν αὑτοῖς
δύναμιν· ὧν δ᾽, ὅτ᾽ ἐκείνην εἶχον, ὠρέγοντο, ταῦθ᾽
ὑμεῖς μᾶλλον ἴσως εἰδότες ἢ ἐγὼ φοβοῖσθ᾽ ἂν
εἰκότως.

23 Ἡδέως δ᾽ ἂν πυθοίμην τῶν λεγόντων καὶ τοὺς
[208] Θηβαίους μισεῖν φασκόντων καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους,
πότερ᾽ ἑκάτεροι μισοῦσιν, οὓς δὴ μισοῦσιν,
ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος ὑμῖν, ἢ ὑπὲρ
Λακεδαιμονίων μὲν Θηβαίους, ὑπὲρ δὲ Θηβαίων
Λακεδαιμονίους ἑκάτεροι. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων,
οὐδετέροις ὡς μαινομένοις πείθεσθαι προσήκει·
εἰ δ᾽ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν φήσουσι, τί πέρα τοῦ καιροῦ τοὺς
24 ἑτέρους ἐπαίρουσιν; ἔστι γάρ, ἔστι Θηβαίους
ταπεινοὺς ποιεῖν ἄνευ τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίους ἰσχυροὺς
καθιστάναι, καὶ πολύ γε ῥᾷον· ὡς δ᾽, ἐγὼ πειράσομαι
πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν. ἴσμεν ἅπαντες τοῦθ᾽,
ὅτι τὰ μὲν δίκαια πάντες, ἐὰν καὶ μὴ βούλωνται,
μέχρι τού γ᾽ αἰσχύνονται μὴ πράττειν, τοῖς δ᾽
ἀδίκοις ἐναντιοῦνται φανερῶς, ἄλλως τε κἄν τινες
βλάπτωνται· καὶ τοῦτο λυμαινόμενον πάνθ᾽ εὑρήσομεν,
καὶ ταύτην ἀρχὴν οὖσαν πάντων τῶν κακῶν,
25 τὸ μὴ ᾽θέλειν τὰ δίκαια πράττειν ἁπλῶς. ἵνα
τοίνυν μὴ τοῦτ᾽ ἐμποδὼν γένηται τῷ Θηβαίους

alliance of the Thebans on our own account and resist Spartan ambition, than that we should shrink from rescuing the allies of Thebes and abandon them now, only to rescue the Thebans in the end, and to be kept moreover in perpetual alarm for ourselves. For I cannot regard it as a pledge of our security, that the Lacedaemonians should seize Megalopolis and grow great once more, seeing as I do that even now they have not taken up arms to avenge an injury, but to recover the power that once was theirs; and what their ambition was in the day of their power, you know perhaps better than I, and will distrust them accordingly.

I should like to ask those speakers who profess hatred of the Thebans and of the Lacedaemonians, whether they hate them in either case for your sake and in your interests, or whether they hate the Thebans for the sake of the Lacedaemonians and the Lacedaemonians for the sake of the Thebans respectively. If the latter, you must not take the advice of either party, because they are both mad; but if they allege your interests, why do they unduly forward the interests of those other states? For it is surely possible to humble the Thebans without strengthening the Lacedaemonians; nay, it is much easier. How it can be done, I will try to explain.

Everyone knows this much, that all men, even against their wishes, are, up to a certain point, ashamed not to do what is just, but make a display of opposition to injustice, especially in cases where there are definite victims; and we shall find that what ruins everything—the root in fact of all evil—is unwillingness to act justly under all circumstances. In order, then, that this unwillingness may not stand

γενέσθαι μικρούς, τὰς μὲν Θεσπιὰς καὶ τὸν Ὀρ-
χομενὸν καὶ τὰς Πλαταιὰς κατοικίζεσθαι φῶμεν
δεῖν καὶ συμπράττωμεν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
ἀξιῶμεν (ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ καλὰ καὶ δίκαια, μὴ
περιορᾶν πόλεις ἀρχαίας ἐξανεστώσας), τὴν δὲ
Μεγάλην πόλιν καὶ τὴν Μεσσήνην μὴ προώμεθα
τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι, μηδ' ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει τῇ Πλαταιῶν
καὶ Θεσπιῶν τὰς οὔσας καὶ κατοικουμένας πόλεις
26 ἀναιρεθείσας περιίδωμεν. κἂν ᾖ ταῦτα πρόδηλα,
οὐδεὶς ὅστις οὐ βουλήσεται παύσασθαι Θηβαίους
ἔχοντας τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν· εἰ δὲ μή, πρῶτον μὲν
ἐναντίους ἕξομεν πρὸς ἐκεῖνα τούτους εἰκότως,
ὅταν ἡγῶνται τὴν ἐκείνων κατοίκισιν αὑτοῖς
[209] ὄλεθρον φέρειν, εἶτ' ἀνήνυτα πράγμαθ' ἕξομεν
αὐτοί· τί γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔσται πέρας, ὅταν ἀεὶ
τὰς μὲν οὔσας πόλεις ἐῶμεν ἀναιρεῖν, τὰς δ'
ἀνῃρημένας ἀξιῶμεν οἰκίζειν;

27 Λέγουσι τοίνυν οἱ μάλιστα δοκοῦντες δίκαια
λέγειν ὡς δεῖ τὰς στήλας καθελεῖν αὐτοὺς τὰς πρὸς
Θηβαίους, εἴπερ ἡμέτεροι βεβαίως ἔσονται σύμ-
μαχοι. οἱ δέ φασι μὲν αὑτοῖς οὐ[κ εἶναι][1] στήλας
ἀλλὰ τὸ συμφέρον εἶναι τὸ ποιοῦν τὴν φιλίαν,
τοὺς δὲ βοηθοῦντας ἑαυτοῖς, τούτους νομίζειν
εἶναι συμμάχους. ἐγὼ δ', εἰ τὰ μάλιστ' εἰσὶ
τοιοῦτοι, ὡδί πως ἔχω. φημὶ δεῖν ἅμα τούτους
ἀξιοῦν καθαιρεῖν τὰς στήλας καὶ Λακεδειμονίους
ἄγειν εἰρήνην, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ 'θέλωσι ποιεῖν ὁπότεροι
ταῦτα, τότ' ἤδη μετὰ τῶν ἐθελόντων ἡμᾶς γίγνε-

[1] Dobree's correction: Dindorf keeps εἶναι with MSS.

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[a] The terms of an alliance were inscribed on a slab or pillar, set up in some public place, and to take down the pillar was symbolically to dissolve the alliance (*cf. In Lept.*

in the way of the weakening of Thebes, let us admit that Thespiae, Orchomenus and Plataea ought to be restored, and let us co-operate with their inhabitants and appeal to the other states, for it is a just and honourable policy not to allow ancient cities to be uprooted ; but at the same time let us not abandon Megalopolis and Messene to their oppressors, nor allow the restoration of Plataea and Thespiae to blind us to the destruction of existing and established states. Moreover, if we proclaim this policy, there is none but will be glad that the Thebans should cease to hold other people's territory ; if we do not, we shall not only find the Thebans, naturally enough, hostile to the other proposal, as soon as they reflect that the restoration of those cities means ruin to themselves, but we shall also involve ourselves in endless trouble ; for what limit indeed can there be, if we are always sanctioning the destruction of existing cities, and demanding the restoration of those that are destroyed ?

Now those who seem to argue most fairly demand of the Megalopolitans that they shall destroy the pillars [a] that record their treaty with the Thebans, if they are to be our trusted allies. But they reply that with them friendship is based, not on inscribed pillars, but on mutual advantage, and they count as their allies those who are their helpers. But, granting the fairness of these speakers, my own view is this. I say that we must at the same time call upon them to destroy the pillars and upon the Lacedaemonians to keep the peace. If they refuse—whichever of the two it may be—then at once we

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37). The Arcadians are unwilling to risk a complete rupture with the Thebans.

28 σθαι. εἴτε γὰρ εἰρήνης γιγνομένης αὐτοῖς οἱ
Μεγαλοπολῖται ἔτι τῆς Θηβαίων συμμαχίας ἕξονται,
φανεροὶ πᾶσιν ἔσονται τὴν πλεονεξίαν τὴν
Θηβαίων, οὐ τὸ δίκαιον αἱρούμενοι· εἴτε συμμάχους
ἡμᾶς ἀδόλως τῶν Μεγαλοπολιτῶν ποιουμένων
μὴ ’θελήσουσιν ἄγειν εἰρήνην οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι,
δῆλοι δήπου πᾶσιν ἔσονται, οὐχ ἵνα
Θεσπιαὶ κατοικισθῶσι μόνον ποιούμενοι τὴν σπουδήν,
ἀλλ’ ἵνα τοῦ πολέμου περιεστηκότος Θηβαίοις
τὴν Πελοπόννησον ὑφ’ αὑτοῖς ποιήσωνται.
29 θαυμάζω δ’ ἐνίων, εἰ τὸ μὲν Θηβαίων συμμάχους
εἶναι τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων ἐχθροὺς φοβοῦνται, εἰ
δὲ καταστρέψονται Λακεδαιμόνιοι τούτους, μηδὲν
ἡγοῦνται φοβερόν, καὶ ταῦτ’ ἔργῳ πεῖραν ἡμῖν
δεδωκότος τοῦ χρόνου ὅτι Θηβαῖοι μὲν τούτοις
[210] συμμάχοις ἐπὶ Λακεδαιμονίους ἀεὶ χρῶνται, Λακεδαιμόνιοι
δ’ ὅτ’ εἶχον αὐτούς, ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς ἐχρῶντο.

30 Οἶμαι τοίνυν ἔγωγε κἀκεῖν’ ἐνθυμεῖσθαι δεῖν,
ὅτι μὴ προσδεξαμένων μὲν ὑμῶν τοὺς Μεγαλοπολίτας,
ἐὰν μὲν ἀναιρεθῶσι καὶ διοικισθῶσιν,
ἰσχυροῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἔστιν εὐθὺς εἶναι, ἐὰν δὲ
σωθῶσιν ἄρα, ὡς ἤδη τι καὶ παρ’ ἐλπίδας ἐξέβη,
βέβαιοι σύμμαχοι Θηβαίων δικαίως ἔσονται· ἂν
δὲ προσδέξησθε, τούτοις μὲν ὑπάρξει ἤδη σωθῆναι
δι’ ὑμᾶς, τὸ δὲ συμβησόμενον, [καὶ][1] τὸν τοῦ
κινδύνου λογισμὸν μετενεγκόντες, σκοπῶμεν ἐπὶ
31 Θηβαίων καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων. ἂν μὲν τοίνυν καταπολεμηθῶσιν
οἱ Θηβαῖοι, ὥσπερ αὐτοὺς δεῖ, οὐκ
ἔσονται μείζους τοῦ δέοντος οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι,
τούτους ἔχοντες ἀντιπάλους τοὺς Ἀρκάδας ἐγγὺς

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[1] Dindorf keeps *καὶ* with S and vulg.: Dobree omits with one MS.

side with those who consent. If the Megalopolitans, though peace is secured for them, still cling to the Theban alliance, it will of course be obvious to all that they prefer the ambition of Thebes to the claims of justice ; or if, while the Megalopolitans join our alliance in all sincerity, the Lacedaemonians refuse to keep the peace, then it will be equally obvious that the object of their activities is not merely to restore Thespiae, but to subjugate the Peloponnese while the Thebans are engrossed in the war. I am surprised that some of you are afraid of the enemies of Sparta becoming allies of Thebes, and yet see nothing to fear in their subjugation by the Lacedaemonians, forgetting the practical lesson to be learned from the past, that the Thebans always use these allies against the Lacedaemonians, whereas the Lacedaemonians, when they had them at command, used them against us.

Then again I think that you must bear this in mind, that if you reject the Megalopolitans and they are overthrown and decentralized,[a] the Lacedaemonians can at once be a great power, or if they do escape destruction—for such miracles have happened before now—they are bound to be the staunch friends of Thebes ; but if you accept them as allies, Megalopolis will indeed owe its immediate deliverance to you, but we must put on one side all calculation of risk, and consider what will be the effect upon our relations with Thebes and Sparta. Now if the Thebans are finally beaten, as they deserve to be, there will be no undue increase in the power of the Lacedaemonians, because there are their neighbours,

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[a] By destroying their metropolis and compelling them to live in scattered and unwalled villages.

οἰκοῦντας· ἂν δ’ ἀνενέγκωσιν ἄρ’ οἱ Θηβαῖοι καὶ σωθῶσιν, ἀλλ’ οὖν ἀσθενέστεροί γ’ ἔσονται, ἡμῖν συμμάχων γεγενημένων τῶνδε καὶ δι’ ἡμᾶς σεσωμένων. ὥστε πανταχῇ συμφέρει μήτε προέσθαι τοὺς Ἀρκάδας μήτε δι’ αὑτούς, ἂν ἄρα σωθῶσι, περιγεγονέναι δοκεῖν, μήτε δι’ ἄλλους τινάς, ἀλλὰ δι’ ὑμᾶς.

32 Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὰ τοὺς θεοὺς οὔτε φιλῶν οὐδετέρους οὔτε μισῶν ἰδίᾳ εἴρηκα, ἀλλ’ ἃ νομίζω συμφέρειν ὑμῖν· καὶ παραινῶ μὴ προέσθαι Μεγαλοπολίτας, μηδ’ ἄλλον ἁπλῶς μηδένα τῶν ἐλαττόνων τῷ μείζονι.

the Arcadians, to balance it; but if the Thebans after all recover and are saved, at any rate they will be the weaker because we shall have gained these allies, saved by our help. Therefore it is in every way expedient that the Arcadians should not be abandoned, and that if they do survive, they should not seem to owe their preservation to themselves or to any other people than you.

Men of Athens, I solemnly assure you that I am not prompted by private friendship or enmity for either party, but have said what I consider expedient for you; and I urge you not to abandon the Megalopolitans, and, as a general principle, never to sacrifice the weak to the strong.

ON THE TREATY WITH ALEXANDER

INTRODUCTION

After the assassination of Philip in 336, Alexander succeeded to his throne, and early in the next year summoned a convention of the Greek states at the Isthmus, just as Philip had done after Chaeronea. At this convention Alexander was " elected " commander-in-chief of the Greek forces on land and sea, and a general peace was proclaimed, the details of which are only known to us from the speech that follows. In it Alexander is accused of violating the constitutional independence which had been guaranteed to the several states, and of interfering with the free passage of corn-ships from the Black Sea. The date of the speech is uncertain, but it cannot have been delivered long after the convention. The contemptuous phrase, " goes about bearing arms " (§ 16), would best fit Alexander's rapid campaigns in Thrace and Illyria, of which the Greeks had probably heard only vague accounts. When, late in 335, he descended on Central Greece and razed Thebes to the ground, the proposal that Athens should declare war on him would have been too absurd even for one blinded by anti-Macedonian prejudice.

The spuriousness of the speech was recognized by the ancient critics, of whom Libanius ascribes it to Hyperides on the ground of style. Dull as it is, it certainly reads like an actual speech or pamphlet by one of Demosthenes' party, and not like a rhetorical forgery.

[211] XVII. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΝ ΣΥΝΘΗΚΩΝ

Ἄξιον ἀποδέχεσθαι, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, σφόδρα
τῶν τοῖς ὅρκοις καὶ ταῖς συνθήκαις διακελευομένων
ἐμμένειν, εἴπερ αὐτὸ πεπεισμένοι ποιοῦσιν·
οἶμαι γὰρ οὐδὲν οὕτω τοῖς δημοκρατουμένοις
πρέπειν ὡς περὶ τὸ ἴσον καὶ τὸ δίκαιον σπουδάζειν.
δεῖ τοίνυν τοὺς λίαν ἐπ᾽ αὐτὰ παρακαλοῦντας μὴ
[212] τῷ μὲν λόγῳ καταχρωμένους ἐνοχλεῖν, πάντα δὲ
μᾶλλον πράττειν, ἀλλ᾽ ὑπομείναντας νυνὶ τὸν
ἐξετασμὸν ἢ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πειθομένους ὑμᾶς
ἔχειν περὶ αὐτῶν, ἢ παραχωρήσαντας ἐᾶν συμβουλεύειν
τοὺς ἀληθέστερα περὶ τῶν δικαίων ἀποφαινομένους,
2 ἵν᾽ ἢ ἑκόντες ἀδικούμενοι ἀνέχησθε
καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο χαρίζησθε τῷ ἀδικοῦντι, ἢ προελόμενοι
περὶ πλείστου ποιήσασθαι τὸ δίκαιον
ἀνεγκλήτως πρὸς ἅπαντα χρῆσθε τῷ συμφέροντι
μηκέτι μέλλοντες. ἐξ αὐτῶν δὲ τῶν συνθηκῶν
καὶ τῶν ὅρκων σκεψαμένους τῶν περὶ τῆς κοινῆς
εἰρήνης ἔξεστιν ἰδεῖν ἤδη, τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ παραβεβηκότες.
ὡς δὲ περὶ μεγάλων συντόμως διδάξω.
3 Εἰ δή τις ἐρωτήσειεν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐπὶ
τίνι ἂν μάλιστ᾽ ἀγανακτήσαιτ᾽ εἴ τις ἀναγκάζοι,
οἶμαι, εἰ ἦσαν κατὰ τὸν νυνὶ χρόνον οἱ Πεισι-

XVII. ON THE TREATY WITH ALEXANDER

Our hearty assent, men of Athens, is due to those who insist that we should abide by our oaths and covenants, provided that they do so from conviction; for I believe that nothing becomes a democratic people more than zeal for equity and justice. Those, therefore, who are so emphatic in urging you to this course should not keep wearying you with speeches which are belied by their practice, but after submitting *now* to full inquiry, should either for the future be sure of your assent in these matters, or else make way for the counsels of those who show a truer conception of what is just, so that you may either voluntarily submit to wrong, making the wrongdoer a free gift of your submission, or having definitely resolved to put justice before all other claims, may pursue your own interests, clear from all reproach, without further hesitation. But from the very terms of the compact and from the oaths which ratified the general peace, you may at once see who are its transgressors; and that those transgressions are serious, I will prove to you concisely.

Now if you were asked, men of Athens, what form of compulsion would most rouse your indignation, I think that if the sons of Pisistratus [a] had been alive

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[a] Hippias and his family were driven from Athens by the help of the Spartans in 510.

στρατίδαι καί τις ἐβιάζετο κατάγειν αὐτοὺς δευρί,
ἁρπάσαντας ἂν ὑμᾶς τὰ ὅπλα πάντα κίνδυνον
ὑπομεῖναι ἀντὶ τοῦ παραδέξασθαι, ἢ πεισθέντας
γε δουλεύειν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀργυρωνήτων, καὶ τοσούτῳ
μᾶλλον, ὅσῳ τὸν μὲν οἰκέτην οὐδεὶς ἂν ἑκὼν
ἀποκτείνειε, τοὺς δὲ τυραννουμένους ἀκρίτους
ἔστιν ὁρᾶν ἀπολλυμένους ἅμα καὶ ὑβριζομένους
4 εἰς παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας. παρὰ τοὺς ὅρκους τοίνυν
καὶ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς ἐν τῇ κοινῇ εἰρήνῃ γεγραμμένας
Ἀλέξανδρος εἰς Μεσσήνην καταγαγὼν τοὺς
Φιλιάδου παῖδας, ὄντας τυράννους, ἆρ᾽ ἐφρόντισε
τοῦ δικαίου, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἐχρήσατο τῷ αὑτοῦ ἔθει τῷ
5 τυραννικῷ, βραχὺ φροντίσας ὑμῶν καὶ τῆς κοινῆς
[213] ὁμολογίας; οὐ δὴ δεῖ, εἰ μέν τις ὑμᾶς ταῦτα
βιάζοιτο, μάλιστ᾽ ἀγανακτῆσαι, εἰ δ᾽ ἑτέρωθί που
γέγονε παρὰ τοὺς πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὅρκους, μὴ φυλάξασθαι,
καὶ ἡμῖν μὲν διακελεύεσθαί τινας ἐνταυθὶ
ἐμμένειν τοῖς ὅρκοις, τοῖς δ᾽ αὐτοὺς οὕτω περιβοήτως
ἀνῃρηκόσι καταλείπειν ταύτην τὴν ἐξουσίαν.
6 ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ οἷόν τε ταῦθ᾽ οὕτως ἔχειν, ἐὰν
βούλησθε τῷ δικαίῳ χρῆσθαι· καὶ γὰρ ἔτι προσγέγραπται
ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις πολέμιον εἶναι τὸν
ἐκεῖν᾽ ἅπερ Ἀλέξανδρος ποιοῦντα ἅπασι τοῖς τῆς
εἰρήνης κοινωνοῦσι, καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτοῦ, καὶ
στρατεύεσθαι ἐπ᾽ αὐτὸν ἅπαντας. οὐκοῦν ἐὰν
ποιῶμεν τὰ συγκείμενα, πολεμίῳ χρησόμεθα τῷ

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[a] Tyrant of Messene in the time of Philip. His sons, Neon and Thrasymachus, were expelled but restored by Alexander. Polybius, himself an Arcadian, born a century and a half later, enters a vigorous protest against Demosthenes' condemnation of these and other "traitors" in *De Cor.* 295, and claims that they had rendered valuable service

at the present time and someone tried to compel you to restore them, you would snatch up your weapons and brave any danger rather than receive them back, or if you did consent, you would be slaves, as surely as if you had been bought for money ; nay, more so, inasmuch as no one would intentionally kill his own servant, but the victims of tyranny may be seen executed without trial, as well as outraged in the persons of their wives and children. Therefore when Alexander, contrary to the oaths and the compacts as set forth in the general peace, restored those tyrants, the sons of Philiades,[a] to Messene, had he any regard for justice ? Did he not rather give play to his own tyrannical disposition, showing little regard for you and the joint agreement ? It is surely wrong that you should be highly indignant when you are the victims of such coercion, but should neglect all safeguards if it is employed somewhere else, contrary to the sworn agreement with you, and that we here at Athens should be urged by certain speakers to abide by the oaths, while they grant this liberty of action to the men who have so notoriously made those oaths of no effect. But this can never happen, if you are willing to see justice done ; for it is further stipulated in the compact that anyone who acts as Alexander has acted shall be the enemy of all the other parties to the compact, and his country shall be hostile territory, and all the parties shall unite in a campaign against him. So if we carry out the agreement, we shall treat the restorer of the tyrants as an enemy.

in freeing the Peloponnesian states from the yoke of Sparta and ensuring their prosperity under the aegis of Macedonia (xvii. 14).

7 καταγαγόντι. ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἴποιεν ἂν οἱ τυραννίζοντες
οὗτοι ὅτι πρὶν τὰς συνθήκας γενέσθαι
ἐτυράννουν Μεσσήνης οἱ Φιλιάδου παῖδες· διὸ καὶ
καταγαγεῖν[1] τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον αὐτούς. ἀλλὰ καταγέλαστος
ὁ λόγος, τοὺς μὲν ἐκ Λέσβου τυράννους,
οἷον ἐξ Ἀντίσσης καὶ Ἐρέσου, ἐκβαλεῖν ὡς
ἀδικήματος ὄντος τοῦ πολιτεύματος, τοὺς πρὸ
τῶν ὁμολογιῶν τυραννήσαντας, ἐν δὲ Μεσσήνῃ
μηδὲν οἴεσθαι διαφέρειν, τῆς αὐτῆς δυσχερείας ὑπαρχούσης.
8 ἔπειτα καὶ ἐπιτάττει ἡ συνθήκη εὐθὺς
ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐλευθέρους εἶναι καὶ αὐτονόμους τοὺς
Ἕλληνας. διὸ καὶ πῶς οὐχ ὑπεράτοπον ἡγεῖσθαι
μὲν τῶν συνθηκῶν τὸ αὐτονόμους εἶναι καὶ
ἐλευθέρους, τὸν δ' εἰς δουλείαν ἀγαγόντα μὴ
οἴεσθαι τἀναντία ταῖς κοιναῖς ὁμολογίαις διαπεπρᾶχθαι;
οὐκοῦν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν, ὦ
[214] ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἴπερ τοῖς ὅρκοις καὶ ταῖς
συνθήκαις ἐμμενοῦμεν καὶ τὰ δίκαια ποιήσομεν,
ἐφ' ἃ ὑμᾶς παρακαλοῦσι, καθάπερ ἄρτι εἶπον,
λαβοῦσι τὰ ὅπλα στρατεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοὺς παραβεβηκότας
9 μετὰ τῶν βουλομένων. ἢ νομίζετε τὸν
μὲν καιρόν ποτ' ἰσχύειν καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ δικαίου τὸ
συμφέρον πράττειν· νυνὶ δ', ὅτ' εἰς ταὐτὸν τὸ
δίκαιον[2] ἅμα καὶ ὁ καιρὸς καὶ τὸ συμφέρον συνδεδράμηκεν,
ἄλλον ἄρα τινὰ χρόνον ἀναμενεῖτε τῆς
ἰδίας ἐλευθερίας ἅμα καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων
ἀντιλαβέσθαι;

10 Ἐπ' ἄλλο δὲ δίκαιον ἔρχομαι τῶν κατὰ τὰς
συνθήκας. ἔστι γὰρ γεγραμμένον, ἐάν τινες τὰς
πολιτείας τὰς παρ' ἑκάστοις οὔσας, ὅτε τοὺς
ὅρκους τοὺς περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ὤμνυσαν, καταλύσωσι,

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[1] Cobet's correction for κατάγειν, which Dindorf keeps.

But these champions of tyranny might urge that the sons of Philiades were tyrants of Messene before the compact was made, and that that was why Alexander restored them. But it is a ridiculous principle to expel the Lesbian tyrants on the ground that their rule is an outrage—I mean the tyrants of Antissa and Eresus, who established themselves before the agreement—and yet to imagine that it is a matter of indifference at Messene, where the same harsh system prevails.

Again, the compact at the very beginning enjoins that the Greeks shall be free and independent. Is it not, then, the height of absurdity that the clause about freedom should stand first in the compact, and that one who has enslaved others should be supposed not to have acted contrary to the joint agreement? Therefore, men of Athens, if we are going to abide by our oaths and covenants and do what is just (for it is to this that these speakers, as I have said, are urging you), it is our bounden duty to seize our arms and take the field against the transgressors with all who will join us. Or do you think that opportunity sometimes so prevails that men pursue expediency even apart from justice—and yet now, when justice and opportunity and expediency all concur, will you actually wait for some other season to claim your liberties and the liberties of all the Greeks?

I come to another claim sanctioned by the compact. For the actual words are, "If any of the parties shall overthrow the constitution established in the several states at the date when they took the oaths to observe the peace, they shall be treated as

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[2] Dindorf has εἰς ταὐτὸ δίκ.

πολεμίους εἶναι πᾶσι τοῖς τῆς εἰρήνης μετέχουσιν.
σκέψασθε δ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι Ἀχαιοὶ μὲν
οἱ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ ἐδημοκρατοῦντο, τούτων δ' ἐν
Πελλήνῃ νῦν καταλέλυκε τὸν δῆμον ὁ Μακεδὼν
ἐκβαλὼν τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς πλείστους, τὰ δ'
ἐκείνων τοῖς οἰκέταις δέδωκε, Χαίρωνα δὲ τὸν
11 παλαιστὴν τύραννον ἐγκατέστησεν. ἡμεῖς δὲ τῆς
εἰρήνης μετέχομεν τῆς προσταττούσης πολεμίους
ἡγεῖσθαι τοὺς ταῦτα πράττοντας. ἐκ δὴ τούτων
πότερα πειθώμεθα τοῖς κοινοῖς προστάγμασι πολεμίοις
αὐτοῖς χρώμενοι, ἢ βδελυρεύσεταί τις οὐ
φάσκων, τούτων τῶν μισθοφορούντων παρὰ τοῦ
12 Μακεδόνος, τῶν καθ' ὑμῶν πεπλουτηκότων; οὐ
γὰρ δὴ λέληθέ γ' αὐτοὺς οὐδὲν τούτων· ἀλλ' εἰς
τοῦθ' ὕβρεως ἥκουσιν ὥστε δορυφορούμενοι τοῖς
τοῦ τυράννου στρατοπέδοις ἐν μὲν τοῖς παραβεβασμένοις
[215] ὅρκοις ἐμμένειν ὑμῖν διακελεύονται,
ὡς καὶ τῆς ἐπιορκίας αὐτοκράτορος ὄντος ἐκείνου,
τοὺς δ' ἰδίους ὑμᾶς νόμους ἀναγκάζουσι λύειν, τοὺς
μὲν κεκριμένους ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ἀφιέντες,
ἕτερα δὲ παμπληθῆ τοιαῦτα βιαζόμενοι παρανομεῖν.
13 εἰκότως· τοῖς γὰρ πεπρακόσιν ἑαυτοὺς εἰς
τἀναντία τοῖς τῇ πατρίδι συμφέρουσιν οὐκ ἔνι
μέλειν νόμων οὐδ' ὅρκων· τοῖς δ' ὀνόμασι μόνον
αὐτῶν ἀποχρώμενοι παρακρούονται τοὺς παρέργως
ἐνταυθί, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξεταστικῶς ἐκκλησιάζοντας,
καὶ νομίζοντας τὴν παραυτίχ' ἡσυχίαν οὐκ ἔσεσθαί
14 ποτ' αἰτίαν ταραχῆς ἀτόπου. κελεύω δ' ἔγωγε,
καθάπερ ἐν ἀρχῇ προεῖπον, πείθεσθαι τούτοις τοῖς

enemies by all the parties to the peace." But just reflect, men of Athens, that the Achaeans in the Peloponnese enjoyed democratic government, and one of their democracies, that of Pellene, has now been overthrown by the Macedonian king, who has expelled the majority of the citizens, given their property to their slaves, and set up Chaeron, the wrestler, as their tyrant. But we ourselves are parties to the peace, which instructs us to treat as enemies those who are guilty of such acts. Now in view of this, are we to obey these joint instructions and treat them as enemies, or will anyone be blackguard[a] enough to say no—one of the hirelings in the pay of the Macedonian king, one of those who have grown rich at your expense? For you may be sure they are not ignorant of these facts; but they have grown so insolent, with the tyrant's troops for their bodyguard, that they insist on your observing the already violated oaths, as if Alexander's absolute sovereignty extended over perjury also; and they compel you to rescind your own laws, releasing men who have been condemned in your courts and forcing you to sanction numberless other illegalities. And their conduct is natural; for men who have sold themselves to a policy antagonistic to the interests of their country cannot trouble themselves about laws and oaths; they are to them mere terms which they employ to lead astray the citizens who come to the Assembly for diversion and not for careful inquiry, and who forget that present inaction will some day result in wild confusion. My own advice, as I said at the start, is to believe them when they say that

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[a] This is one of the words which Libanius thought more in the style of Hyperides than of Demosthenes.

φάσκουσι δεῖν ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ὁμολογίαις ἐμμένειν, εἰ μὴ ἐκεῖνο νομίζουσιν, ὅταν μὲν λέγωσιν ὡς ἐμμενετέον τοῖς ὅρκοις, οὐ λέγειν αὐτοὺς τὸ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖσθαι, οὐδένα δ' οἴονται αἰσθήσεσθαι, τυραννίδων ἀντὶ δημοκρατιῶν καθισταμένων καὶ τῶν πολιτειῶν καταλυομένων.

15 Τὸ δ' ἔτι καταγελαστότερον·[1] ἔστι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοὺς συνεδρεύοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ κοινῇ φυλακῇ τεταγμένους ὅπως ἐν ταῖς κοινωνούσαις πόλεσι τῆς εἰρήνης μὴ γίγνωνται θάνατοι καὶ φυγαὶ παρὰ τοὺς κειμένους ταῖς πόλεσι νόμους, μηδὲ χρημάτων δημεύσεις, μηδὲ γῆς ἀναδασμοί, μηδὲ χρεῶν ἀποκοπαί, μηδὲ δούλων ἀπελευθερώσεις ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ. οἱ δὲ τοσούτου δέουσι τούτων τι κωλύειν ὥστε καὶ συγκατασκευάζουσιν· οὓς πῶς οὐ προσήκει ἀπολωλέναι; οἳ τηλικαύτας συμφορὰς παρασκευάζουσιν [216] ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἃς διὰ τὸ μέγεθος αὐτοῖς τοσούτοις οὖσι μὴ περιορᾶν ἐπέταξαν.

16 Ἔτι δ' ἕτερον δείξω τὸ λελυκὸς τὰς συνθήκας. ἔστι γὰρ γεγραμμένον, ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τῶν κοινωνουσῶν τῆς εἰρήνης μὴ ἐξεῖναι φυγάδας ὁρμήσαντας ὅπλ' ἐπιφέρειν ἐπὶ πολέμῳ μηδεμιᾷ πόλει τῶν μετεχουσῶν τῆς εἰρήνης· εἰ δὲ μή, ἔκσπονδον εἶναι τὴν πόλιν ἐξ ἧς ἂν ὁρμήσωσιν. οὕτω τοίνυν ῥᾳδίως τὰ ὅπλ' ἐπήνεγκεν ὁ Μακεδὼν ὥστ' οὐδὲ κατέθετο πώποτε, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔχων περιέρχεται καθ' ὅσον δύναται, καὶ τοσούτῳ νῦν

[1] τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ καταγελαστότατον vulg.: τὸ δ' ἔτι A: καταγελαστότερον Reiske: τὸ δὲ καταγελαστότατον Dindorf.

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[a] "It appears that a standing military force, under Macedonian orders, was provided to enforce observance of

we ought to abide by the joint agreement, unless, when they insist on our abiding by the oaths, they interpret them as not forbidding any act of injustice, or imagine that no one will be sensible of the change from democracy to tyranny or of the overthrow of a free constitution.

Now for a still greater absurdity. For it is provided in the compact that it shall be the business of the delegates at the Congress and those responsible for public safety to see that in the states that are parties to the peace there shall be no executions and banishments contrary to the laws established in those states, no confiscation of property, no partition of lands, no cancelling of debts, and no emancipation of slaves for purposes of revolution. But these speakers are so far from seeking to prevent any of these evils, that they join in promoting them. And do they not then deserve death—the men who promote in the various states those terrible calamities which, because they are so serious, this important body has been commissioned to prevent? [a]

I will point out a further breach of the compact. For it is laid down that it shall not be lawful for exiles to set out, bearing arms, from the states which are parties to the peace, with hostile intent against any of the states included in the peace; but if they do, then that city from which they set out shall be excluded from the terms of the treaty. Now the Macedonian king has been so unscrupulous about bearing arms that he has never yet laid them down, but even now goes about bearing arms, as far as is

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the convention; and that the Synod of Deputies was contemplated as likely to meet periodically."—Grote (c. 91). The subject of ἐπέταξαν is apparently αἱ συνθῆκαι.

μᾶλλον ἢ πρότερον, ὅσῳ ἐκ προστάγματος ἄλλους
θ' ἑτέρωθι καὶ τὸν παιδοτρίβην εἰς Σικυῶνα
17 κατήγαγεν. οὐκοῦν εἰ δεῖ πείθεσθαι ταῖς κοιναῖς
ὁμολογίαις, καθάπερ οὗτοί φασιν, ἔκσπονδοι ἡμῖν
εἰσιν αὗται αἱ πόλεις αἱ ταῦτα διαπεπραγμέναι.
εἰ μὲν οὖν δεῖ ἐπικρύπτεσθαι τἀληθῆ, οὐδὲν δεῖ
λέγειν ὅτι εἰσὶν αἱ Μακεδονικαί· εἰ δ' οὐκ ἀνιᾶσιν
οἱ καθ' ὑμῶν τῷ Μακεδόνι ὑπηρέται
προστάττοντες πράττειν τὰ ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς ὁμολογίαις,
πεισθῶμεν αὐτοῖς, ἐπειδὴ τὰ δίκαια λέγουσι, καί,
καθάπερ κελεύει ὁ ὅρκος, ἐκσπόνδους αὐτοὺς
ποιήσαντες βουλευσώμεθα πῶς δεῖ χρῆσθαι τοῖς
δεσποτικῶς καὶ ἀσελγῶς διακειμένοις καὶ διὰ
τέλους τὰ μὲν ἐπιβουλεύουσι, τὰ δὲ πράττουσι,
18 καὶ καταγελῶσι τῆς κοινῆς εἰρήνης. διὰ τί γὰρ
οὐ φήσουσιν οὗτοι δεῖν ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν; ἢ
ὁμολογίαν τὴν μὲν κατὰ τῆς πόλεως οὖσαν βεβαίαν
ἀξιοῦσιν εἶναι, τὴν δὲ σῴζουσαν οὐ συγχωρήσουσιν;
ἆρά γε δοκεῖ δίκαιον ταῦτα γίγνεσθαι; κἂν μέν
τι ᾖ πρὸς τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐν τοῖς
[217] ὅρκοις, τοῦτο μὲν ἰσχυρὸν ἀεὶ ποιήσουσιν· ἐὰν δέ
τι ἡμέτερον ᾖ κατ' ἐκείνων ἅμα δίκαιον καὶ
συμφέρον, πρὸς τοῦτο δὲ διαμαχομένους οὐδέποτε
παύσασθαι οἰήσονται δεῖν ἑαυτούς;

19 Ἵνα δ' εἰδῆτ' ἔτι σαφέστερον ὅτι οὐδεὶς ὑμῖν
ἐγκαλεῖ ποτε τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὡς ἄρα παρέβητέ τι
τῶν κοινῇ ὁμολογηθέντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ χάριν ἕξουσιν
ὅτι μόνοι ἐξηλέγξατε τοὺς ταῦτα ποιοῦντας, μικρὰ
ἐπιδραμοῦμαι περὶ αὐτῶν πολλῶν ὄντων. ἔστι

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[a] *i.e.* the states under the immediate control of Alexander.

in his power, and more so indeed now than ever, inasmuch as he has reinstated the professional trainer at Sicyon by an edict, and other exiles elsewhere. Therefore if we are to keep this joint agreement, as these speakers say, the states that are guilty of these offences are excluded from our treaty. If, indeed, we ought to hush the matter up, we must never say that they are the Macedonian states[a]; but if the men who are subservient to the Macedonian king against your interests never cease urging us to carry out the joint agreement, let us take them at their word, since their contention is just, and let us, as our oath demands, exclude the guilty parties from the treaty, and form a plan for dealing with men whose temper is so brutally dictatorial, and who are constantly either plotting or acting against us and mocking at the general peace. What, I ask you, can they urge against the correctness of this view? Will they claim that the agreement stands good as against our city, but demur to it where it protects our interests? Does it really seem fair that this should be so? And if there is anything in the treaty that favours our enemies against our city, will they always make the most of it, but if there is anything that tells the other way and is at once just and advantageous to us, will they think that unremitting opposition is their peculiar duty?

But to prove to you still more clearly that no Greeks will accuse you of transgressing any of the terms of the joint agreement, but will even be grateful to you for exposing the real transgressors, I will just touch upon a few of the many points that might be mentioned. For the compact, of course,

γὰρ δήπου ἐν ταῖς συνθήκαις τὴν θάλατταν πλεῖν
τοὺς μετέχοντας τῆς εἰρήνης, καὶ μηδένα κωλύειν
αὐτοὺς μηδὲ κατάγειν πλοῖον μηδενὸς τούτων·
ἐὰν δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα ποιῇ, πολέμιον εἶναι πᾶσι
20 τοῖς τῆς εἰρήνης μετέχουσιν. οὐκοῦν, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, ἐναργέστατ᾽ ἑοράκατε τοῦθ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν
Μακεδόνων γεγενημένον· εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ ὑπεροψίας
ἦλθον ὥστε εἰς Τένεδον ἅπαντα τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου
πλοῖα κατήγαγον, καὶ σκευωρούμενοι περὶ αὐτὰ οὐ
πρότερον ἀφεῖσαν, πρὶν ὑμεῖς ἐψηφίσασθε τριήρεις
ἑκατὸν πληροῦν καὶ καθέλκειν εὐθὺς τότε, καὶ
21 στρατηγὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐταῖς ἐτάξατε Μενεσθέα. πῶς
οὖν οὐκ ἄτοπον τοσαῦτα μὲν εἶναι καὶ τηλικαῦτα
τὰ ἡμαρτημέν᾽ ἑτέροις, τοὺς δ᾽ ἐνταῦθα φίλους
αὐτῶν μὴ ἐκείνους ἀποτρέπειν τοὺς παραβαίνοντας,
ἀλλ᾽ ἡμῖν συμβουλεύειν ἐμμένειν τοῖς οὕτως ὠλι-
γωρημένοις; ὥσπερ καὶ τούτου προσγεγραμμένου,
τοῖς μὲν ἐξεῖναι πλημμελεῖν, τοῖς δὲ μηδ᾽ ἀμύνε-
22 σθαι. πῶς δ᾽ οὐχ ἅμα τε παρενόμουν ἐκεῖνοι καὶ
ἀναίσθητοι ἦσαν, οἵ γε τηλικοῦτον παρέβησαν τῶν
ὅρκων, ὃ παρ᾽ ἐλάχιστον ἐποίησεν αὐτοὺς ἀφ-
αιρεθῆναι δικαίως τὴν κατὰ θάλατταν ἡγεμονίαν;
[218] καὶ νῦν ἔτι παραδεδώκασι τοῦτο τὸ δίκαιον ἀν-
εγκλήτως ἡμῖν, ὅταν βουληθῶμεν πράττειν· οὐ γὰρ
ὅτι ἐπαύσαντ᾽ ἐξαμαρτάνοντες, ἧττόν τι δήπου
23 παραβεβήκασι τὰς κοινὰς ὁμολογίας. ἀλλ᾽ εὐ-
τυχοῦσιν, ὅτι ἐναποχρῶνται τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ῥᾳθυμίᾳ
τῇ οὐδὲ τῶν δικαίων ἀπολαύειν προαιρουμένῃ. ὃ
καὶ ὑβριστικώτατον συμβέβηκεν, εἰ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι

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[a] See the speech *On the Peace*, 25.

[b] The Congress gave Alexander the command of the

provides that all the parties to the peace may sail the seas, and that none may hinder them or force a ship of any of them to come to harbour,[a] and that anyone who violates this shall be treated as an enemy by all the parties to the peace. Now, men of Athens, you have most distinctly seen this done by the Macedonians; for they have grown so arrogant that they forced all our ships coming from the Black Sea to put in at Tenedos, and under one pretence or another refused to release them until you passed a decree to man and launch a hundred war-galleys instantly, and you put Menestheus in command. Is it not, then, absurd that others should be guilty of so many serious transgressions, but that their friends in Athens, instead of restraining the transgressors, should urge us to abide by the terms thus lightly regarded? As if there were a clause added, permitting some to violate them, but forbidding others even to defend their rights! But was not the conduct of the Macedonians as stupid as it was lawless, when they committed such a gross violation of their oaths as deservedly went near to cost them their right to command at sea?[b] Even as it is, they have supplied us with this unquestionable claim against them, whenever we choose to press it. For surely their violation of the joint agreement is not lessened because they have now ceased to offend. But they are in luck, because they can make the most of your supineness, which prefers to take no advantage even of your due rights.

The greatest humiliation, however, that we have

Greek forces on sea as well as on land. If the Macedonians provoked the Athenians, who provided the greater part of a united Greek fleet, he might lose this command.

Ἕλληνες καὶ βάρβαροι ἅπαντες τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς
ἔχθραν φοβοῦνται, οὗτοι δ᾿ οἱ νεόπλουτοι μόνοι
καταφρονεῖν ὑμᾶς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἀναγκάζουσι, τὰ
μὲν πείθοντες, τὰ δὲ βιαζόμενοι, ὥσπερ ἐν Ἀβδη-
ρίταις ἢ Μαρωνείταις, ἀλλ᾿ οὐκ ἐν Ἀθηναίοις
24 πολιτευόμενοι. καὶ ἅμα μικρὰ μὲν τὰ ὑμέτερα
ποιοῦσι, τὰ δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἰσχυρά, ἅμα δὲ λαν-
θάνουσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἀνυπόστατον τὴν πόλιν ὁμο-
λογοῦντες εἶναι, διακελευόμενοι τὸ δίκαιον οὐ δικαίως
διαφυλάττειν, ὡς τῷ συμφέροντί γε προελομένην
χρῆσθαι κρατεῖν ἂν τῶν πολεμίων ῥᾳδίως δυνη-
25 θεῖσαν. εἰκότως δ᾿ αὐτὸ πεπόνθασιν· ἕως γὰρ ἂν
ἐξῇ τῶν κατὰ θάλατταν καὶ μόνοις ἀναμφισβητήτως
εἶναι κυρίοις, τοῖς γε κατὰ γῆν πρὸς τῇ ὑπαρχούσῃ
δυνάμει ἔστι προβολὰς ἑτέρας ἰσχυροτέρας εὑρέ-
σθαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ πεπαυμένων ὑπὸ τῆς τύχης
τῶν δορυφορουμένων ὑπὸ τῶν τυραννικῶν στρατο-
πέδων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐφθαρμένων, τῶν δὲ ἐξεληλεγ-
μένων οὐδενὸς ἀξίων ὄντων.

26 Τὸ μὲν οὖν περὶ τὰ πλοῖα πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις
τοῖς προειρημένοις ὁ Μακεδὼν τηλικοῦτον παρέβη·
τὸ δὲ ὑβριστικώτατον καὶ ὑπεροπτικώτατον τῶν
Μακεδόνων τὸ πρῴην γεγενημένον ἐστί, τὸ τολ-
[219] μῆσαι εἰσπλεῦσαι εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ παρὰ τὰς
κοινὰς ἡμῖν πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνθήκας. καὶ τοῦτ᾿,
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, οὐχ ὅτι μία τριήρης ἦν,
μικρὸν ὑποληπτέον, ἀλλ᾿ ὅτι ἀπόπειρα ἐγένετο, εἰ
περιοψόμεθα, ἵνα μετὰ πλειόνων αὐτοῖς ἐγγένηται

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[a] Literally *nouveaux riches*, another word condemned by Libanius as un-Demosthenic.

[b] Two cities of Thrace. The former was the Greek Gotham.

[c] The disloyal politicians wish to put Athens at a dis-

suffered is that all the other Greeks and barbarians dread your enmity, but these upstarts[a] alone can make you despise yourselves, sometimes by persuasion, sometimes by force, as if Abdera or Maronea,[b] and not Athens, were the scene of their political activities. Moreover, while they weaken your cause and strengthen that of your enemies, they at the same time admit unconsciously that our city is irresistible, because they bid her uphold justice by injustice, as though she could easily vanquish her enemies, if she preferred to consult her own interests.[c] And they have taken up a reasonable attitude; for as long as we, single-handed, can maintain an unchallenged supremacy at sea, we can devise other and stronger defences on land in addition to our existing forces, especially if by good fortune we can get rid of these politicians, who have for their bodyguard the hosts of tyranny, and if some of them are destroyed and others conclusively proved to be worthless.

Such then, in the matter of the ships, has been the violation of the compact by the Macedonian king, in addition to the other cases mentioned. But the most insolent and overbearing exploit of the Macedonians was that performed quite recently, when they dared to sail into the Piraeus, contrary to our mutual agreement. Moreover, men of Athens, because it was only a single war-galley, it must not be regarded as a slight matter, but as an experiment made to see whether we should overlook it, so that they could repeat it on a larger scale, and also as a

advantage by urging her to keep the compact justly while allowing the Macedonians to break it unjustly. Now if Athens can afford to do this and yet keep her position, it proves that she could easily beat her enemies if she concentrated on her own interests.

τοῦτο πράττειν, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐφρόντισαν τῶν
κοινῶν δογμάτων, καθάπερ οὐδὲ τῶν προειρημένων.
27 ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε τοῦτο παράδυσις ἦν κατὰ
μικρὸν καὶ ἐθισμὸς τοῦ ἀνέχεσθαι ἡμᾶς τοὺς
τοιούτους εἴσπλους, κἀκεῖθεν δῆλον· τὸ γὰρ τὸν
τότε ἐπὶ τῆς νεὼς εἰσπλεύσαντα, ὃν ἔδει εὐθὺς
μετὰ τῆς τριήρους ὑφ᾿ ὑμῶν ἀπολωλέναι, αἰτεῖσθαι
ναυπηγήσασθαι μικρὰ πλοῖα ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις
λιμέσι, πῶς οὐ καταφανὲς ποιεῖ ὅτι ἀντὶ τοῦ
εἰσπλεῖν τὸ εὐθὺς ἔνδον εἶναι ἐμηχανῶντο; καὶ εἰ
λεπτὰ πλοῖα ὑπομενοῦμεν, ὀλίγον ὕστερον καὶ
τριήρεις· καὶ εἰ τὸ πρῶτον ὀλίγας, μικρῷ ὕστερον
28 πολλάς. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἔστι γ᾿ εἰπεῖν ὡς Ἀθήνησι
μὲν ἀφθόνων ὄντων τῶν ναυπηγησίμων ξύλων,
τῶν πόρρωθεν καὶ μόγις εἰσκομιζομένων, ἐν δὲ τῇ
Μακεδονίᾳ ἐπιλελοιπότων, τῇ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς
βουλομένοις εὐτελέστατα καθισταμένῃ, ἀλλ᾿ ᾤονθ᾿
ἅμα τε ναυπηγήσεσθαι ἐνταῦθα καὶ πληρώσεσθαι
ἐν τῷ λιμένι [τῷ προειρημένῳ],[1] ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς
ὁμολογίαις διειρημένον[2] μηδὲν τοιοῦτον εἰσδέχεσθαι,
καὶ τοῦτ᾿ ἐξέσεσθαι ἐπὶ πλέον ἀεὶ ποιεῖν.
οὕτω πανταχόθεν καταπεφρονηκότως ἐκεῖνοι τῇ
πόλει χρῶνται διὰ τοὺς ἐντεῦθεν διδασκάλους τοὺς
29 ὑπαγορεύοντας αὐτοῖς ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν· οὕτω δὲ κατεγνώκασι
μετὰ τούτων ἀδιήγητόν τινα τῆς πόλεως
[220] ἔκλυσιν καὶ μαλακίαν, καὶ οὔτε πρόνοιαν περὶ τῶν
μελλόντων εἶναι, οὔτε λογισμὸν οὐδένα παραγίγνεσθαι
τίνα τρόπον χρῆται ὁ τύραννος ταῖς
30 κοιναῖς ὁμολογίαις. αἷς ἐγὼ διακελεύομαι, ὦ

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[1] Reiske brackets: *τῷ εἰρημένῳ* Dindorf.

[2] Cobet's correction for *-ου*.

proof that they cared as little for these terms of agreement as for those that have been already mentioned. For that it was an encroachment little by little and was meant to accustom us to suffering such intrusions into our harbours, is plain from the following consideration. For the mere fact that the man who sailed the ship in, and whom you ought to have put out of existence at once, galley and all, asked permission to build small boats in our harbour—does it not make it perfectly plain that their scheme was not so much to enter the harbour as to be inside it from the first? And if we tolerate small craft, a little later it will be war-galleys as well; and if at first we sanction a few, there will soon be many. For they cannot allege as their excuse that there is plenty of timber for shipbuilding at Athens, where we import it with great trouble from distant parts, but that it is scarce in Macedonia, where there is a cheap supply for all who want it. No, they thought that they would build their ships here and also furnish them with crews in our harbour, though it is expressly stipulated in the joint agreement that nothing of the kind should be permitted; and they thought too that it would always be more and more in their power to do this. Thus on every hand they treat our city with contempt, thanks to their prompters here, who suggest to them everything they should do; and thus with their help they have discovered that there is an indescribable slackness and feebleness in our city, and that we take no thought for the morrow, and that it never occurs to us to consider how the tyrant is carrying out the joint agreement.

ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πείθεσθαι, καθάπερ ἐδίδαξα, καὶ διαβεβαιωσαίμην ἄν, ὡς τοῦθ' ἡλικίας ἔχων, ἅμα καὶ τῷ δικαίῳ ἡμᾶς ἀνεγκλήτως καὶ τοῖς καιροῖς ἀσφαλέστατα χρήσεσθαι τοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ συμφέρον κατεπείγουσιν. καὶ γὰρ ἔτι προσγέγραπται ταῖς συνθήκαις, “ἐὰν βουλώμεθα τῆς κοινῆς εἰρήνης μετέχειν”· τὸ δ' “ἐὰν βουλώμεθα” ἐστὶν ἅμα καὶ τοὐναντίον, εἰ ἄρα ποτὲ δεῖ παύσασθαι[1] αἰσχρῶς ἑτέροις ἀκολουθοῦντας, ἢ[2] μηδ' ἀναμνησθῆναι μηδεμιᾶς φιλοτιμίας τῶν ἐξ ἀρχαιοτάτου καὶ πλείστων καὶ μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὑμῖν ὑπαρχουσῶν. ἐὰν οὖν κελεύητ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, γράψω, καθάπερ αἱ συνθῆκαι κελεύουσι, πολεμεῖν τοῖς παραβεβηκόσιν.

[1] Dindorf inserts μὴ before παύσασθαι.

[2] ἢ Wolf: ἀλλὰ Dindorf with MSS.

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[a] Demosthenes would be about fifty at the probable date of this speech.

[b] This vague and clumsy sentence admits of no satis-

That agreement, men of Athens, I urge you to keep in the way that I have explained, and I would confidently assure you, with the authority that my age[a] confers, that we shall at once be exercising our undoubted rights, and also making the safest use of those opportunities which impel us to secure our interests. For, indeed, there is this clause appended to the agreement, "if it is our wish to share in the common peace." But the words "if it is our wish" mean also the opposite—if it is ever our *duty* to abandon our disgraceful submission to the dictates of others, or even our forgetfulness of those high ideals, which from time immemorial we have cherished in greater measure than any other people.[b] Therefore, if you approve, Athenians, I will now propose that, as the agreement directs, we declare war on the transgressors.

factory interpretation. The ἀλλά of the MSS. conveys no meaning, and it will be noticed that παύσασθαι is apparently constructed both with a participle and with an infinitive. The Greek needs, but hardly deserves, emendation.

AGAINST LEPTINES

INTRODUCTION

This speech is the earliest delivered by Demosthenes in person on a question of public importance. That against Androtion belongs to the same year, 355 B.C., but was written for delivery by his client. His first speech before the Assembly was in the next year (see Introd. to Speech XIV.).

The Athenians occasionally rewarded a benefactor of the State by the grant of exemption from public services (λῃτουργίαι). These were of two kinds; (1) the ordinary, recurring annually (ἐγκύκλιοι, § 21), and (2) the extraordinary, imposed in time of war. Of the former the χορηγία was so much the most conspicuous that the term can be used as an equivalent for λῃτουργία [a] (as in § 19). The χορηγός was called upon to defray the expense of equipping and training a chorus for dramatic and similar performances. Another was the γυμνασιαρχία, which entailed the superintendence of the public gymnasia, the maintenance of athletes training for public contests, and especially the expense and organization of the torch-races. Others were the ἑστίασις (§ 21) or feasting of a tribe, and the ἀρχιθεωρία or financing of the sacred embassies sent by the State to the pan-

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[a] Hence the later use of ἐπιχορηγεῖν in St. Paul's epistles, *e.g.* 2 Cor. ix. 10 (translated "minister" in A.V., "supply" in R.V.).

Hellenic festivals. The τριηραρχία was the equipment of a war-galley. Though strictly an extraordinary service, important only in war, trierarchs were appointed annually. The εἰσφορά, or special war-tax, is regarded by some as an extraordinary public service; others restrict that description to the προεισφορά, by which the sum required for the εἰσφορά was advanced to the State by the three hundred richest citizens.

In the lean years after the Peloponnesian War the burden of these services was more severely felt, and when the treasury was impoverished by the Social War of 357–355, it was more difficult than ever to find enough rich men to perform them. Therefore one Leptines, otherwise unknown to us, proposed and carried a law, which revoked all immunities granted in the past and made them illegal for the future, with the exception of those enjoyed by the descendants of the tyrannicides, Harmodius and Aristogiton.

The Solonian Constitution provided elaborate checks against hasty legislation. At the first Assembly of the year (*i.e.* in the month Hecatombaeon) the people were asked whether they would permit the introduction of new laws, and this permission was generally granted. Notices of proposed new laws were then posted in the Agora (§ 94), and at the third Assembly *nomothetae* were appointed. These formed a legislative commission chosen from the panel of jurymen (heliasts) for the year. Their number was presumably fixed in accordance with the amount and importance of the business before them.[a] The proceedings before the commission took the form of an indictment (γραφή) of the law which it was proposed to amend, and the defence of the old law was entrusted to advocates (called σύνδικοι in § 146), some appointed by the State, others voluntary. The presiding magistrates were probably the *thesmothetae* or six junior archons. If the new law was approved by the court, it was still liable to indictment for a breach of the constitution (γραφὴ παρανόμων), especially if the proposers had not complied with all the legal formalities. No old law could be repealed unless replaced by a new one, and no new law could be passed without the repeal of the old law or of any other law which conflicted with it.

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[a] 1001 is the number given in the decree quoted in Dem. *In Timocr.* 27.

In the glut of legislation which followed the restoration of democracy in 403, parts of this machinery had fallen into disuse, and many new laws were passed in the form of decrees (ψηφίσματα). It is probable that the law of Leptines had not been brought before the *nomothetae*, but had been proposed directly in the Assembly. A γραφὴ παρανόμων was brought against its author by Bathippus and two others. Bathippus died, and his colleagues were apparently induced by the defendant to drop the action (§ 145). Another indictment was now laid by Apsephion, the son of Bathippus, and Ctesippus, the son of the Athenian general Chabrias, whose services, described in §§ 75-83, had been rewarded with immunities, which the son inherited. As a year had elapsed since the law was passed, Leptines was no longer personally responsible, and it was the law, not the man, that was to be tried (§ 144).[a] The case against the law was entrusted to an unknown speaker, Phormio, who appeared for Apsephion. He was followed by Demosthenes on behalf of Ctesippus, who was perhaps a minor. The law was defended by Leptines and the other advocates who are mentioned in § 146.

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[a] Hence the title of the speech is Πρὸς Λεπτίνην, not Κατὰ Λεπτίνου.

We may infer that Phormio, in opening the case, dealt more fully with the legal points, such as the violation of the law that all grants made by the people should be valid, on which Demosthenes touches briefly in § 96. The latter's speech lays more emphasis on the moral questions involved, especially on the loss of prestige which Athens would suffer from a direct breach of faith.[a] The arguments are very loosely strung together[b]; the style is smooth and elegant. Dionysius of Halicarnassus calls it *χαριέστατος ἁπάντων τῶν λόγων καὶ γραφικώτατος* (*Epist. ad Amm.* i. 4). Sandys has pointed out that the second epithet means not "graphic, lively" (as L. and S. translate it), but having the accuracy of a written work,[c] not the looseness of a declamation. He quotes in support Aristotle, *Rhet.* iii. 12. 2 *ἔστι δὲ λέξις γραφικὴ μὲν ἡ ἀκριβεστάτη κτλ.* Another interesting criticism is that of Cicero (*Orator* 111), who mentions the speech as one of the *orationes subtiles.* Here again the epithet may mislead; it does not mean subtle, but subdued in style, pitched, as we might say, in a lower key.

Was Demosthenes successful? The answer remains in doubt. Dion Chrysostom, in a rhetorical flourish, states that Leptines lost his case. On the other hand, an inscription found in the south wall of the Acropolis records that Ctesippus, son of Chabrias, was choregus for the Cecropid tribe. If this refers to our man, it may imply that he had lost his immunity, but it is also possible that he undertook a voluntary service. This inscription was first published by Chr. Wordsworth (*Athens and Attica*) in 1855. The original, long lost, was rediscovered in 1898 (see *Classical Review*, xii. p. 233, where, however, Wordsworth is completely misreported). The decision of experts is that the date cannot be determined, but may well be *earlier* than 355. Of inscriptions recording the grant of immunity none affords ground for a decision of the question.

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[a] §§ 1–87 deal with the moral questions; from 88 to the end legal and technical points are touched upon.

[b] It will be noticed that almost every paragraph is monotonously introduced by *τοίνυν*, used not to express a logical inference, but merely as a particle of transition. See Sandys' note on § 5.

[c] "Writing," says Bacon, "maketh an exact man.'

XX. ΠΕΡΙ ΤΗΣ ΑΤΕΛΕΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΛΕΠΤΙΝΗΝ

[457] Ἄνδρες δικασταί, μάλιστα μὲν εἵνεκα τοῦ νομίζειν συμφέρειν τῇ πόλει λελύσθαι τὸν νόμον, εἶτα καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς εἵνεκα τοῦ Χαβρίου, ὡμολόγησα τούτοις, ὡς ἂν οἷός τ᾿ ὦ, συνερεῖν. ἔστι δ᾿ οὐκ ἄδηλον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦθ᾿, ὅτι Λεπτίνης, κἄν τις ἄλλος ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου λέγῃ, δίκαιον μὲν οὐδὲν ἐρεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ, φήσει δ᾿ ἀναξίους τινὰς ἀνθρώπους εὑρομένους ἀτέλειαν ἐκδεδυκέναι τὰς λῃτουργίας, καὶ τούτῳ πλείστῳ χρήσεται τῷ λόγῳ.

2 ἐγὼ δ᾿ ὅτι μὲν τινῶν κατηγοροῦντα πάντας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὴν δωρειὰν τῶν ἀδίκων ἐστίν, ἐάσω· καὶ γὰρ εἴρηται τρόπον τινὰ καὶ ὑφ᾿ ὑμῶν ἴσως γιγνώσκεται· ἀλλ᾿ ἐκεῖν᾿ ἂν ἐροίμην ἡδέως αὐτόν, τίνος εἵνεκ᾿, εἰ τὰ μάλιστα μὴ τινὲς ἀλλὰ πάντες ἦσαν ἀνάξιοι, τῶν αὐτῶν ἠξίωσεν ὑμᾶς τε καὶ τούτους. ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ γράψαι “ μηδέν᾿ εἶναι ἀτελῆ,” τοὺς ἔχοντας ἀφείλετο τὴν ἀτέλειαν, ἐν δὲ τῷ προσγράψαι “ μηδὲ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξεῖναι δοῦναι,” ὑμᾶς τὸ δοῦναι ὑμῖν ἐξεῖναι. οὐ γὰρ ἐκεῖνό γ᾿ ἔνεστιν εἰπεῖν, ὡς τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὅνπερ τοὺς ἔχοντας τὴν δωρειὰν ἀναξίους ἐνόμιζεν, οὕτω καὶ τὸν δῆμον

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[a] By the previous speaker, Phormio.

XX. AGAINST LEPTINES

Gentlemen of the jury, it is chiefly because I consider that the State will benefit by the repeal of this law, but partly also out of sympathy with the young son of Chabrias, that I have consented to support the plaintiffs to the best of my ability. It is clear, men of Athens, that Leptines and anyone else who defends the law will have nothing fair to say in its favour, but will urge the unworthiness of certain persons who have used their exemption as a means of shirking the public services, and he will take his stand chiefly on that ground. For my own part, I shall forbear to retort that it is unjust to take away this privilege from all because you find fault with some; for that objection has already been partially stated,[a] and you probably realize its force. But I should like to ask Leptines on what grounds, even if not some, but all the recipients had been to the last degree undeserving, he has meted out the same treatment to you as to them; for by the clause "none shall be exempt" he has taken away the privilege from those who now enjoy it, while by the addition "nor shall it be lawful hereafter to grant it" he takes away from you the right to bestow it. For surely he cannot mean that precisely as he thought the holders of this privilege unworthy, so he thought the people unworthy of the right

ἀνάξιον ἡγεῖτο κύριον εἶναι τοῦ δοῦναι, ἐάν τῳ
3 βούληται. ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία ἐκεῖν’ ἂν ἴσως εἴποι πρὸς
ταῦτα· ὅτι διὰ τὸ ῥᾳδίως ἐξαπατᾶσθαι τὸν δῆμον,
[458] διὰ τοῦθ’ οὕτως ἔθηκε τὸν νόμον. τί οὖν κωλύει
πάντ’ ἀφῃρῆσθαι καὶ ὅλως τὴν πολιτείαν ὑμᾶς κατὰ
τοῦτον τὸν λόγον; οὐ γὰρ ἔστ’ ἐφ’ ὅτου τοῦτ’ οὐ
πεπόνθατε τῶν πάντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ψηφίσματα πολλὰ
πολλάκις ἐξαπατηθέντες κεχειροτονήκατε, καὶ
συμμάχους ἤδη τινὰς ἥττους ἀντὶ κρειττόνων
ἐπείσθηθ’ ἑλέσθαι, καὶ ὅλως ἐν οἶμαι πολλοῖς οἷς
4 πράττετε καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι συμβαίνειν ἀνάγκη. ἆρ’
οὖν θησόμεθα νόμον διὰ ταῦτα “ μηδὲ τὸ λοιπὸν
ἐξεῖναι τῇ βουλῇ μηδὲ τῷ δήμῳ μήτε προβουλεύειν
μήτε χειροτονεῖν μηδέν ”; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἶμαι· οὐ
γάρ ἐσμεν ἀφαιρεθῆναι δίκαιοι περὶ ὧν ἂν ἐξαπατηθῶμεν,
ἀλλὰ διδαχθῆναι πῶς τοῦτο μὴ πεισόμεθα,
καὶ θέσθαι νόμον οὐχ ὃς ἀφαιρήσεται τὸ κυρίους
ἡμᾶς εἶναι, ἀλλὰ δι’ οὗ τὸν ἐξαπατῶντα τιμωρησόμεθα.

5 Εἰ τοίνυν τις ἐάσας ταῦτ’ αὐτὸ καθ’ αὑτὸ ἐξετάσειε,
πότερόν ποτε λυσιτελέστερόν ἐστι κυρίους μὲν
ὑμᾶς εἶναι τῆς δωρειᾶς, ἐξαπατηθέντας δέ τι καὶ
φαύλῳ τινὶ δοῦναι, ἢ διὰ τοῦ παντελῶς ἀκύρους
γενέσθαι, μηδ’ ἂν ἄξιόν τιν’ εἴδητ’ ἐξεῖναι τιμῆσαι,
εὕροιτ’ ἂν μᾶλλον ἐκεῖνο λυσιτελοῦν. διὰ τί; ὅτι
ἐκ μὲν τοῦ πλείονας ἢ προσήκει τιμᾶν πολλοὺς εὖ
ποιεῖν προκαλεῖσθ’ ὑμᾶς, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ μηδενὶ μηδέν,
μηδ’ ἂν ἄξιος ᾖ, διδόναι, πάντας ἀπείρξετε τοῦ
6 φιλοτιμεῖσθαι. πρὸς δὲ τούτῳ καὶ δι’ ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι
οἱ μὲν ἀνάξιόν τινα τιμήσαντες εὐηθείας τινὰ δόξαν

to dispense its own favours to whomsoever it wishes. But perhaps he may object here that he framed his law in this way because the people are so easily gulled. But by parity of reasoning why should you not be deprived of all your rights—of the whole constitution in fact? For there is no single right which has not been abused in this way. You have often been deceived into passing decrees; you have sometimes been induced to choose weak allies rather than strong; and generally, I suppose, in many of your public proceedings the same thing is bound to happen. Shall we then make a law that hereafter neither Council nor Assembly shall be permitted to deliberate or to vote on any subject? Not so, in my opinion; for we ought not to be deprived of our rights, where we have been misled; we ought to be instructed how to avoid such mistakes, and we ought to make a law, not to strip us of our own authority, but to punish those who mislead us.

Now if, putting these considerations aside, you would examine the real problem, whether it is more advantageous that you should possess the power of bestowing this privilege, even though you are sometimes duped into bestowing it on a scoundrel, or that by being wholly dispossessed of it you should be unable to grant honours even where they are deserved, you would find the former course the more advantageous. And why? Because the result of rewarding too many citizens is to encourage many to do you good service, but the result of rewarding no one, even if deserving, is to discourage emulation in all. There is also this other reason, that those who reward an undeserving individual may be credited with some

ἔχοιεν ἄν, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἀγαθόν τι ποιοῦντας ἑαυτοὺς
[459] μὴ τοῖς ὁμοίοις ἀμειβόμενοι κακίας. ὅσῳ δὴ
κρεῖττον εὐήθη δοκεῖν ἢ πονηρὸν εἶναι, τοσούτῳ
λῦσαι τὸν νόμον κάλλιον ἢ θέσθαι.

7 Οὐ τοίνυν ἔμοιγ’ οὐδ’ ἐκεῖν’ εὔλογον, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, σκοπουμένῳ φαίνεται, καταμεμφόμενόν
τινας ἐπὶ ταῖς ὑπαρχούσαις δωρειαῖς τοὺς χρησίμους
ὄντας τῶν τιμῶν ἀποστερεῖν. εἰ γὰρ ὑπαρχουσῶν
τούτων φαῦλοι καὶ ἀνάξιοί τινες κατὰ τὸν τούτων
λόγον εἰσί, τί χρὴ προσδοκᾶν ἔσεσθαι τότε, ὅταν
παντελῶς πλέον μέλλῃ μηδὲν εἶναι τοῖς χρηστοῖς
οὖσιν;

8 Ἔτι τοίνυν ὑμᾶς κἀκεῖν’ ἐνθυμεῖσθαι δεῖ, ὅτι ἐκ
τῶν νῦν ὑπαρχόντων νόμων καὶ πάλαι κυρίων, οὓς
οὐδ’ ἂν[1] αὐτὸς οὗτος ἀντείποι μὴ οὐχὶ καλῶς ἔχειν,
ἐνιαυτὸν διαλιπὼν ἕκαστος λῃτουργεῖ, ὥστε τὸν
ἥμισύν ἐστ’ ἀτελὴς τοῦ χρόνου. εἶθ’ ἧς πᾶσι
μέτεστι τὸ ἥμισυ καὶ τοῖς μηδ’ ὁτιοῦν ἀγαθὸν
πεποιηκόσιν ὑμᾶς, ταύτης τοὺς εὖ ποιήσαντας, ἃ
προστεθείκαμεν αὐτοῖς, ταῦτ’ ἀφελώμεθα; μηδαμῶς·
οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως καλὸν οὔθ’ ὑμῖν πρέπον.
9 πῶς γὰρ οὐκ αἰσχρόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ
μὲν τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀψευδεῖν νόμον γεγράφθαι, ἐφ’ οἷς
οὐδέν ἐστι δημοσίᾳ βλάβος εἴ τις ψεύδεται, ἐν δὲ
τῷ κοινῷ μὴ χρῆσθαι τῷ νόμῳ τούτῳ τὴν πόλιν
τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιτάξασαν τοῖς ἰδιώταις, ἀλλὰ τοὺς
ἀγαθόν τι πεποιηκότας ἐξαπατῆσαι, καὶ ταῦτ’ οὐ
10 μικρὰν ζημίαν ὀφλήσειν μέλλουσαν; οὐ γὰρ εἰ μὴ

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[1] So A alone; other MSS. place ἂν after ἀντείποι, and so Dindorf.

degree of artlessness,[a] but those who never requite their benefactors are charged with baseness. Just so far as it is better to be thought artless than unscrupulous, it is more honourable to repeal this law than to enact it.

Nor again, men of Athens, on reflection does it seem to me reasonable, when finding fault with some on the ground of the rewards they already enjoy, to rob useful citizens of their honours. For if, while these immunities exist, some of the recipients are, as our opponents say, worthless and unprofitable, what result are we to expect when there is no chance whatever of reward for the good citizens?

Then again, you must consider this point, that in accordance with the existing laws of long standing—laws of which Leptines himself cannot deny the soundness—there is an interval of a year between each public service, so that half the time a citizen is immune. And then, when all citizens, even those who have not benefited you in the least, enjoy a half share in that privilege, are we to take away from your real benefactors the addition that we made to it? Surely not; for that would be dishonourable and, in your case, especially unbecoming. When we have a law which forbids cheating in the market-place, where a falsehood entails no public injury, is it not disgraceful that in public affairs the same state should not abide by the law which it enjoins on private individuals, but should cheat its benefactors, and that although it is itself likely to incur no small penalty? For we must take account not

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[a] εὐήθεια has many shades of meaning from simplicity to folly. Here the contrast with κακία shows that the milder sense predominates; not so in § 145.

χρήματ᾽ ἀπόλλυτε μόνον σκεπτέον, ἀλλ᾽ εἰ καὶ
δόξαν χρηστήν, περὶ ἧς μᾶλλον σπουδάζετ᾽ ἢ περὶ
χρημάτων, καὶ οὐ μόνον ὑμεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πρό-
[460] γονοι. τεκμήριον δέ· χρήματα μὲν γὰρ πλεῖστά
ποτε κτησάμενοι, πάνθ᾽ ὑπὲρ φιλοτιμίας ἀνήλωσαν,
ὑπὲρ δὲ δόξης οὐδένα πώποτε κίνδυνον ἐξέστησαν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἰδίας οὐσίας προσαναλίσκοντες διε-
τέλουν. νῦν τοίνυν οὗτος ὁ νόμος ταύτην ἀντὶ καλῆς
αἰσχρὰν τῇ πόλει περιάπτει, καὶ οὔτε τῶν προ-
γόνων οὔθ᾽ ὑμῶν ἀξίαν. τρία γὰρ τὰ μέγιστ᾽
ὀνείδη κτᾶται, φθονεροὺς ἀπίστους ἀχαρίστους
εἶναι δοκεῖν.

11 Ὅτι τοίνυν οὐδ᾽ ἐστὶν ὅλως, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
τοῦ ἤθους τοῦ ὑμετέρου κύριον ποιῆσαι τοιοῦτον
νόμον, καὶ τοῦτο πειράσομαι δεῖξαι διὰ βραχέων,
ἕν τι τῶν πρότερον πεπραγμένων τῇ πόλει διεξ-
ελθών. λέγονται χρήμαθ᾽ οἱ τριάκοντα δανείσα-
σθαι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ.
ἐπειδὴ δ᾽ ἡ πόλις εἰς ἓν ἦλθε καὶ τὰ πράγματ᾽
ἐκεῖνα κατέστη, πρέσβεις πέμψαντες οἱ Λακεδαιμό-
12 νιοι τὰ χρήματα ταῦτ᾽ ἀπῄτουν. λόγων δὲ γιγνο-
μένων καὶ τῶν μὲν τοὺς δανεισαμένους ἀποδοῦναι
κελευόντων, τοὺς ἐξ ἄστεως, τῶν δὲ τοῦτο πρῶτον
ὑπάρξαι τῆς ὁμονοίας σημεῖον ἀξιούντων, κοινῇ
διαλῦσαι τὰ χρήματα, φασὶ τὸν δῆμον ἑλέσθαι
συνεισενεγκεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ μετασχεῖν τῆς δαπάνης,

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[a] He refers to the wealth of the State in the time of Pericles (*cf.* the speech *On Organization*, § 26), and to the exertions of the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War.

only of loss of money, but of loss of good fame, which you are more anxious to keep than your money—yes, you and your ancestors also. The proof of this is that when they had accumulated vast sums, they spent all for honour, and when reputation was at stake, they never shrank from danger, but even lavished their private fortunes without stint.[a] As it stands, then, this law reflects on your city not honour but disgrace, unworthy alike of your ancestors and of yourselves ; for Athens is incurring the three worst reproaches—that men should think us envious, faithless, ungrateful.

Next, men of Athens, that it is absolutely contrary to the national character to ratify such a law as this, I will also endeavour to show you by our previous conduct. The Thirty Tyrants are said to have borrowed money from the Lacedaemonians for use against the patriots in the Piraeus.[b] But when unity was restored to the State and those disputes were settled, the Lacedaemonians sent envoys to demand payment. When the question was discussed and some were for ordering the city-party, who were the real borrowers, to repay, while others claimed that the first sign of reconciliation should be the joint settlement of the debt, they say that the people chose to pay their contribution and bear their share of the

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[b] In 403 Thrasybulus and the exiled democrats had occupied the Piraeus and defeated the Thirty, whose government was then changed to that of the Ten. The Spartans were persuaded by Lysander to lend the Ten 100 talents, but shortly afterwards Pausanias, the Spartan king, who was no friend to Lysander, intervened, withdrew the Spartan garrison from the Acropolis, and reconciled the parties. The story of the loan is narrated by Xenophon and Plutarch ; the decree of the Assembly, accepting responsibility for the repayment, is attested also by Isocrates, *Areopag.* 67.

ὥστε μὴ λῦσαι τῶν ὡμολογημένων μηδέν. πῶς
οὖν οὐ δεινόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ τότε μὲν τοῖς
ἠδικηκόσιν ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ ψεύσασθαι τὰ χρήματ'
εἰσφέρειν ἠθελήσατε, νῦν δ' ἐξὸν ὑμῖν ἄνευ δαπάνης
τὰ δίκαια ποιῆσαι τοῖς εὐεργέταις, λύσασι τὸν
νόμον, ψεύδεσθαι μᾶλλον αἱρήσεσθε; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ
ἀξιῶ.

13 Τὸ μὲν τοίνυν τῆς πόλεως ἦθος, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων πολλῶν καὶ ἐφ' ὧν εἶπον ἴδοι
[461] τις ἂν τοιοῦτον, ἀψευδὲς καὶ χρηστόν, οὐ τὸ λυσιτελέστατον
πρὸς ἀργύριον σκοποῦν, ἀλλὰ τί καὶ
καλὸν πρᾶξαι. τὸ δὲ τοῦ θέντος τὸν νόμον, τὰ μὲν
ἄλλ' ἔγωγ' οὐκ οἶδα, οὐδὲ λέγω φλαῦρον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ
σύνοιδα, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ νόμου σκοπῶν εὑρίσκω πολὺ
14 τούτου κεχωρισμένον. φημὶ τοίνυν ἐγὼ κάλλιον
εἶναι τοῦτον ὑμῖν ἀκολουθῆσαι περὶ τοῦ λῦσαι τὸν
νόμον ἢ ὑμᾶς τούτῳ περὶ τοῦ θέσθαι, καὶ λυσιτελέστερον
εἶναι καὶ ὑμῖν καὶ τούτῳ τὴν πόλιν πεπεικέναι
Λεπτίνην ὅμοιον αὐτῇ γενέσθαι δοκεῖν ἢ
αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τούτου πεπεῖσθαι ὁμοίαν εἶναι τούτῳ·
οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰ πάνυ χρηστός ἐσθ', ὡς ἐμοῦ γ' ἕνεκ'
ἔστω, βελτίων ἐστὶ τῆς πόλεως τὸ ἦθος.

15 Νομίζω τοίνυν ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἄμεινον
ἂν περὶ τοῦ παρόντος βουλεύσασθαι, εἰ κἀκεῖνο μάθοιτε,
ὅτι ᾧ μόνῳ μείζους εἰσὶν αἱ παρὰ τῶν δήμων
δωρειαὶ τῶν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων πολιτειῶν [διδομένων],[1]
καὶ τοῦτ' ἀφαιρεῖται νῦν τῷ νόμῳ. τῇ μὲν
γὰρ χρείᾳ τῇ τῶν εὑρισκομένων τὰς δωρειὰς οἱ
τύραννοι καὶ οἱ τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας ἔχοντες μάλιστα
δύνανται τιμᾶν· πλούσιον γὰρ ὃν ἂν βούλωνται

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[1] Omitted by Cobet.

loss, so that there should be no breach of the agreement. On that occasion, men of Athens, to avoid a breach of faith, you consented to pay money to those who had injured you, but now, when you might without any expense requite your benefactors by repealing this law, will it not be strange if you prefer to break your faith ? I for one cannot approve of it.

The instance I have quoted, men of Athens, as well as many others, will show what our national character is—truthful, honest, and, where money is concerned, not asking what pays best, but what is the honourable thing to do. But as to the character of the proposer of this law, I have no further knowledge of him, nor do I say or know anything to his prejudice ; but if I may judge from his law, I detect a character very far removed from what I have described. I say, then, that it would be more honourable for Leptines to be guided by you in repealing the law than for you to be guided by him in ratifying it, and it would be more profitable for you, as well as for him, that Athens should persuade Leptines to assume a likeness to herself than that she should be persuaded by Leptines to be like him ; for even if he is a really good man—and he may be, for aught I know—he cannot excel her in character.

Moreover, gentlemen, I think that you would come to a sounder judgement in this matter if you would observe this further truth, that the present law removes just the one advantage which the rewards of a democracy have over those of other constitutions. For in the material value to the recipients of the rewards bestowed, a tyranny or an oligarchy has an immense advantage in that they can make anyone they choose instantaneously rich ;

παραχρῆμ᾽ ἐποίησαν· τῇ δὲ τιμῇ καὶ τῇ βεβαιότητι τὰς παρὰ τῶν δήμων δωρειὰς εὑρήσετ᾽ οὔσας 16 βελτίους. τό τε γὰρ μὴ μετ᾽ αἰσχύνης ὡς κολακεύοντα λαμβάνειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐν ἰσηγορίᾳ δοκοῦντ᾽ ἄξιόν τινος εἶναι τιμᾶσθαι τῶν καλῶν ἐστι, τό θ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων ἑκόντων θαυμάζεσθαι τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότου λαμβάνειν ὁτιοῦν κρεῖττον εἶναι δοκεῖ. παρὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνοις μείζων ἐστὶν ὁ τοῦ μέλλοντος φόβος τῆς παρούσης χάριτος, παρὰ δ᾽ ὑμῖν ἀδεῶς 17 ἂν λάβῃ τις ἔχειν ὑπῆρχε τὸν γοῦν ἄλλον χρόνον. ὃ [462] τοίνυν τὴν πίστιν ἀφαιρῶν τῶν δωρειῶν νόμος οὗτος, ᾧ μόνῳ κρείττους εἰσὶν αἱ παρ᾽ ὑμῶν δωρειαί, τοῦτ᾽ ἀφαιρεῖται. καίτοι τῶν ἁπασῶν ἧς ἄν τινος πολιτείας τὸ κομίζεσθαι τοὺς εὔνους τοῖς καθεστῶσι χάριν ἐξέλῃς, οὐ μικρὰν φυλακὴν αὐτῶν ταύτην ἀφῃρηκὼς ἔσει.

18 Τάχα τοίνυν ἴσως ἐκεῖνο λέγειν ἂν ἐπιχειρήσειε Λεπτίνης, ἀπάγων ὑμᾶς ἀπὸ τούτων, ὡς αἱ λῃτουργίαι νῦν μὲν εἰς πένητας ἀνθρώπους ἔρχονται, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ νόμου τούτου λῃτουργήσουσιν οἱ πλουσιώτατοι. ἔστι δὲ τοῦθ᾽ οὑτωσὶ μὲν ἀκοῦσαι λόγον τιν᾽ ἔχον· εἰ δέ τις αὔτ᾽ ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάσειε ψεῦδος ἂν φανείη. εἰσὶ γὰρ δήπου παρ᾽ ἡμῖν αἵ τε τῶν μετοίκων λῃτουργίαι καὶ αἱ πολιτικαί, ὧν ἑκατέρων ἐστὶ τοῖς εὑρημένοις ἡ ἀτέλεια, ἣν οὗτος ἀφαιρεῖται. τῶν γὰρ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῆς πόλεως εἰσφορῶν καὶ τριηραρχιῶν ὀρθῶς καὶ δικαίως οὐδείς ἐστ᾽ ἀτελὴς ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν νόμων, οὐδ᾽ οὓς οὗτος ἔγραψε, τοὺς ἀφ᾽ Ἁρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογεί-

but in honour and in security of possession you will find that the gifts of a democracy are to be preferred. For not the receipt of a flatterer's pay with its taint of shame, but to be honoured, where speech is free, as one who is deemed worthy—that is true glory ; and to enjoy the willing admiration of equals seems better than to accept the richest gift from a tyrant's hand. For in those communities the fear of to-morrow outweighs the favour of to-day, but in your city a man could keep what he won without fear of loss, at any rate in time past. So the law which destroys confidence in the rewards takes away the one thing that gives a higher value to rewards which you bestow. And indeed, if from any one of all known forms of government you take away the right of loyal supporters of the constitution to receive favours, you will find that you have deprived those governments of no unimportant safeguard.

Now perhaps Leptines will try to divert your attention from these points and assert that at present the public services fall upon the poor, but that under his law they will be performed by the wealthiest class. At first hearing, the plea seems to have some weight ; but examine it strictly and the fallacy will be exposed. For there are, as you know, among us some services that fall upon resident aliens and others that fall upon citizens, and the exemption, which Leptines would remove, has been granted in the case of both. For from special contributions for war or for national defence and also from the equipment of war-galleys, rightly and justly in accordance with earlier laws, no one is exempt, not even the descendants of Harmodius and Aristogiton, whom

19 τονος. σκεψώμεθα δὴ τίνας ἡμῖν εἰσποιεῖ χορηγοὺς
εἰς ἐκείνας τὰς λῃτουργίας, καὶ πόσους, ἂν μὴ
τούτῳ προσέχωμεν, ἀφήσει. οἱ μὲν τοίνυν πλουσιώτατοι
τριηραρχοῦντες ἀεὶ τῶν χορηγιῶν ἀτελεῖς
ὑπάρχουσιν, οἱ δ' ἐλάττω τῶν ἱκανῶν κεκτημένοι,
τὴν ἀναγκαίαν ἀτέλειαν ἔχοντες, ἔξω τοῦ τέλους
εἰσὶ τούτου· οὐκοῦν τούτων μὲν οὐδετέρων οὐδεὶς
20 διὰ τὸν νόμον ἡμῖν προσέσται χορηγός. ἀλλὰ νὴ
Δί' εἰς τὰς τῶν μετοίκων λῃτουργίας εἰσποιεῖ
πολλούς. ἀλλ' ἐὰν δείξῃ πέντε, ἐγὼ ληρεῖν ὁμολογῶ.
[463] θήσω τοίνυν ἐγὼ μὴ τοιοῦτον εἶναι τοῦτο,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν μετοίκων πλείονας ἢ τοσούτους, ἐὰν ὁ
νόμος τεθῇ, τοὺς λῃτουργοῦντας ἔσεσθαι, καὶ τῶν
πολιτῶν μηδέν' ἐκ τριηραρχίας ὑπάρξειν ἀτελῆ.
σκεψώμεθα δὴ τί τοῦτο τῇ πόλει, ἐὰν ἅπαντες
οὗτοι λῃτουργῶσι· φανήσεται γὰρ οὐδὲ πολλοῦ δεῖ
21 τῆς γενησομένης ἄξιον αἰσχύνης. ὅρα δ' οὑτωσί.
εἰσὶ τῶν ξένων ἀτελεῖς—δέκα θήσω· καὶ μὰ τοὺς
θεούς, ὅπερ εἶπον ἀρτίως, οὐκ οἶμαι πέντ' εἶναι.
καὶ μὴν τῶν γε πολιτῶν οὐκ εἰσὶ πέντ' ἢ ἕξ.
οὐκοῦν ἀμφοτέρων ἑκκαίδεκα. ποιήσωμεν αὐτοὺς
εἴκοσιν, εἰ δὲ βούλεσθε, τριάκοντα. πόσοι δή ποτ'
εἰσὶν οἱ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τὰς ἐγκυκλίους λῃτουργίας
λῃτουργοῦντες, χορηγοὶ καὶ γυμνασίαρχοι καὶ
ἑστιάτορες; ἑξήκοντ' ἴσως ἢ μικρῷ πλείους σύμπαντες
22 οὗτοι. ἵν' οὖν τριάκοντ' ἄνθρωποι πλείους[1]
παρὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον λῃτουργήσωσιν ἡμῖν, τοὺς

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[1] ἢ πλείους Dindorf with all MSS. except A, which omits ἤ.

Leptines has specially named. Let us then see what additional contributors he provides to perform those public services, and how many will be passed over if we turn a deaf ear to him. Now the richest citizens, when equipping a war-galley, are already exempt from the ordinary services, while those whose wealth is insufficient necessarily enjoy exemption and are out of the reach of this tax ; so his law will not provide us with another contributor from either of these classes. He may reply that he recruits many aliens for the services. But if he can point to five such, I will eat my words. I will assume, then, that this is not the case, but that if the law stands, both the number of aliens performing public services will be greater, and of the citizens none will be excused because he is equipping a war-galley. Now let us consider what the State will gain if all these perform the services, for it will prove to be no compensation at all for the disgrace it will entail. Put it thus. Of aliens there are exempt—I will assume ten. And by Heaven, as I said before, I do not believe there are five. Moreover of the citizens there are not half a dozen. Sixteen of both, then. Let us call it twenty, or thirty, if you like. How many, pray, are there that annually perform the regularly recurring services—chorus-masters, presidents of gymnasia, and public hosts ? Perhaps sixty in all, or a trifle more. In order, then, that we may have thirty more men for the public services, spread over the whole

ἅπαντας ἀπίστως πρὸς ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς διαθῶμεν;
ἀλλ’ ἴσμεν ἐκεῖνο δήπου, ὅτι λῃτουργήσουσιν μέν,
ἄνπερ ἡ πόλις ᾖ, πολλοὶ καὶ οὐκ ἐπιλείψουσιν, εὖ
δὲ ποιεῖν ἡμᾶς οὐδεὶς ἐθελήσει, τοὺς πρότερον
23 ποιήσαντας ἐὰν ἠδικημένους ἴδῃ. εἶεν. εἰ δὲ δὴ τὰ
μάλιστ’ ἐπέλειπον οἱ χορηγεῖν οἷοί τε, πρὸς Διὸς
πότερον κρεῖττον ἦν εἰς συντέλειαν ἀγαγεῖν τὰς
χορηγίας ὥσπερ τὰς τριηραρχίας, ἢ τοὺς εὐεργέτας
ἀφελέσθαι τὰ δοθέντα; ἐγὼ μὲν ἐκεῖν’ οἶμαι.
νῦν μέν γε τὸν χρόνον, ὃν ἂν τούτων ἕκαστος
λῃτουργῇ, δίδωσι τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν αὐτοῖς μόνον, μετὰ
ταῦτα δ’ οὐδὲν ἔλαττον ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἀναλώσει·
[464] τότε δ’ ἄν, μικρᾶς συντελείας ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
ἑκάστῳ γιγνομένης, οὐδὲν ἔπασχε δεινὸν οὐδείς,
οὐδ’ εἰ πάνυ μικρὰ κεκτημένος ἦν.

24 Οὕτω τοίνυν τινές, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, σφόδρ’ ἔχουσ’ ἀλογίστως ὥστ’ ἐπιχειροῦσι λέγειν πρὸς μὲν ταῦτ’ οὐδέν, ἄλλα δὲ τοιαδί, ὡς ἄρα δεινόν, εἰ ἐν κοινῷ μὲν μηδ’ ὁτιοῦν ὑπάρχει τῇ πόλει, ἰδίᾳ δέ τινες πλουτήσουσ’ ἀτελείας ἐπειλημμένοι. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτ’ ἀμφότερ’ οὐχὶ δίκαιον λέγειν. εἰ μὲν γάρ τις ἔχει πολλὰ μηδὲν ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶν, οὐχὶ δεῖ δήπου τούτῳ βασκαίνειν· εἰ δ’ ὑφῃρημένον φήσουσιν ἢ

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[a] As there was a list of 300 citizens qualified for the προεισφορά and of 1200 for the trierarchy, we may perhaps assume a list of 600 for the ordinary services. At the rate of 60 a year, it would take 10 years to work through the list, if the contributors were called upon strictly in rotation by the officials of their respective tribes. Therefore the outside estimate of 30 additional contributors, rendered available by abolishing the immunities, would provide only 3 more in each year; *i.e.* 3 citizens out of 60 would be relieved annually. In case of a real shortage of qualified contributors, Demosthenes would prefer the adoption of the

period,[a] is it worth our while to excite the distrust of all? But surely we must know this, that as long as Athens stands, there will be plenty of citizens, without fail, to perform the services, but not a soul will want to do us a good turn, if he sees our previous benefactors wronged. So far, so good. But if there were the most serious shortage of possible contributors, in Heaven's name, which would you prefer—to organize syndicates for those services as for the equipment of war-vessels, or to rob your benefactors of what you have given them? I think I should prefer the syndicates. By the present law, while each of these thirty is performing a public service, Leptines affords a respite for the others, and that is all; after that, each of them will have to spend as much as before; but in the other case, each would pay a small contribution, proportioned to his means, and none would be hardly treated, even if his property were quite small.

Now some of our opponents, men of Athens, are so illogical that they make no attempt to answer these arguments, but take a different line, saying for instance how monstrous it is that on the one hand there is nothing left in the Exchequer, but on the other private individuals will grow wealthy because they have secured an immunity. But it is not fair to combine both these statements. For if a man has great wealth without doing you any wrong, there is surely no need to look on him with envy; but if they are prepared to say that he has stolen it or gained it

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system, first instituted for the trierarchy in 357, whereby the 1200 were divided into 20 companies (*συμμορίαι*) of 60 each, further subdivided into syndicates (*συντέλειαι*), each responsible for one ship. This was the system reformed at a later date by Demosthenes himself.

τιν' ἄλλον οὐχ ὃν προσήκει τρόπον, εἰσὶ νόμοι καθ'
οὓς προσήκει κολάζειν. ὅτε δὲ τοῦτο μὴ ποιοῦσιν,
25 οὐδὲ τὸν λόγον αὐτοῖς τοῦτον λεκτέον. καὶ μὴν
περὶ τοῦ γε μὴ εἶναι χρήματα κοινὰ τῇ πόλει, ἐκεῖν'
ὑμᾶς δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἔσεσθ' εὐπορώτεροι,
τὰς ἀτελείας ἐὰν ἀφέλησθε· οὐ γὰρ κοινωνεῖ ταῖς
δημοσίαις προσόδοις καὶ περιουσίαις ταῦτα τἀναλώματ'
οὐδέν. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων νυνὶ τῇ πόλει,
δυοῖν ἀγαθοῖν ὄντοιν, πλούτου καὶ τοῦ πρὸς ἅπαντας
πιστεύεσθαι, ἐστὶ τὸ τῆς πίστεως ὑπάρχον. εἰ
δέ τις οἴεται δεῖν, ὅτι χρήματ' οὐκ ἔχομεν, μηδὲ
δόξαν ἔχειν ἡμᾶς χρηστήν, οὐ καλῶς φρονεῖ. ἐγὼ
μὲν γὰρ εὔχομαι τοῖς θεοῖς μάλιστα μὲν ἡμῖν καὶ
χρήματα πολλὰ γενέσθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, τό γε πιστοῖς
εἶναι καὶ βεβαίοις δοκεῖν διαμεῖναι.

26 Φέρε δὴ καὶ τὰς εὐπορίας, ἃς ἀναπαυομένους
τινὰς εὐπορήσειν οὗτοι φήσουσιν, εἰς δέον ὑμῖν
γιγνομένας δείξω. ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ', ὅτι τῶν
[465] τριηραρχιῶν οὐδείς ἐστ' ἀτελὴς οὐδὲ τῶν εἰσφορῶν
τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον. οὐκοῦν ὁ πολλὰ κεκτημένος
οὗτος, ὅστις ἂν ᾖ, πόλλ' εἰς ταῦτα συντελεῖ· πᾶσ'
ἀνάγκη. καὶ μὴν ὅτι δεῖ τὴν εὐπορίαν εἰς ταῦθ'
ὑπάρχειν πλείστην τῇ πόλει, πάντες ἂν ὁμολογήσειαν·
παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν χορηγιῶν δαπάνας
ἡμέρας μέρος ἡ χάρις τοῖς θεωμένοις ἡμῶν, παρὰ
τὰς δὲ τῶν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον παρασκευῶν ἀφθονίας
27 πάντα τὸν χρόνον ἡ σωτηρία πάσῃ τῇ πόλει. ὥσθ'
ὅσον ἐνθάδ' ἀφίετε, ἐκεῖ κομίζεσθε, καὶ δίδοτ' ἐν

in some other disreputable way, there are laws by which he can be suitably punished. But as long as they do not prosecute him, neither have they any right to make this allegation. Further, with regard to the alleged poverty of the Exchequer, you must reflect that you will not be a whit the better off if you abolish these exemptions, for the expenditure on these services has nothing to do with the revenues or the surplus of the State. And apart from all this, of two possible advantages—wealth and credit with the rest of the world—our State to-day enjoys the latter. But if anyone imagines that because we have no money we need not also keep our honour bright, his judgement is at fault. For myself indeed, I pray Heaven that, if so it may be, our wealth also may increase, but if not, then at least that our reputation for good faith and constancy may remain sure.

Now take the large fortunes which, according to our opponents, some citizens will amass if relieved of the services, but which I will show to be available for your needs. For of course you are aware that no one is exempt from the equipment of war-galleys or from the special contributions for war. So this person, whoever he may be, who owns much, contributes much to those objects; there is no getting out of it. And again, all would agree that the resources which the State can rely on for these objects should be as great as possible. For money spent by the chorus-masters affords those of us who are in the theatre gratification for a fraction of a day; but money lavished on equipment for war gives security to the whole city for all time. Therefore whatever you remit with one hand, you receive with

τιμῆς μέρει ταῦτα, ἃ καὶ μὴ λαβοῦσιν ἔστιν ἔχειν τοῖς τοῦ τριηραρχεῖν ἄξια κεκτημένοις. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτι τῶν τριηραρχιῶν οὐδείς ἐστ᾽ ἀτελής, οἶμαι μὲν ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι πάντας, ὅμως δὲ καὶ τὸν νόμον ὑμῖν αὐτὸν ἀναγνώσεται. λαβὲ τὸν περὶ τῶν τριηραρχιῶν νόμον καὶ λέγε τοῦτ᾽ αὐτό.

ΝΟΜΟΣ

[Ἀτελῆ δὲ μηδένα εἶναι τριηραρχίας πλὴν τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων.]

28 Ὁρᾶθ᾽ ὡς σαφῶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μηδέν᾽ εἶναι τριηραρχίας ἀτελῆ διείρηκεν ὁ νόμος πλὴν τῶν ἐννέ᾽ ἀρχόντων. οὐκοῦν οἱ μὲν ἐλάττω κεκτημένοι τοῦ τριηραρχίας ἄξι᾽ ἔχειν ἐν ταῖς εἰσφοραῖς συντελοῦσιν εἰς τὸν πόλεμον, οἱ δ᾽ ἐφικνούμενοι τοῦ τριηραρχεῖν εἰς ἀμφότερ᾽ ὑμῖν ὑπάρξουσι χρήσιμοι, καὶ τριηραρχεῖν καὶ εἰσφέρειν. τίν᾽ οὖν ῥᾳστώνην τοῖς πολλοῖς ὁ σός, ὦ Λεπτίνη, ποιεῖ νόμος, εἰ μιᾶς ἢ δυοῖν φυλαῖν ἕνα χορηγὸν καθίστησιν, ὃς ἀνθ᾽ ἑνὸς ἄλλου τοῦθ᾽ ἅπαξ ποιήσας ἀπηλλάξεται[1]; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὁρῶ. τῆς δέ γ᾽ αἰσχύνης ὅλην [466] ἀναπίμπλησι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῆς ἀπιστίας. οὔκουν ὅτε πολλῷ μείζονα βλάψει τῶν ὠφελιῶν ὧν ἔχει, προσήκει λελύσθαι παρὰ τοῖσδ᾽ αὐτόν; ἔγωγ᾽ ἂν φαίην.

29 Ἔτι δ᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, διὰ τὸ γεγράφθαι ἐν τῷ νόμῳ διαρρήδην αὐτοῦ "μηδένα μήτε τῶν

[1] So Cobet; ἀπαλλάξεται Dindorf with all MSS.

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[a] According to Demosthenes' lowest estimate, there would be 5 or 6 citizens and 10 aliens exempt: total 16. This number he is willing to double, making the full total 30 and

the other; and you grant as an honour exemptions which even those who receive them cannot enjoy, if they have wealth sufficient for the equipment of a war-vessel. But although I suppose you all know that no one is exempt from the latter service, the clerk shall read to you the actual statute. Take the law about the trierarchy and read this clause only.

[*The clause is read*]

[And none shall be exempt from the trierarchy except the nine archons.]

You see, Athenians, how explicitly the law lays down that none shall be exempt from the equipment of a war-galley except the nine archons. So those whose wealth falls short of the qualification for that service will contribute by groups to the special war-tax, but those who reach that qualification will be available both for the war-galleys and for the war-tax. Then what relief does your law, Leptines, afford to the main body of citizens, if from one or two tribes it provides a single contributor, who, having relieved one other citizen on one occasion, will thereafter be exempt?[a] I can see no relief. On the other hand it taints the honour and credit of the whole State. Therefore, when the damage it will inflict is greater than the benefit it confers, ought it not to be repealed by this court? Such would be my verdict.

My next point is this, gentlemen of the jury. The law of Leptines explicitly states that "none, whether

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the total of citizens presumably 10 or 12. If spread over the 10 tribes, the lower estimate would give, roughly, one contributor for 2 tribes; and the higher, one for each tribe.

πολιτῶν μήτε τῶν ἰσοτελῶν μήτε τῶν ξένων εἶναι
ἀτελῆ,” μὴ διῃρῆσθαι δ’ ὅτου ἀτελῆ, χορηγίας ἢ
τινος ἄλλου τέλους, ἀλλ’ ἁπλῶς “ ἀτελῆ μηδένα
πλὴν τῶν ἀφ’ Ἁρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος,”
καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ “ μηδένα ” πάντας περιλαμβάνειν
τοὺς ἄλλους, ἐν δὲ τῷ “ τῶν ξένων ” μὴ διορίζειν
τῶν οἰκούντων Ἀθήνησιν, ἀφαιρεῖται καὶ Λεύκωνα
30 τὸν ἄρχοντα Βοσπόρου καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτοῦ τὴν
δωρειὰν ἣν ὑμεῖς ἔδοτ’ αὐτοῖς. ἔστι γὰρ γένει μὲν
δήπου ὁ Λεύκων ξένος, τῇ δὲ παρ’ ὑμῶν ποιήσει
πολίτης· κατ’ οὐδέτερον δ’ αὐτῷ τὴν ἀτέλειαν ἔστιν
ἔχειν ἐκ τούτου τοῦ νόμου. καίτοι τῶν μὲν ἄλλων
εὐεργετῶν χρόνον τιν’ ἕκαστος ἡμῖν χρήσιμον αὑτὸν
παρέσχεν, οὗτος δ’, ἂν σκοπῆτε, φανήσεται συνεχῶς
ἡμᾶς εὖ ποιῶν, καὶ ταῦθ’ ὧν μάλισθ’ ἡμῶν ἡ
31 πόλις δεῖται. ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ’, ὅτι πλείστῳ
τῶν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἡμεῖς ἐπεισάκτῳ σίτῳ
χρώμεθα. πρὸς τοίνυν ἅπαντα τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων
ἐμπορίων ἀφικνούμενον ὁ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου σῖτος
εἰσπλέων ἐστίν. εἰκότως· οὐ γὰρ μόνον διὰ τὸ τὸν
τόπον τοῦτον σῖτον ἔχειν πλεῖστον τοῦτο γίγνεται.
ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ κύριον ὄντα τὸν Λεύκων’ αὐτοῦ τοῖς
ἄγουσιν Ἀθήναζε ἀτέλειαν δεδωκέναι, καὶ κηρύττειν
πρώτους γεμίζεσθαι τοὺς ὡς ὑμᾶς πλέοντας.
32 ἔχων γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἑαυτῷ καὶ τοῖς παισὶ τὴν ἀτέλειαν
[467] ἅπασι δέδωκεν ὑμῖν. τοῦτο δ’ ἡλίκον ἐστὶ θεωρήσατε.
ἐκεῖνος πράττεται τοὺς παρ’ αὐτοῦ σῖτον

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[a] Leucon, son and successor of Satyrus, reigned over the Cimmerian Bosporus (Crimea) from 393 to 353. In return for his services here described, the Athenians had made him a citizen, voted him a golden crown, and allowed him exemption not only from the public services but also from the payment of customs at the Piraeus. His sons were

citizen or enfranchised alien or foreigner, shall be exempt," and does not specify from what, whether from the public service or from any other charge, but simply that "none shall be exempt except the descendants of Harmodius and Aristogiton." The word "none" must be taken to include all classes, and "foreigner" is not further defined as resident at Athens. It follows that Leptines deprives Leucon,[a] the ruler of the Bosporus, and his children of the reward which you bestowed on them. For, of course, Leucon is a foreigner by birth, though by adoption an Athenian citizen, but on neither ground can he claim exemption, if this law stands. And yet, while of our other benefactors each has made himself useful to us on one occasion, Leucon will be found on reflection to be a perpetual benefactor, and that in a matter especially vital to our city. For you are aware that we consume more imported corn than any other nation. Now the corn that comes to our ports from the Black Sea is equal to the whole amount from all other places of export. And this is not surprising; for not only is that district most productive of corn, but also Leucon, who controls the trade, has granted exemption from dues to merchants conveying corn to Athens, and he proclaims that those bound for your port shall have priority of lading. For Leucon, enjoying exemption for himself and his children, has granted exemption to every one of you. See what this amounts to. He exacts a toll of one-thirtieth from exporters of corn from his country.

Spartocus and Paerisades, who succeeded him as joint rulers, and Apollonius. An inscription in their honour was voted in the years 347–346. It was discovered at Athens and published in 1877. See Hicks, *Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, no. 111.

ἐξάγοντας τριακοστήν. αἱ τοίνυν παρ’ ἐκείνου
δεῦρ’ ἀφικνούμεναι σίτου μυριάδες περὶ τετταρά-
κοντ’ εἰσί· καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐκ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς σιτοφύλαξιν
ἀπογραφῆς ἄν τις ἴδοι. οὐκοῦν παρὰ μὲν τὰς τριά-
κοντα μυριάδας μυρίους δίδωσι μεδίμνους ἡμῖν,
33 παρὰ δὲ τὰς δέκα ὡσπερανεὶ τρισχιλίους. τοσού-
του τοίνυν δεῖ ταύτην ἀποστερῆσαι τὴν δωρειὰν τὴν
πόλιν, ὥστε προσκατασκευάσας ἐμπόριον Θευ-
δοσίαν, ὅ φασιν οἱ πλέοντες οὐδ’ ὁτιοῦν χεῖρον εἶναι
τοῦ Βοσπόρου, κἀνταῦθ’ ἔδωκε τὴν ἀτέλειαν ἡμῖν.
καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα σιωπῶ, πόλλ’ ἂν ἔχων εἰπεῖν, ὅσ’
εὐεργέτηκεν ὑμᾶς οὗτος ἁνὴρ καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ
πρόγονοι· ἀλλὰ πρωπέρυσι σιτοδείας παρὰ πᾶσιν
ἀνθρώποις γενομένης οὐ μόνον ὑμῖν ἱκανὸν σῖτον
ἀπέστειλεν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον ὥστε πεντεκαίδεκ’
ἀργυρίου τάλανθ’, ἃ Καλλισθένης διῴκησε, προσ-
34 περιγενέσθαι. τί οὖν οἴεσθ’, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
τοῦτον τὸν τοιοῦτον περὶ ὑμᾶς γεγενημένον, ἐὰν
ἀκούσῃ νόμῳ τὴν ἀτέλειαν ὑμᾶς ἀφῃρημένους
αὐτὸν καὶ μηδ’ ἂν μεταδόξῃ ποτὲ ψηφισαμένους
ἐξεῖναι δοῦναι; ἆρ’ ἀγνοεῖθ’ ὅτι ὁ αὐτὸς νόμος
οὗτος ἐκεῖνόν τ’ ἀφαιρήσεται τὴν ἀτέλειαν, κύριος
ἂν γένηται, καὶ ὑμῶν τοὺς παρ’ ἐκείνου σιτηγοῦν-
35 τας; οὐ γὰρ δήπου τοῦτό γ’ ὑπείληφεν οὐδείς, ὡς
ἐκεῖνος ὑπομενεῖ ἑαυτῷ μὲν ἀκύρους εἶναι τὰς παρ’

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[a] To help his audience in this piece of mental arithmetic, Demosthenes divides his 400,000 into two parts, of 300,000 (of which the thirtieth is easily calculated) and of 100,000, the thirtieth of which is 3333⅓ or roughly 3000. It should be remembered that the medimnus is more strictly about a bushel and a half.

[b] Here not the district, but the capital, Panticapaeum,

Now from the Bosporus there come to Athens about four hundred thousand bushels; the figures can be checked by the books of the grain-commissioners. So for each three hundred thousand bushels he makes us a present of ten thousand bushels, and for the remaining hundred thousand a present of roughly three thousand.[a] Now, so little danger is there of his depriving our state of this gift, that he has opened another depot at Theudosia, which our merchants say is not at all inferior to the Bosporus,[b] and there, too, he has granted us the same exemption. I omit much that might be said about the other benefits conferred upon you by this prince and also by his ancestors, but the year before last, when there was a universal shortage of grain, he not only sent enough for your needs, but such a quantity in addition that Callisthenes had a surplus of fifteen talents of silver to dispose of.[c] What, then, men of Athens, do you expect of this man, who has proved himself such a friend to you, if he learns that you have deprived him by law of his immunity, and have made it illegal to bestow it hereafter, even if you change your minds? Are you not aware that this same law, if ratified, will take away the immunity, not only from Leucon, but from those of you who import corn from his country?[d] For surely no one dreams that he will tolerate the cancelling of your

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the modern Kertch. Sixty miles west lies Theudosia (Kaffa), an ancient colony of Miletus.

[c] Callisthenes, as σιτώνης or Food Controller (an office held by Demosthenes himself, *De Cor.* 248), received so much corn from Leucon that, after supplying the needs of Athens, he was able to make 15 talents for the treasury by selling the surplus elsewhere.

[d] Because Leucon will, of course, retaliate by imposing the dues again.

ὑμῶν δωρειάς, ὑμῖν δὲ μένειν τὰς παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ.
οὐκοῦν πρὸς πολλοῖς οἷς ὁ νόμος βλάψειν ὑμᾶς φαί-
νεται, καὶ προσαφαιρεῖταί τι τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἤδη.
[468] εἶθ᾽ ὑμεῖς ἔτι σκοπεῖτ᾽ εἰ χρὴ τοῦτον ἐξαλεῖψαι, καὶ
οὐ πάλαι βεβούλευσθε; ἀνάγνωθι λαβὼν αὐτοῖς τὰ
ψηφίσματα τὰ περὶ τοῦ Λεύκωνος.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ

36 Ὡς μὲν εἰκότως καὶ δικαίως τετύχηκε τῆς
ἀτελείας παρ᾽ ὑμῶν ὁ Λεύκων, ἀκηκόατ᾽ ἐκ τῶν
ψηφισμάτων, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί. τούτων δ᾽ ἁπάν-
των στήλας ἀντιγράφους ἐστήσαθ᾽ ὑμεῖς κἀκεῖνος,
τὴν μὲν ἐν Βοσπόρῳ, τὴν δ᾽ ἐν Πειραιεῖ, τὴν δ᾽ ἐφ᾽
Ἱερῷ. σκοπεῖτε δὴ πρὸς ὅσης κακίας ὑπερβολὴν
ὑμᾶς ὁ νόμος προάγει, ὃς ἀπιστότερον τὸν δῆμον
37 καθίστησ᾽ ἑνὸς ἀνδρός. μὴ γὰρ οἴεσθ᾽ ὑμῖν ἄλλο τι
τὰς στήλας ἑστάναι ταύτας ἢ τούτων πάντων ὧν
ἔχετ᾽ ἢ δεδώκατε συνθήκας, αἷς ὁ μὲν Λεύκων
ἐμμένων φανεῖται καὶ ποιεῖν ἀεί τι προθυμούμενος
ὑμᾶς εὖ, ὑμεῖς δ᾽ ἑστώσας ἀκύρους πεποιηκότες, ὃ
πολὺ δεινότερον τοῦ καθελεῖν· αὗται γὰρ οὑτωσὶ
τοῖς βουλομένοις κατὰ τῆς πόλεως βλασφημεῖν
38 τεκμήριον ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγουσιν ἑστήξουσιν. φέρ᾽,
ἐὰν δὲ δὴ πέμψας ὡς ἡμᾶς ὁ Λεύκων ἐρωτᾷ, τί
ἔχοντες ἐγκαλέσαι καὶ τί μεμφόμενοι τὴν ἀτέλειαν
αὐτὸν ἀφῄρησθε, τί πρὸς θεῶν ἐροῦμεν ἢ τί γράψει
ποθ᾽ ὁ τὸ ψήφισμ᾽ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν γράφων; ὅτι νὴ Δί᾽
39 ἦσαν τῶν εὑρημένων τινὲς ἀνάξιοι. ἐὰν οὖν εἴπῃ
πρὸς ταῦτ᾽ ἐκεῖνος "καὶ γὰρ Ἀθηναίων τινές

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[a] On the Asiatic side of the entrance to the Thracian Bosporus from the Euxine.

[b] Both nouns being feminine plural, Demosthenes is able to fuse completely the literal and metaphorical meanings.

gifts to him, and let his own gifts to you stand good. So to the many disadvantages that this law will obviously entail upon you, may be added the immediate loss of part of your resources. In view of this, are you still considering whether you ought to erase it from the statute-book? Have you not made up your minds long ago? Take and read them the decrees touching Leucon.

[*The decrees are read*]

How reasonable and just was the immunity which Leucon has obtained from you, these decrees have informed you, gentlemen of the jury. Copies of all these decrees on stone were set up by you and by Leucon in the Bosporus, in the Piraeus, and at Hierum.[a] Just reflect to what depths of meanness you are dragged by this law, which makes the nation less trustworthy than an individual. For you must not imagine that the pillars standing there are anything else than the covenants of all that you have received or granted; and it will be made clear that Leucon observes them and is always eager to benefit you, but that you have repudiated them while they still stand; and that is a far worse offence than to pull them down[b]; for when men wish to traduce our city, there will stand the pillars to witness to the truth of their words. Now mark! Suppose Leucon sends and asks us on what charge or for what fault we have taken away his immunity; what, in the name of wonder, shall we say, or in what terms will the proposer of your reply draft it? He will say, I suppose, that some of those who obtained immunity did not deserve it! If, then, Leucon replies to this, "Yes; I dare say some of the Athenians are

εἰσιν ἴσως φαῦλοι, καὶ οὐ διὰ ταῦτ᾽ ἐγὼ τοὺς χρηστοὺς ἀφειλόμην, ἀλλὰ τὸν δῆμον νομίζων χρηστὸν πάντας ἔχειν ἐῶ,” οὐ δικαιότερ᾽ ἡμῶν [469] ἐρεῖ; ἐμοὶ γοῦν δοκεῖ. παρὰ πᾶσι γὰρ ἀνθρώποις μᾶλλόν ἐστιν ἔθος διὰ τοὺς εὐεργέτας καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς εὖ ποιεῖν τῶν μὴ χρηστῶν ἢ διὰ τοὺς φαύλους τοὺς ὁμολογουμένως ἀξίους χάριτος τὰ δοθέντ᾽ 40 ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. καὶ μὴν οὐδ᾽ ὅπως οὐκ ἀντιδώσει τῷ Λεύκωνί τις, ἂν βούληται, δύναμαι σκοπούμενος εὑρεῖν. χρήματα μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ἀεὶ παρ᾽ ὑμῖν αὐτοῦ, κατὰ δὲ τὸν νόμον τοῦτον, ἐάν τις ἐπ᾽ αὔτ᾽ ἔλθῃ, ἢ στερήσεται τούτων ἢ λῃτουργεῖν ἀναγκασθήσεται. ἔστι δ᾽ οὐ τὸ τῆς δαπάνης μέγιστον ἐκείνῳ, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι τὴν δωρειὰν ὑμᾶς αὐτὸν ἀφῃρῆσθαι νομιεῖ.

41 Οὐ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μὴ Λεύκων ἀδικηθῇ μόνον δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ᾧ φιλοτιμίας ἕνεχ᾽ ἡ περὶ τῆς δωρειᾶς σπουδὴ γένοιτ᾽ ἄν, οὐ χρείας, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος εὖ μὲν ἐποίησεν ὑμᾶς εὖ πράττων, εἰς δέον δὲ νῦν γέγον᾽ αὐτῷ τὸ παρ᾽ ὑμῶν λαβεῖν τότε τὴν ἀτέλειαν. τίς οὖν οὗτός ἐστιν; Ἐπικέρδης ὁ Κυρηναῖος, ὅς, εἴπερ τις ἄλλος τῶν εἰληφότων, δικαίως ἠξιώθη ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς, οὐ τῷ μεγάλ᾽ ἢ θαυμάσι᾽ ἡλίκα δοῦναι, ἀλλὰ τῷ παρὰ τοιοῦτον καιρὸν ἐν ᾧ καὶ τῶν εὖ πεπονθότων ἔργον ἦν

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[a] By the legal process known as ἀντίδοσις, a citizen called upon to perform a public service, if he thought that a richer man had been unfairly passed over, could challenge him either to perform the service in his stead or to exchange properties. Demosthenes is here putting an extreme case, for it is difficult to believe that an honorary citizen like Leu-

scoundrels, but I have not made that a reason for robbing the good citizens ; on the contrary, because I think the Athenians, as a nation, are good men, I allow them all a share " ; will there not be more fairness in his words than in ours ? To me, at least, it seems so. For it is the custom of all nations, for the sake of their benefactors, rather to include some bad men in their rewards, than to make the worthless men an excuse for withholding their rewards from those who are acknowledged to merit them. Nay more, upon consideration, I cannot even see why anyone should not, if he wishes, challenge Leucon to an exchange of property.[a] For there is always property of his at Athens, and by this law, if anyone tries to lay hands on it, Leucon will either forfeit it or be compelled to perform public service. And it is not the question of expense that will trouble him most, but the reflection that you have robbed him of his reward.

Again then, Athenians, it is not merely necessary to consider how Leucon may be spared injustice—a man whose anxiety about his privilege would arise from a sense of honour rather than from his needs—but we must also consider whether another man, who did you service when he was prosperous, may not find that the exemption he received from you then is a matter of necessity to him now. To whom, then, do I refer ? To Epicerdes of Cyrene, than whom no recipient of this honour ever deserved it better, not because his gifts were great or extraordinary, but because they came at a time when we were hard put to it to find, even among those whom we had bene-

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con, resident elsewhere, could be called upon for a service, even though he had wealth deposited at Athens.

εὑρεῖν ἐθέλοντά τινα ὧν εὐεργέτητο μεμνῆσθαι.
42 οὗτος γὰρ ἀνήρ, ὡς τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτο δηλοῖ τὸ τότ᾿
αὐτῷ γραφέν, τοῖς ἁλοῦσι τότ᾿ ἐν Σικελίᾳ τῶν
πολιτῶν, ἐν τοιαύτῃ συμφορᾷ καθεστηκόσιν, ἔδωκε
μνᾶς ἑκατὸν καὶ τοῦ μὴ τῷ λιμῷ πάντας αὐτοὺς
ἀποθανεῖν αἰτιώτατος ἐγένετο. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
δοθείσης ἀτελείας αὐτῷ διὰ ταῦτα παρ᾿ ὑμῶν,
ὁρῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ πρὸ τῶν τριάκοντα μικρὸν
43 σπανίζοντα τὸν δῆμον χρημάτων, τάλαντον ἔδω-
[470] κεν αὐτὸς ἐπαγγειλάμενος. σκέψασθε δὴ πρὸς
Διὸς καὶ θεῶν, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πῶς ἂν ἄνθρωπος
μᾶλλον φανερὸς γένοιτ᾿ εὔνους ὢν ὑμῖν, ἢ πῶς
ἧττον ἄξιος ἀδικηθῆναι, ἢ πρῶτον μὲν εἰ παρὼν τῷ
τῆς πόλεως ἀτυχήματι, μᾶλλον ἕλοιτο τοὺς ἀτυχοῦν-
τας καὶ τὴν παρὰ τούτων χάριν, ἥτις ποτ᾿ ἔμελλεν
ἔσεσθαι, ἢ τοὺς ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ κεκρατηκότας
καὶ παρ᾿ οἷς ἦν, δεύτερον δ᾿, ἑτέραν χρείαν ἰδών, εἰ
φαίνοιτο διδοὺς καὶ μὴ πῶς ἰδίᾳ τὰ ὄντα σώσει
προνοούμενος, ἀλλ᾿ ὅπως τῶν ὑμετέρων μηδὲν
44 ἐνδεῶς ἕξει τὸ καθ᾿ αὑτόν. τοῦτον μέντοι τὸν τῷ
μὲν ἔργῳ παρὰ τοὺς μεγίστους καιροὺς οὑτωσὶ
κοινὰ τὰ ὄντα τῷ δήμῳ κεκτημένον, τῷ δὲ ῥήματι
καὶ τῇ τιμῇ τὴν ἀτέλειαν ἔχοντα, οὐχὶ τὴν ἀτέλειαν
ἀφαιρήσεσθε (οὐδὲ γὰρ οὔσῃ χρώμενος φαίνεται),
ἀλλὰ τὸ πιστεύειν ὑμῖν, οὗ τί γένοιτ᾿ ἂν αἴσχιον;
τὸ τοίνυν ψήφισμ᾿ ὑμῖν αὔτ᾿ ἀναγνώσεται τὸ τότε
ψηφισθὲν τῷ ἀνδρί. καὶ θεωρεῖτ᾿, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅσα ψηφίσματ᾿ ἄκυρα ποιεῖ ὁ νόμος, καὶ

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[a] For the horrors endured by the 7000 Athenian captives, scorched by day and frozen by night in the deep stone-quarries of Syracuse, see Thucydides, vii. 87.

fited, anyone willing to remember our benefactions. For Epicerdes, as this decree then passed in his honour declares, gave a hundred *minae* to our fellow-countrymen at that time prisoners in Sicily under such distressing circumstances,[a] and thus he became the chief instrument in saving them from all perishing of hunger. Afterwards, when you had rewarded him with immunity, seeing that in the war [b] just before the rule of the Thirty the people were straitened for want of funds, he gave them a talent as a freewill offering. In the name of Zeus and all the gods, men of Athens, ask yourselves how a man could more clearly show his goodwill towards you, or how he could be less deserving of an ill return than if, being first an eye-witness of that national disaster, he should prefer the beaten side and such favours as they might some day bestow, rather than the victors among whom he found himself in their hour of triumph; or if next, seeing a further need arise, he should be found once more a donor, anxious not to hoard his own private means, but to ensure that no cause of yours should fall short of success, so far as in him lay. Yet this man, who in actual deed on those momentous occasions shared his wealth with the people, but enjoyed only a nominal and honorary immunity, will be robbed by you, not of his immunity, for it is evident that he did not use it when he had it, but of his trust in you; and what could be more discreditable than that? Now you shall hear the very words of the decree then passed in his honour. And observe, men of Athens, how many decrees this law annuls, how many

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[b] The third period of the Peloponnesian War, called the "Decelean" War (413–404) from the Spartan fortified post at Decelea in Attica.

ὅσους ἀνθρώπους ἀδικεῖ, καὶ ἐν ὁποίοις καιροῖς χρησίμους ὑμῖν παρασχόντας ἑαυτούς· εὑρήσετε γὰρ τούτους, οὓς ἥκιστα προσῆκεν, ἀδικοῦντα. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ

45 Τὰς μὲν εὐεργεσίας, ἀνθ' ὧν εὕρετο τὴν ἀτέλειαν ὁ Ἐπικέρδης, ἀκηκόατ' ἐκ τῶν ψηφισμάτων, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί. σκοπεῖτε δὲ μὴ τοῦτ', εἰ μνᾶς ἑκατὸν καὶ πάλιν τάλαντον ἔδωκεν (οὐδὲ γὰρ τοὺς λαβόντας ἔγωγ' ἡγοῦμαι τὸ πλῆθος τῶν χρημάτων [471] θαυμάσαι), ἀλλὰ τὴν προθυμίαν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸν ἐπαγγειλάμενον ποιεῖν καὶ τοὺς καιροὺς ἐν οἷς. πάντες 46 μὲν γάρ εἰσιν ἴσως ἄξιοι χάριν ἀνταπολαμβάνειν οἱ προϋπάρχοντες τῷ ποιεῖν εὖ, μάλιστα δ' οἱ παρὰ τὰς χρείας, ὧν εἷς οὗτος ἁνὴρ ὢν φαίνεται. εἶτ' οὐκ αἰσχυνόμεθ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς τοῦ τοιούτου παῖδας εἰ μηδεμίαν ποιησάμενοι τούτων μηδενὸς μνείαν ἀφῃρημένοι φανούμεθα τὴν δωρειάν, 47 μηδὲν ἔχοντες ἐγκαλέσαι; οὐ γὰρ εἰ ἕτεροι μὲν ἦσαν οἱ τότε σωθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ δόντες τὴν ἀτέλειαν, ἕτεροι δ' ὑμεῖς οἱ νῦν ἀφαιρούμενοι, ἀπολύει τοῦτο τὴν αἰσχύνην, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ δεινόν ἐστιν. εἰ γὰρ οἱ μὲν εἰδότες καὶ παθόντες ἄξια τούτων ἐνόμιζον εὖ πάσχειν, ἡμεῖς δ' οἱ λόγῳ ταῦτ' ἀκούοντες ὡς ἀναξίων ἀφ-48 αιρησόμεθα, πῶς οὐχ ὑπέρδεινον ποιήσομεν; ὁ αὐτὸς τοίνυν ἐστί μοι λόγος οὗτος καὶ περὶ τῶν τοὺς τετρακοσίους καταλυσάντων, καὶ περὶ τῶν ὅτ' ἔφευγεν ὁ δῆμος χρησίμους αὐτοὺς παρασχόντων·

individuals it wrongs, and what occasions they chose for making themselves serviceable to you ; for you will find that the law wrongs just the men who least deserve it. Read.

[*The decree is read*]

Gentlemen of the jury, you have heard from the decrees what were the services for which Epicerdes obtained his immunity. Do not stop to ask whether he gave you a hundred *minae* and a talent as well—for I expect that even those who received it were not struck by the amount of his gift—but think of his zeal, his spontaneous act, and the occasion that he chose. For recompense is due to all alike who are forward to do us service, but in a special degree to those who are friends in time of need ; and such an one clearly was Epicerdes. Are we not then ashamed, men of Athens, if it appears that we have retained no memory of these services and have robbed of their reward the sons of such a benefactor, though we can charge them with no fault ? For if those who were then saved by him and who bestowed on him this immunity were a different generation from you who now propose to take it away, yet that does not remove the infamy of the act ; nay, it is just there that its atrocity lies. For if those who knew and experienced his generosity felt that it merited this return, while we, who have only heard the story told, shall revoke the gift as undeserved, shall we not be guilty of more than ordinary atrocity ? Now my plea is the same in this case as for those who overthrew the Four Hundred, and for those who proved helpful to the democrats in exile ; for I think they would all be

πάντας γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἡγοῦμαι δεινότατ' ἂν παθεῖν, εἴ
τι τῶν τότε ψηφισθέντων αὐτοῖς λυθείη.

49 Εἰ τοίνυν τις ὑμῶν ἐκεῖνο πέπεισται, πολὺ τοῦ
δεηθῆναί τινος τοιούτου νῦν ἀπέχειν τὴν πόλιν,
ταῦτα μὲν εὐχέσθω τοῖς θεοῖς, κἀγὼ συνεύχομαι,
λογιζέσθω δὲ πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι περὶ νόμου μέλλει
φέρειν τὴν ψῆφον, ᾧ μὴ λυθέντι δεήσει χρῆσθαι,
δεύτερον δ' ὅτι βλάπτουσιν οἱ πονηροὶ νόμοι καὶ
τὰς ἀσφαλῶς οἰκεῖν οἰομένας πόλεις. οὐ γὰρ ἂν
μετέπιπτε τὰ πράγματ' ἐπ' ἀμφότερ', εἰ μὴ τοὺς
μὲν ἐν κινδύνῳ καθεστηκότας καὶ πράξεις χρησταὶ
καὶ νόμοι καὶ ἄνδρες χρηστοὶ καὶ πάντ' ἐξητασμέν'
ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον προῆγε, τοὺς δ' ἐν ἁπάσῃ καθεστάναι
[472] δοκοῦντας εὐδαιμονίᾳ πάντα ταῦτ' ἀμελούμεν'
50 ὑπέρρει κατὰ μικρόν. τῶν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων οἱ
πλεῖστοι κτῶνται μὲν τἀγαθὰ τῷ καλῶς βουλεύεσθαι
καὶ μηδενὸς καταφρονεῖν, φυλάττειν δ' οὐκ
ἐθέλουσι τοῖς αὐτοῖς τούτοις. ὃ μὴ πάθητε νῦν
ὑμεῖς, μηδ' οἴεσθε νόμον τοιοῦτον θέσθαι δεῖν, ὃς
καλῶς τε πράττουσαν τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν πονηρᾶς
δόξης ἀναπλήσει, ἐάν τέ τι συμβῇ ποτ' ἔρημον τῶν
ἐθελησόντων ἀγαθόν τι ποιεῖν καταστήσει.

51 Οὐ τοίνυν μόνον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς ἰδίᾳ
γνόντας εὖ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς καὶ παρασχόντας χρησίμους
αὑτοὺς ἐπὶ τηλικούτων καὶ τοιούτων καιρῶν, οἵων
μικρῷ πρότερον Φορμίων διεξελήλυθε κἀγὼ νῦν
εἴρηκα, ἄξιόν ἐστιν εὐλαβηθῆναι ἀδικῆσαι, ἀλλὰ
καὶ πολλοὺς ἄλλους, οἳ πόλεις ὅλας, τὰς ἑαυτῶν
πατρίδας, συμμάχους ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους
πολέμου παρέσχον, καὶ λέγοντες ἃ συμφέρει

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[a] The so-called Corinthian War, 395–387 B.C.

atrociously treated if any portion of the rewards then decreed to them should be revoked.

Now if any of you is persuaded that our city is far from needing such a benefactor to-day, let him pray Heaven it may be so, and I will join in that prayer; but let him also reflect, first, that he is going to give his vote on a law under which, if unrepealed, he will have to live, and secondly, that bad laws can injure even communities which fancy they are dwelling in security. For there would have been no changes for better or for worse in the fortunes of states had it not been that a nation in peril is guided to safety by good policy, good laws, and good citizens and by the observance of order in all things, but in the case of a nation that seems established in perfect prosperity, all these things, being neglected, slip away from it little by little. For most men achieve prosperity by planning soundly and by despising nothing; but they do not take the trouble to guard it by the same means. Let not this mistake be yours to-day, and do not think that you ought to ratify a law which will taint the reputation of our city in the time of her prosperity and, if ever a crisis comes, will leave her destitute of those who would be willing to do her service.

Again, Athenians, it is not only the men who, in a private capacity, chose to benefit you and to offer their services on those important occasions that have been described a little while ago by Phormio and mentioned by me just now—it is not only these men that you must be careful not to wrong, but many others also, who drew whole states, their own native cities, into alliance with us in the war against the Lacedaemonians,[a] thus furthering by word and deed

52 τῇ πόλει τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ καὶ πράττοντες· ὧν ἔνιοι διὰ
τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εὔνοιαν στέρονται τῆς πατρίδος,
ὧν ἐπέρχεταί μοι πρώτους ἐξετάσαι τοὺς ἐκ
Κορίνθου φεύγοντας. ἀναγκάζομαι δὲ λέγειν πρὸς
ὑμᾶς ταῦτα, ἃ παρ' ὑμῶν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων αὐτὸς
ἀκήκοα. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλ' ὅσα χρησίμους ἡμῖν
ἑαυτοὺς ἐκεῖνοι παρέσχον, ἐάσω· ἀλλ' ὅθ' ἡ μεγάλη
μάχη πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους ἐγένεθ' ἡ ἐν Κορίνθῳ,
τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει βουλευσαμένων μετὰ τὴν μάχην μὴ
δέχεσθαι τῷ τείχει τοὺς στρατιώτας, ἀλλὰ πρὸς
53 Λακεδαιμονίους ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι, ὁρῶντες ἠτυχηκυῖαν
τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῆς παρόδου κρατοῦντας Λακεδαιμονίους,
[473] οὐχὶ προὔδωκαν οὐδ' ἐβουλεύσαντ' ἰδίᾳ
περὶ τῆς αὑτῶν σωτηρίας, ἀλλὰ πλησίον ὄντων
μεθ' ὅπλων ἁπάντων Πελοποννησίων ἀνέῳξαν τὰς
πύλας ἡμῖν· βίᾳ τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ μᾶλλον εἵλοντο
μεθ' ὑμῶν τῶν τότε στρατευσαμένων, εἴ τι δέοι,
πάσχειν ἢ χωρὶς ὑμῶν ἀκινδύνως σεσῶσθαι, καὶ
εἰσέφρουν τὸ στράτευμα, καὶ διέσωσαν καὶ ὑμᾶς
54 καὶ τοὺς συμμάχους. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους
εἰρήνη μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐγένεθ', ἡ ἐπ' Ἀνταλκίδου,
ἀντὶ τῶν ἔργων τούτων ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐξέπεσον.
ὑποδεξάμενοι δ' ὑμεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσατ'
ἔργον ἀνθρώπων καλῶν κἀγαθῶν· ἐψηφίσασθε γὰρ
αὐτοῖς ἅπανθ' ὧν ἐδέοντο. εἶτα ταῦτα νῦν εἰ χρὴ
κύρι' εἶναι σκοποῦμεν; ἀλλ' ὁ λόγος πρῶτον

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[a] Demosthenes was now thirty, and the battle was fought ten years before his birth.

[b] Between Corinth and its harbour of Lechaeum on the Corinthian Gulf.

[c] In 387. Antalcidas was the Spartan diplomatist. The

the interests of your city; and some of these men through their goodwill to you have no longer a fatherland. The first example that I propose to examine is that of the Corinthian exiles. And here I am obliged to mention facts which I myself have only heard from the lips of the older among you.[a] Some occasions, then, on which they made themselves useful to us, I will pass over; but when the great battle against the Lacedaemonians was fought near Corinth, and when the party in that city determined after the battle not to admit our soldiers within their walls, but to send heralds to greet the Lacedaemonians, these men, though they saw that Athens had lost the day and that our enemies were holding the pass,[b] refused to betray us or to take steps for their own individual safety, but with the whole armed force of the Peloponnese close upon them, they opened their gates to us in defiance of the majority and chose along with you, who had been engaged in the battle, to suffer whatever might betide, rather than without you to enjoy a safety that involved no danger; and so they admitted the troops and succeeded in saving both you and your allies. And afterwards, when peace, the peace of Antalcidas,[c] was concluded with the Lacedaemonians, the latter requited their acts with exile. But you, in giving them shelter, acted like good men and true; for you decreed them all that they needed. Yet now are we actually debating whether those decrees should remain valid?

Greeks acknowledged the King of Persia as the arbiter of their disputes, and abandoned to him their cities in Asia. All other Greek states were to be independent, except Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which were to be retained by Athens. Sparta's main object was to break up the power of Thebes over the other Boeotian cities.

αἰσχρὸς [τοῖς σκοπουμένοις],[1] εἴ τις ἀκούσειεν ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι σκοποῦσιν, εἰ χρὴ τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἐὰν τὰ δοθέντ' ἔχειν· πάλαι γὰρ ἐσκέφθαι ταῦτα καὶ ἐγνῶσθαι προσῆκεν. ἀνάγνωθι καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ψήφισμ' αὐτοῖς.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ

55 Ἃ μὲν ἐψηφίσασθε τοῖς φεύγουσι δι' ὑμᾶς Κορινθίων
ταῦτ' ἐστίν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί. ὅρα δ', εἴ
τις ἐκείνους τοὺς καιροὺς εἰδώς,[2] ἢ παρὼν ἤ τινος
εἰδότος διεξιόντος ἀκούσας, ἀκούσαι τοῦ νόμου
τούτου τὰς τότε δωρειὰς δοθείσας ἀφαιρουμένου,
ὅσην ἂν κακίαν τῶν θεμένων τὸν νόμον καταγνοίη,
οἳ παρὰ μὲν τὰς χρείας οὕτω φιλάνθρωποι καὶ
πάντα ποιοῦντες, ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐπράξαμεν πάνθ' ὅσ' ἂν
εὐξαίμεθα, οὕτως ἀχάριστοι καὶ κακοί, ὥστε τούς
τ' ἔχοντας ἀφῃρήμεθα καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μηδενὶ δοῦναι
56 ταῦτ' ἐξεῖναι νόμον τεθείκαμεν. νὴ Δί' ἀνάξιοι γάρ
[474] τινες τῶν εὑρημένων ταῦτ' ἦσαν· τουτὶ γὰρ παρὰ
πάντ' ἔσται τὸν λόγον αὐτοῖς. ἔπειτ' ἐκεῖνο
ἀγνοεῖν φήσομεν, ὅτι τὴν ἀξίαν, ὅταν διδῶμεν, δεῖ
σκοπεῖν, οὐ μετὰ ταῦθ' ὕστερον χρόνῳ παμπληθεῖ;
τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τι μὴ δοῦναι γνώμῃ χρησαμένων
ἔργον ἀνθρώπων ἐστί· τὸ δὲ τοὺς ἔχοντας
ἀφαιρεῖσθαι φθονούντων, τοῦτο δ' οὐ δεῖ δοκεῖν
57 ὑμᾶς πεπονθέναι. καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκεῖν' ὀκνήσω περὶ
τῆς ἀξίας αὐτῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν. ἐγὼ γὰρ οὐ
τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον νομίζω πόλει τὸν ἄξιον ἐξεταστέον
εἶναι καὶ ἰδιώτῃ· οὐδὲ γὰρ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἡ

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[1] Omitted by Dobree and Cobet: Dindorf retains.

[2] So A: ἰδὼν Dindorf with S and vulg.

No! The bare statement is a disgrace, if it should be reported that Athenians are debating whether they ought to let their benefactors keep what they have given them; for that question ought to have been debated, yes, and decided, long ago. Read this decree also to the court.

[*The decree is read*]

Such, gentlemen of the jury, is the decree passed by you in favour of the Corinthians who were exiled on your account. But think! If one who knew those critical times—whether as an eye-witness or hearing the story from one who knew—if he should hear this law which revokes the gifts that were then bestowed, how he would denounce the baseness of us who made the law, and who were so generous and obliging when our need was pressing, but when we have satisfied all our hopes, are so thankless and churlish that we have robbed men of the rewards they enjoy, and have made a law that hereafter no such rewards should be bestowed! "Oh but," we shall be told, "some of those who received these rewards did not deserve them"; for that thought will run through all their argument. In that case shall we confess that we do not know that a man's deserts should be examined at the time of the reward, and not an indefinitely long time after? For to give no reward in the first instance is an exercise of judgement; to take it away when given shows a grudging spirit, and you must not seem to have been prompted by that. Furthermore, on the question of merit I shall not shrink from saying this to you: I for one do not think that merit should be examined by the State in the same way as by an individual, because the examination is not concerned

σκέψις. ἰδίᾳ μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστος ἡμῶν σκοπεῖ τίς ἄξιός ἐστιν ἑκάστου κηδεστὴς ἢ τῶν τοιούτων τι γίγνεσθαι, ταῦτα δὲ καὶ νόμοις τισὶ καὶ δόξαις διώρισται· κοινῇ δ' ἡ πόλις καὶ ὁ δῆμος, ὅστις ἂν αὐτὸν εὖ ποιῇ καὶ σῴζῃ, τοῦτο δ' οὐ γένει καὶ δόξῃ ἴδοι τις ἄν, ἀλλ' ἔργῳ. ὅταν μὲν οὖν εὖ πάσχειν δέῃ, τὸν βουλόμενον εὖ ποιεῖν ἡμᾶς ἐάσομεν, ἐπειδὰν δὲ πάθωμεν, τότε τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ ποιήσαντος σκεψόμεθα; οὐκ ἄρ' ὀρθῶς βουλευσόμεθα.

58 Ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία οὗτοι μόνοι τοῦτο πείσονται, καὶ
περὶ τούτων μόνων ποιοῦμαι λόγον τοσοῦτον.
πολλοῦ γε καὶ δέω. ἀλλὰ πάντας μὲν οὐδ' ἂν
ἐγχειρήσαιμ' ἐξετάζειν, ὅσοι πεποιηκότες ὑμᾶς εὖ
διὰ τὸν νόμον, εἰ μὴ λυθήσεται, τὰ δοθέντ' ἀφ-
αιρεθήσονται· ἓν δ' ἢ δύο δείξας ἔτι ψηφίσματ' ἀπ-
59 αλλάττομαι τοῦ περὶ τούτων λέγειν. τοῦτο μὲν τοί-
νυν Θασίους τοὺς μετ' Ἐκφάντου, πῶς οὐκ ἀδική-
σετ', ἐὰν ἀφαιρῆσθε τὴν ἀτέλειαν, οἳ παραδόντες
ὑμῖν Θάσον, καὶ τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων φρουρὰν μεθ'
ὅπλων ἐκβαλόντες καὶ Θρασύβουλον εἰσαγαγόντες
[475] καὶ παρασχόντες φίλην ὑμῖν τὴν αὑτῶν πατρίδα
αἴτιοι τοῦ γενέσθαι σύμμαχον τὸν περὶ Θρᾴκην
60 τόπον ὑμῖν ἐγένοντο; τοῦτο δ' Ἀρχέβιον καὶ
Ἡρακλείδην, οἳ Βυζάντιον παραδόντες Θρασυ-
βούλῳ κυρίους ὑμᾶς ἐποίησαν τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου,
ὥστε τὴν δεκάτην ἀποδόσθαι καὶ χρημάτων εὐ-
πορήσαντας Λακεδαιμονίους ἀναγκάσαι τοιαύτην,

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[a] 408–407 B.C. There is some discrepancy as to the date between our two authorities, Xenophon and Diodorus, neither of whom mentions Ecphantus, presumably a democratic leader in Thasos.

[b] Levied by the Byzantines on the value of the cargo of every ship passing through the Bosporus.

with the same questions. For in private life each of us tries to find who is worthy, say, to marry into our family, or something of that sort, and such questions are determined by convention and opinion; but in public affairs the State and the people try to find who is their benefactor and saviour, and that question you will find is best decided by reference not to birth or opinion, but to plain fact. So, whenever we want to receive benefits, are we to allow anyone to confer them, but when we have received them, then shall we scrutinize the merits of the benefactor? That will be a topsy-turvy policy.

But, it may be said, the only sufferers will be those I have mentioned, and all my remarks apply to them alone. That is quite untrue. But I could not even attempt to examine all the instances of men who have benefited you, but who by this law, if it is not repealed, will be robbed of their rewards; by calling your attention to one or two further decrees, I absolve myself from discussing these cases. In the first place, then, will you not wrong the Thasian supporters of Ecphantus, if you revoke their immunity—I mean the men who handed over Thasos to you by expelling the armed garrison of the Lacedaemonians and admitting Thrasybulus,[a] and thus, by bringing their own country on to your side, were the means of winning for you the alliance of the district bordering on Thrace? In the second place, will you not wrong Archebius and Heraclides, who by putting Byzantium into the hands of Thrasybulus made you masters of the Hellespont, so that you farmed out the toll of ten per cent,[b] and thus being well furnished with money forced the Lacedaemoni-

οἵαν ὑμῖν ἐδόκει, ποιήσασθαι τὴν εἰρήνην; ὧν, ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μετὰ ταῦτ' ἐκπεσόντων ἐψηφίσασθ'
ἅπερ, οἶμαι, φεύγουσιν εὐεργέταις δι' ὑμᾶς
προσῆκε, προξενίαν, εὐεργεσίαν, ἀτέλειαν ἁπάντων.
εἶτα τοὺς δι' ὑμᾶς φεύγοντας καὶ δικαίως τι παρ'
ὑμῶν εὑρομένους ἐάσωμεν ἀφαιρεθῆναι ταῦτα,
μηδὲν ἔχοντες ἐγκαλέσαι; ἀλλ' αἰσχρὸν ἂν εἴη.
61 μάθοιτε δὲ τοῦτο μάλιστ' ἄν, ἐκείνως εἰ λογίσαισθε
πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτούς· εἴ τινες νυνὶ τῶν ἐχόντων
Πύδναν ἢ Ποτείδαιαν ἤ τι τῶν ἄλλων χωρίων, ἃ
Φιλίππῳ μέν ἐστιν ὑπήκοα, ὑμῖν δ' ἐχθρά, τὸν
αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅνπερ ἡ Θάσος ἦν τότε καὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον
Λακεδαιμονίοις μὲν οἰκεῖα, ὑμῖν δ' ἀλλότρια,
παραδώσειν ταῦτ' ἐπαγγείλαντο, ἂν αὐτοῖς τὰς
αὐτὰς δῶτε δωρειὰς ἅσπερ Ἐκφάντῳ τῷ Θασίῳ
62 καὶ Ἀρχεβίῳ τῷ Βυζαντίῳ, καί τινες τούτων
ἀντιλέγοιεν αὐτοῖς ταῦτα λέγοντες, ὡς δεινὸν εἴ
τινες μόνοι τῶν ἄλλων μετοίκων μὴ χορηγοῖεν,
πῶς ποτ' ἂν ἔχοιτε πρὸς τοὺς ταῦτα λέγοντας; ἢ
δῆλον ὅτι φωνὴν οὐκ ἂν ἀνάσχοισθ' ὡς συκοφαντούντων;
οὐκοῦν αἰσχρὸν εἰ μέλλοντες μὲν εὖ
πάσχειν συκοφάντην ἂν τὸν ταῦτα λέγονθ' ἡγοῖσθε,
ἐπὶ τῷ δ' ἀφελέσθαι τὰς τῶν προτέρων εὐεργετῶν
63 δωρειὰς ταῦτα λεγόντων ἀκούσεσθε. φέρε δὴ
[476] κἀκεῖν' ἐξετάσωμεν. οἱ προδόντες τὴν Πύδναν καὶ
τἄλλα χωρία τῷ Φιλίππῳ τῷ ποτ' ἐπαρθέντες ἡμᾶς

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[a] The Athenians gained Byzantium and Chalcedon in 390 B.C. It is strange to find the notorious peace of Antalcidas (387) mentioned with approval.

[b] A *proxenus* was a foreigner who, in his own state, looked after Athenian interests. These men, being exiles resident at Athens, could not perform this duty. The title

ans to conclude a peace favourable to you ?[a] When subsequently they were banished, you, Athenians, passed what I think was a very proper decree in favour of men exiled through devotion to your interests, conferring on them the title of Friends of the State[b] and Benefactors, together with immunity from all taxes. For your sakes they were in exile, from you they received a just recompense ; and are we now to let them be robbed of this, though we can charge them with no fault ? But that would be scandalous. You will grasp the situation best if you will reason it out for yourselves in this way. Suppose at the present day a party of those in power at Pydna or Potidaea or any of those other places which are subject to Philip and hostile to you—just as Thasos and Byzantium then were friendly to the Lacedaemonians and estranged from you—promised to hand them over to you in return for the same rewards that you gave to Ecphantus of Thasos and Archebius of Byzantium ; and suppose some of these gentlemen here objected to their proposal on the ground that it would be monstrous if a select few of the resident aliens were to escape the public services ; how would you deal with their arguments ? Is it not certain that you would refuse to listen to such malignant pettifoggers ? If so, then it is disgraceful that you should consider such an objection malignant when you are going to receive a benefit, but should lend an ear to it when it is proposed to revoke your gifts to former benefactors. Now let us pass to another argument. The men who betrayed Pydna and the other places to Philip—what prompted them

was an honorary one, giving them rank and privileges above the ordinary resident aliens.

ἠδίκουν; ἢ πᾶσι πρόδηλον τοῦθ', ὅτι ταῖς παρ' ἐκείνου δωρειαῖς, ἃς διὰ ταῦτ' ἔσεσθαι σφίσιν ἡγοῦντο; πότερον οὖν μᾶλλον ἔδει σ', ὦ Λεπτίνη, τοὺς ἐχθρούς, εἰ δύνασαι, πεῖσαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀδικήμασι γιγνομένους ἐκείνων εὐεργέτας μὴ τιμᾶν, ἢ θεῖναι νόμον ἡμῖν ὃς τῶν τοῖς ἡμετέροις εὐεργέταις ὑπαρχουσῶν δωρειῶν ἀφαιρεῖταί τι; ἐγὼ μὲν ἐκεῖν' οἶμαι. ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ πόρρω τοῦ παρόντος γένωμαι, λαβὲ τὰ ψηφίσμαθ' ἃ τοῖς Θασίοις καὶ Βυζαντίοις ἐγράφη. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ

64 Ἠκούσατε μὲν τῶν ψηφισμάτων, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί.
τούτων δ' ἴσως ἔνιοι τῶν ἀνδρῶν οὐκέτ'
εἰσίν. ἀλλὰ τὰ ἔργα τὰ πραχθέντ' ἔστιν, ἐπειδήπερ
ἅπαξ ἐπράχθη. προσήκει τοίνυν τὰς στήλας ταύτας
κυρίας ἐᾶν τὸν πάντα χρόνον, ἵν', ἕως μὲν ἄν
τινες ζῶσι, μηδὲν ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀδικῶνται, ἐπειδὰν δὲ
τελευτήσωσιν, ἐκεῖναι τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἤθους
μνημεῖον ὦσι, καὶ παραδείγμαθ' ἑστῶσι τοῖς βουλομένοις
τι ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀγαθόν, ὅσους εὖ ποιήσαντας
65 ἡ πόλις ἀντ' εὖ πεποίηκεν. καὶ μὴν μηδ' ἐκεῖν'
ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, λανθανέτω, ὅτι τῶν
αἰσχίστων ἐστὶ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀκοῦσαι
τὰς μὲν συμφοράς, αἷς δι' ὑμᾶς ἐχρήσανθ' οἱ
ἄνδρες οὗτοι, πάντα τὸν χρόνον κυρίας αὐτοῖς
γεγενημένας, τὰς δὲ δωρειάς, ἃς ἀντὶ τούτων
66 ἔλαβον παρ' ὑμῶν, καὶ δὴ λελυμένας. πολὺ γὰρ
μᾶλλον ἥρμοττε τὰ δοθέντ' ἐῶντας τῶν ἀτυχημάτων
ἀφαιρεῖν ἢ τούτων μενόντων τὰς δωρειὰς
ἀφαιρεῖσθαι. φέρε γὰρ πρὸς Διός, τίς ἔστιν ὅστις
[477] εὖ ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς βουλήσεται, μέλλων, ἂν μὲν ἀπο-

to injure us? Is it not obvious to everyone that it was the reward which they calculated on receiving from Philip for their services? Which, then, ought you to have chosen to do, Leptines? To induce our enemies, if you can, to give up honouring those who become their benefactors on the strength of injuries done to us, or to impose a law on us which takes away some part of the rewards which our own benefactors are enjoying? I fancy the former. But that I may not wander from the present point, take and read the decrees passed in honour of the Thasians and the Byzantines.

[*The decrees are read*]

You have heard the decrees, gentlemen of the jury. Perhaps some of the men named are no longer alive. But their deeds survive, since they were done once for all. It is fitting, therefore, to allow these inscriptions to hold good for all time, that as long as any of the men are alive, they may suffer no wrong at your hands, and when they die, those inscriptions may be a memorial of our national character, and may stand as proofs to all who wish to do us service, declaring how many benefactors our city has benefited in return. Nor indeed would I have you forget this, men of Athens, that it is a most disgraceful thing to show and proclaim to all mankind that the misfortunes which these men endured for your sake have been confirmed to them for ever, while the grants which they received from you in recompense have been even now rescinded. For it would have been far more fitting to mitigate their distress by letting them keep your gifts, than, while the distress remains, to rob them of your bounty. In Heaven's name, I ask you, who is there that will choose to do

τύχῃ, παραχρῆμα δίκην δώσειν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, ἂν δὲ
κατορθώσῃ, τὰς χάριτας παρ' ὑμῶν ἀπίστους
ἕξειν;

67 Πάνυ τοίνυν ἀχθοίμην ἄν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, εἰ
τοῦτο μόνον δόξαιμι δίκαιον κατηγορεῖν τοῦ νόμου,
ὅτι πολλοὺς ξένους εὐεργέτας ἀφαιρεῖται τὴν
ἀτέλειαν, τῶν δὲ πολιτῶν μηδέν' ἄξιον δοκοίην
ἔχειν δεῖξαι τῶν εὑρημένων ταύτην τὴν τιμήν. καὶ
γὰρ τἄλλ' ἀγάθ' εὐξαίμην ἂν ἔγωγε παρ' ἡμῖν
εἶναι πλεῖστα, καὶ ἄνδρας ἀρίστους καὶ πλείστους
68 εὐεργέτας τῆς πόλεως πολίτας εἶναι. πρῶτον μὲν
τοίνυν Κόνωνα σκοπεῖτε, εἰ ἄρ' ἄξιον,
καταμεμψαμένους ἢ τὸν ἄνδρα ἢ τὰ πεπραγμένα, ἄκυρόν
τι ποιῆσαι τῶν ἐκείνῳ δοθέντων. οὗτος γάρ, ὡς
ὑμῶν τινῶν ἔστιν ἀκοῦσαι τῶν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν
ἡλικίαν ὄντων, μετὰ τὴν τοῦ δήμου κάθοδον τὴν ἐκ
Πειραιῶς ἀσθενοῦς ἡμῶν τῆς πόλεως οὔσης καὶ
ναῦν οὐδεμίαν κεκτημένης, στρατηγῶν βασιλεῖ,
παρ' ἡμῶν οὐδ' ἡντινοῦν ἀφορμὴν λαβών,
κατεναυμάχησε Λακεδαιμονίους, καὶ πρότερον τοῖς
ἄλλοις ἐπιτάττοντας εἴθισ' ἀκούειν ὑμῶν, καὶ τοὺς
ἁρμοστὰς ἐξήλασεν ἐκ τῶν νήσων, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα
δεῦρ' ἐλθὼν ἀνέστησε τὰ τείχη, καὶ πρῶτος πάλιν
περὶ τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἐποίησε τῇ πόλει τὸν λόγον
69 πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους εἶναι. καὶ γάρ τοι μόνῳ τῶν
πάντων αὐτῷ τοῦτ' ἐν τῇ στήλῃ γέγραπται· "ἐπειδὴ
Κόνων" φησὶν "ἠλευθέρωσε τοὺς Ἀθηναίων
συμμάχους." ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ γράμμ', ὦ ἄνδρες

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[a] Under Thrasybulus in 403.

[b] Conon obtained the support of Persia for Athens against Sparta and was appointed joint commander, with the satrap Pharnabazus, of the Persian fleet. In 394 he de-

you service with the prospect of instant punishment by your enemies, if he fails, and of a dubious gratitude from you, if he succeeds?

Now I should be greatly vexed, gentlemen of the jury, if I thought that the only real charge I was bringing against the law was its depriving many of our alien benefactors of the immunity, but should seem unable to point to any deserving recipient of the honour among our own fellow-countrymen. For my prayer would ever be that Athens may abound in all blessings, but especially that the best men and the most numerous benefactors of this city may be her own citizens. First of all, then, in the case of Conon, ask yourselves whether dissatisfaction with the man or his performances justifies the cancelling of the gifts conferred on him. For, as some of you who are his contemporaries can attest, it was just after the return of the exiled democrats from the Piraeus,[a] when our city was so weak that she had not a single ship, and Conon, who was a general in the Persian service and received no prompting whatever from you, defeated the Lacedaemonians at sea and taught the former dictators of Greece to show you deference; he cleared the islands of their military governors, and coming here he restored our Long Walls[b]; and he was the first to make the hegemony of Greece once more the subject of dispute between Athens and Sparta. For, indeed, he has the unique distinction of being thus mentioned in his inscription; "Whereas Conon," it runs, "freed the allies of Athens." That inscription, gentlemen of the jury,

stroyed the Spartan fleet off Cnidus, sailed about the Aegean expelling the Spartan harmosts from many of the islands, and finally reached Athens, where he restored the Long Walls, dismantled since the Peloponnesian war.

δικασταί, ἐκείνῳ μὲν φιλοτιμία πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτούς,
[478] ὑμῖν δὲ πρὸς πάντας τοὺς Ἕλληνας· ὅτου γὰρ ἂν
τις παρ' ἡμῶν ἀγαθοῦ τοῖς ἄλλοις αἴτιος γένηται,
τούτου τὴν δόξαν τὸ τῆς πόλεως ὄνομα καρποῦται.
70 διόπερ οὐ μόνον αὐτῷ τὴν ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκαν οἱ τότε,
ἀλλὰ καὶ χαλκῆν εἰκόνα, ὥσπερ Ἁρμοδίου καὶ
Ἀριστογείτονος, ἔστησαν πρώτου· ἡγοῦντο γὰρ οὐ
μικρὰν τυραννίδα καὶ τοῦτον, τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων
ἀρχὴν καταλύσαντα, πεπαυκέναι. ἵν' οὖν μᾶλλον
οἷς λέγω προσέχητε, τὰ ψηφίσμαθ' ὑμῖν αὔτ'
ἀναγνώσεται τὰ τότε ψηφισθέντα τῷ Κόνωνι. λέγε.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ

71 Οὐ τοίνυν ὑφ' ὑμῶν μόνον ὁ Κόνων, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, τότ' ἐτιμήθη πράξας ἃ διεξῆλθον ἐγώ,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπ' ἄλλων πολλῶν, οἳ δικαίως ὧν εὐεργέτηντο
χάριν ᾤοντο δεῖν ἀποδιδόναι. οὐκοῦν
αἰσχρόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ αἱ μὲν παρὰ τοῖς
ἄλλοις δωρειαὶ βέβαιοι μένουσιν αὐτῷ, τῆς δὲ παρ'
72 ὑμῶν μόνης τοῦτ' ἀφαιρεθήσεται. καὶ μὴν οὐδ'
ἐκεῖνο καλόν, ζῶντα μὲν αὐτὸν οὕτω τιμᾶν ὥστε
τοσούτων ὅσων ἀκηκόατ' ἀξιοῦν, ἐπειδὴ δὲ τετελεύτηκε,
[μηδεμίαν ποιησαμένους τούτων μνείαν][1]
ἀφελέσθαι τι τῶν δοθέντων τότε. πολλὰ μὲν γάρ
ἐστιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου πραχθέντων
ἄξι' ἐπαίνου, δι' ἃ πάντα προσήκει μὴ
λύειν τὰς ἐπὶ τούτοις δοθείσας δωρειάς, κάλλιστον
73 δὲ πάντων ἡ τῶν τειχῶν ἀνάστασις. γνοίη δ' ἂν
τις εἰ παραθείη πῶς Θεμιστοκλῆς, ὁ τῶν καθ'
ἑαυτὸν ἁπάντων ἀνδρῶν ἐνδοξότατος, ταὐτὸ τοῦτ'
ἐποίησεν. λέγεται τοίνυν ἐκεῖνος τειχίζειν εἰπὼν

is his glory in your estimation, but it is yours in the estimation of all Greece. For whatever boon any one of us confers on the other states, the credit of it is reaped by the fame of our city. Therefore his contemporaries not only granted him immunity, but also set up his statue in bronze—the first man so honoured since Harmodius and Aristogiton. For they felt that he too, in breaking up the empire of the Lacedaemonians, had ended no insignificant tyranny. In order, then, that you may give a closer attention to my words, the clerk shall read the actual decrees which you then passed in favour of Conon. Read them.

[*The decrees are read*]

It was not, then, only by you, Athenians, that Conon was honoured for the services that I have described, but by many others, who rightly felt bound to show gratitude for the benefits they had received. And so it is to your dishonour, men of Athens, that in other states his rewards hold good, but of your rewards alone he is to lose this part. Neither is this creditable—to honour him when living, with all the distinctions that have been recited to you, but when he is dead to take back some part of your former gifts. For many of his achievements, men of Athens, deserve praise, and all of them make it improper to revoke the gifts they earned for him, but the noblest deed of all was his restoration of the Long Walls. You will realize this if you compare the way in which Themistocles, the most famous man of his age, accomplished the same result. Now history tells us that Themistocles bade his countrymen get on with

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[1] Bracketed by Dobree and Cobet as an interpolation from § 46; Dindorf retains.

τοῖς πολίταις, κἂν ἀφικνῆταί τις ἐκ Λακεδαίμονος,
κατέχειν κελεύσας, οἴχεσθαι πρεσβεύων αὐτὸς ὡς
[479] τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους. λόγων δὲ γιγνομένων ἐκεῖ
καί τινων ἀπαγγελλόντων ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι τειχίζουσιν,
ἀρνεῖσθαι καὶ πρέσβεις πέμπειν σκεψομένους
κελεύειν, ἐπειδὴ δ' οὐχ ἧκον οὗτοι, πέμπειν
ἑτέρους παραινεῖν. καὶ πάντες ἴσως ἀκηκόαθ' ὃν
74 τρόπον ἐξαπατῆσαι λέγεται. φημὶ τοίνυν ἐγώ (καὶ
πρὸς Διός, ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, μηδεὶς φθόνῳ τὸ
μέλλον ἀκούσῃ, ἀλλ' ἂν ἀληθὲς ᾖ σκοπείτω), ὅσῳ
τὸ φανερῶς τοῦ λάθρᾳ κρεῖττον, καὶ τὸ νικῶντας
τοῦ παρακρουσαμένους πράττειν ὁτιοῦν ἐντιμότερον,
τοσούτῳ κάλλιον Κόνωνα τὰ τείχη στῆσαι
Θεμιστοκλέους· ὁ μὲν γὰρ λαθών, ὁ δὲ νικήσας
τοὺς κωλύσοντας αὔτ' ἐποίησεν. οὐ τοίνυν ἄξιον
τὸν τοιοῦτον ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἀδικηθῆναι, οὐδ' ἔλαττον
σχεῖν τῶν ῥητόρων τῶν διδαξόντων ὡς ἀφελέσθαι
τι χρὴ τῶν ἐκείνῳ δοθέντων.

75 Εἶεν. ἀλλὰ νὴ Δία τὸν παῖδα τὸν Χαβρίου περιίδωμεν
ἀφαιρεθέντα τὴν ἀτέλειαν, ἣν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῷ
δικαίως παρ' ὑμῶν λαβὼν κατέλιπεν. ἀλλ' οὐδέν'
ἀνθρώπων εὖ φρονοῦντ' οἶμαι ταῦτ' ἂν φῆσαι
καλῶς ἔχειν. ἴστε μὲν οὖν ἴσως καὶ ἄνευ τοῦ παρ'
ἐμοῦ λόγου ὅτι σπουδαῖος Χαβρίας ἦν ἀνήρ, οὐ μὴν
κωλύει γ' οὐδὲν κἀμὲ διὰ βραχέων ἐπιμνησθῆναι
76 τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ. ὃν μὲν οὖν τρόπον ὑμᾶς
ἔχων πρὸς ἅπαντας Πελοποννησίους παρετάξατ' ἐν

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[a] When Athens helped Thebes to repel the invasion of Agesilaus in 378. Chabrias, on his way to Cyprus in 388 to help Evagoras against Persia, landed on Aegina and killed

the building and detain anyone who came from Sparta, while he went off himself on an embassy to the Lacedaemonians; and while negotiations went on there and the news kept coming that the Athenians were fortifying, he denied it and told them to send envoys to see for themselves, and when these envoys did not return, he urged them to send more. Indeed, I expect you have all heard the story of how he hoodwinked them. Now I assert—and I earnestly appeal to you, Athenians, not to take offence at what is coming, but to consider whether it is true—I assert that in proportion as openness is better than secrecy, and it is more honourable to gain one's end by victory than by trickery, so Conon deserves more credit than Themistocles for building the walls. For the latter achieved it by evading those who would have prevented it, but the former by beating them in battle. Therefore it is not right that so great a man should be wronged by you, or should gain less than those orators who will try to prove that you ought to deduct something from what was bestowed on him.

Very well. But, they will say, we may let the son of Chabrias be robbed of the immunity which his father justly received from you and bequeathed to him. But I am sure there is not a single right-minded man who would approve of that. Now, perhaps you know, even without any words from me, that Chabrias was a man of high character; yet there is no harm if I too recall briefly his achievements. How skilfully, as your commander, he drew up your ranks at Thebes[a] to face the whole power of the

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the Spartan harmost there. He was operating in Egypt in 380 and again in 361.

Θήβαις, καὶ ὡς Γοργώπαν ἀπέκτεινεν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ, καὶ ὅσ᾽ ἐν Κύπρῳ τρόπαι᾽ ἔστησε καὶ μετὰ ταῦτ᾽ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, καὶ ὅτι πᾶσαν ἐπελθὼν ὀλίγου δέω [480] λέγειν χώραν οὐδαμοῦ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ὄνομ᾽ οὐδ᾽ αὐτὸν κατῄσχυνεν, οὔτε πάνυ ῥᾴδιον κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν εἰπεῖν, πολλή τ᾽ αἰσχύνη λέγοντος ἐμοῦ ταῦτ᾽ ἐλάττω φανῆναι τῆς ἐν ἑκάστῳ νῦν περὶ αὐτοῦ δόξης ὑπαρχούσης· ἃ δ᾽ οὐδαμῶς ἂν εἰπὼν οἴομαι μικρὰ ποιῆσαι, ταῦθ᾽ ὑπομνῆσαι πειράσομαι.

77 ἐνίκησε μὲν τοίνυν Λακεδαιμονίους ναυμαχίᾳ καὶ πεντήκοντα μιᾶς δεούσας ἔλαβ᾽ αἰχμαλώτους τριήρεις, εἷλε δὲ τῶν νήσων τούτων τὰς πολλὰς καὶ παρέδωκεν ὑμῖν καὶ φιλίας ἐποίησεν ἐχθρῶς ἐχούσας πρότερον, τρισχίλια δ᾽ αἰχμάλωτα σώματα δεῦρ᾽ ἤγαγε, καὶ πλέον ἢ δέκα καὶ ἑκατὸν τάλαντ᾽ ἀπέφην᾽ ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. καὶ τούτων πάντων ὑμῶν τινὲς οἱ πρεσβύτατοι μάρτυρές εἰσί μοι. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἄλλας τριήρεις πλέον ἢ εἴκοσιν εἷλε κατὰ μίαν καὶ δύο λαμβάνων, ἃς ἁπάσας εἰς τοὺς ὑμετέρους λιμένας κατήγαγεν.

78 ἑνὶ δὲ κεφαλαίῳ μόνος τῶν πάντων στρατηγῶν οὐ πόλιν, οὐ φρούριον, οὐ ναῦν, οὐ στρατιώτην ἀπώλεσεν οὐδέν᾽ ἡγούμενος ὑμῶν, οὐδ᾽ ἔστιν οὐδενὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἐχθρῶν τρόπαιον οὐδὲν ἀφ᾽ ὑμῶν τε[1] κἀκείνου, ὑμῖν δ᾽ ἀπὸ πολλῶν πόλλ᾽ ἐκείνου στρατηγοῦντος. ἵνα δὲ μὴ λέγων παραλίπω τι τῶν πεπραγμένων αὐτῷ, ἀναγνώσεται γεγραμμένας ὑμῖν τάς τε ναῦς ὅσας ἔλαβε καὶ οὗ ἑκάστην, καὶ τῶν πόλεων τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ τῶν τροπαίων οὗ ἕκαστον. λέγε.

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[1] Dindorf omits τε with S etc., but it is found in some MSS. and seems necessary.

Peloponnese, how he slew Gorgopas in Aegina, what trophies he set up in Cyprus and afterwards in Egypt, how he visited, I might almost say, every land, yet nowhere disgraced our city's name or his own—of all these exploits it is by no means easy to speak adequately, and it would be a great shame if my words should make them fall below the estimate of him which each one of you has formed in his own mind. But of some, which I think I could never belittle in describing them, I will try to remind you. Now, he beat the Lacedaemonians in a sea-fight [a] and took forty-nine warships; he captured most of the islands near and handed them over to you, turning their previous enmity into friendship; he brought to Athens three thousand captives, and paid into the treasury more than a hundred and ten talents taken from the enemy. And in all these facts some of the oldest among you can bear me out. But in addition, he captured more than twenty warships, one or two at a time, and brought them all into your harbours. To sum up; he alone of all our generals never lost a city, a fort, a ship, or a man, as long as he led you; and none of your enemies can boast a single trophy won from you and him, while you possess many won from many enemies while he was your general. But for fear lest my speech should omit any of his exploits, the clerk shall read to you an inventory of all the ships he took and where he took each, the number of cities and the amount of treasure captured, and the place where he set up each trophy. Read.

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[a] Off Naxos in 376.

ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΧΑΒΡΙΟΥ

79 Δοκεῖ τισὶν ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, οὗτος ὁ
τοσαύτας πόλεις λαβὼν καὶ τριήρεις τῶν πολεμίων
[481] ναυμαχίᾳ νικήσας, καὶ τοσούτων καλῶν αἴτιος ὢν
αἰσχροῦ δ' οὐδενὸς τῇ πόλει, ἄξιος εἶναι ἀποστερηθῆναι
τὴν ἀτέλειαν, ἣν εὕρετο παρ' ὑμῶν καὶ
τῷ υἱεῖ κατέλιπεν; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ οἴομαι. καὶ γὰρ
ἂν ἄλογον εἴη· μίαν μὲν πόλιν εἰ ἀπώλεσεν ἢ ναῦς
δέκα μόνας, περὶ προδοσίας ἂν αὐτὸν εἰσήγγελλον
οὗτοι, καὶ εἰ ἑάλω, τὸν ἅπαντ' ἂν ἀπωλώλει
80 χρόνον· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοὐναντίον ἑπτακαίδεκα μὲν
πόλεις εἷλεν, ἑβδομήκοντα δὲ ναῦς ἔλαβε, τρισχιλίους
δ' αἰχμαλώτους, δέκα δὲ καὶ ἑκατὸν
τάλαντ' ἀπέφηνε, τοσαῦτα δ' ἔστησε τρόπαια,
τηνικαῦτα δ' οὐκ ἔσται κύρι' αὐτῷ τὰ δοθέντ' ἐπὶ
τούτοις; καὶ μήν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ζῶν
πάνθ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν φανήσεται πράξας Χαβρίας, καὶ
τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτὴν τοῦ βίου πεποιημένος οὐχ
ὑπὲρ ἄλλου τινός, ὥστε δικαίως ἂν οὐ μόνον διὰ
τὰ ζῶντι πεπραγμένα φαίνοισθ' εὐνοϊκῶς διακείμενοι
πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ ταύτην.
81 ἄξιον τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κἀκεῖνο σκοπεῖν,
ὅπως μὴ φανούμεθα φαυλότεροι Χίων περὶ τοὺς
εὐεργέτας γεγενημένοι. εἰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι μέν, ἐφ'
οὓς μεθ' ὅπλων ἦλθεν ἐν ἐχθροῦ τάξει, μηδὲν ὧν
ἔδοσαν πρότερον νῦν ἀφῄρηνται, ἀλλὰ τὰς πάλαι
χάριτας μείζους τῶν καινῶν ἐγκλημάτων πεποίηνται,
ὑμεῖς δ', ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐπ' ἐκείνους ἐλθὼν ἐτελεύτησεν,
ἀντὶ τοῦ διὰ ταῦτ' ἔτι μᾶλλον αὐτὸν τιμᾶν καὶ τῶν
ἐπὶ ταῖς πρότερον εὐεργεσίαις τι δοθέντων ἀφῃρημένοι
φανήσεσθε, πῶς οὐκ εἰκότως αἰσχύνην ἕξετε;

[*The exploits of Chabrias are read*]

Does it seem to any of you, gentlemen of the jury, that this man, who captured so many cities and ships from your enemies by his victories on sea, and who was the source of so much honour, but never of disgrace, to your city, deserves to be deprived of the immunity which he obtained at your hands and bequeathed to his son? I cannot believe it, for it is out of all reason. Had he lost a single city or as few as ten ships, Leptines and his supporters would have impeached him for high treason, and if he had been convicted, he would have been a ruined man for ever. But since, on the contrary, he took seventeen cities, and captured seventy ships and three thousand prisoners, and paid into the treasury a hundred and ten talents, and set up so many trophies, in that case shall not his rewards for these services stand good? Moreover, Athenians, it will be seen that Chabrias during his lifetime did everything in your behalf, and that he met death itself in no other service; so that for this, as well as for all that he did in his life, you ought to show yourselves generously disposed to his son. Then this too, Athenians, demands your consideration—that we must not prove less generous than the Chians in our treatment of our benefactors. For if they, against whom Chabrias carried arms as an enemy, have not now revoked any of their former gifts, but have made ancient services outweigh recent offences, while you, in whose cause he marched against them to his death, so far from honouring him the more on that account, are even going to rob him of part of the reward of his past services, how will you escape the ignominy that you deserve?

82 Καὶ μὴν καὶ κατ᾽ ἐκεῖνο ἀνάξι᾽ ἂν εἴη πεπονθὼς
[482] ὁ παῖς εἰ τῆς δωρειᾶς ἀφαιρεθείη, καθ᾽ ὃ πολλάκις
ὑμῶν στρατηγήσαντος Χαβρίου οὐδενὸς πώποθ᾽
υἱὸς ὀρφανὸς δι᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἐγένετο, αὐτὸς δ᾽ ἐν
ὀρφανίᾳ τέθραπται διὰ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς φιλοτιμίαν
τοῦ πατρός. οὕτω γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἔμοιγε φαίνεται
βεβαίως πως ἐκεῖνος φιλόπολις, ὥστε δοκῶν καὶ
ὢν ἀσφαλέστατος στρατηγὸς ἁπάντων, ὑπὲρ μὲν
ὑμῶν, ὁπόθ᾽ ἡγοῖτο, ἐχρῆτο τούτῳ, ὑπὲρ αὑτοῦ
δέ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ καθ᾽ αὑτὸν ἐτάχθη κινδυνεύειν,
παρεῖδε, καὶ μᾶλλον εἵλετο μὴ ζῆν ἢ καταισχῦναι
83 τὰς παρ᾽ ὑμῶν ὑπαρχούσας αὐτῷ τιμάς. εἶθ᾽ ὑπὲρ
ὧν ἐκεῖνος ᾤετο δεῖν ἀποθνῄσκειν ἢ νικᾶν, ταῦθ᾽
ἡμεῖς ἀφελώμεθα τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ; καὶ τί φήσομεν,
ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅταν τὰ μὲν τρόπαι᾽ ἑστήκῃ
δῆλα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, ἃ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν στρατηγῶν
ἐκεῖνος ἔστησε, τῶν δ᾽ ἐπὶ τούτοις δωρειῶν ἀφῃρημένον
τι φαίνηται; οὐ σκέψεσθ᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ λογιεῖσθε ὅτι νῦν οὐχ ὁ νόμος κρίνεται
πότερον ἔστ᾽ ἐπιτήδειος ἢ οὔ, ἀλλ᾽ ὑμεῖς
δοκιμάζεσθ᾽ εἴτ᾽ ἐπιτήδειοι πάσχειν ἔστ᾽ εὖ τὸν
λοιπὸν χρόνον εἴτε μή;

84 Λαβὲ δὴ καὶ τὸ τῷ Χαβρίᾳ ψήφισμα ψηφισθέν. ὅρα δὴ καὶ σκόπει· δεῖ γὰρ αὐτ᾽ ἐνταῦθ᾽ εἶναί που.

Ἐγὼ δ᾽ ἔτι τοῦτ᾽ εἰπεῖν ὑπὲρ Χαβρίου βούλομαι. ὑμεῖς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τιμῶντές ποτ᾽ Ἰφικράτην, οὐ μόνον αὐτὸν ἐτιμήσατ᾽, ἀλλὰ καὶ δι᾽ ἐκεῖνον Στράβακα καὶ Πολύστρατον· καὶ πάλιν Τιμοθέῳ διδόντες τὴν δωρειάν, δι᾽ ἐκεῖνον ἐδώκατε

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[a] This aside is intended to give an air of reality to the published speech. Editors well compare a similar trick in Cicero, *Verr.* II. 4. 3.

Moreover, should the son be robbed of part of his reward, his treatment would be undeserved in view of the fact that no man's child was ever orphaned through the fault of Chabrias, though he frequently led you in war, but the boy himself has grown up an orphan, just because of his father's devotion to your cause. For to me he seems truly to have been such a staunch patriot, that though reputed to be the most cautious of commanders, as indeed he was, it was for your sake that he displayed that quality whenever he led you, but for his own sake, when he found himself assigned to the post of danger, he forgot all his caution and preferred to lay down his life rather than tarnish the honours that you had bestowed. After that, are we to rob the son of those honours which inspired the father to conquer or to die? And what shall we say, men of Athens, when the trophies that he set up as general in your name stand plain for all men to see, but a part of the reward for those trophies is found to have been filched away? Will you not observe, men of Athens, and reflect that to-day we are not judging the law, to see whether it is suitable or not? It is you who are under examination, to see whether you are suitable persons to receive benefits in the future or whether you are not.

Turn now to the decree passed in honour of Chabrias. Just look and see; it must be somewhere there.[a]

There is one thing further that I want to say about Chabrias. You, Athenians, in honouring Iphicrates, honoured not only him but also on his account Strabax and Polystratus; and again, when giving your reward to Timotheus, you also for his sake re-

85 καὶ Κλεάρχῳ καί τισιν ἄλλοις πολιτείαν. Χαβρίας
[483] δ' αὐτὸς ἐτιμήθη παρ' ὑμῖν μόνος. εἰ δὴ τόθ',
ὅθ' εὑρίσκετο τὴν δωρειάν, ἠξίωσεν ὑμᾶς, ὥσπερ
δι' Ἰφικράτην καὶ Τιμόθεον εὖ τινὰς πεποιήκατε,
οὕτω καὶ δι' αὐτὸν εὖ ποιῆσαι τούτων τινὰς τῶν
εὑρημένων τὴν ἀτέλειαν, οὓς νῦν οὗτοι μεμφόμενοι
πάντας ἀφαιρεῖσθαι κελεύουσιν ὁμοίως, οὐκ ἂν
ἐδώκατε ταύτην αὐτῷ τὴν χάριν; ἔγωγ' ἡγοῦμαι.
86 εἶθ' οἷς δι' ἐκεῖνον ἂν τότ' ἐδώκατε δωρειάν,
διὰ τούτους νῦν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ἀφαιρήσεσθε τὴν
ἀτέλειαν; ἀλλ' ἄλογον. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὑμῖν ἁρμόττει
δοκεῖν παρὰ μὲν τὰς εὐεργεσίας οὕτω προχείρως
ἔχειν ὥστε μὴ μόνον αὐτοὺς τοὺς εὐεργέτας τιμᾶν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνων φίλους, ἐπειδὰν δὲ χρόνος
διέλθῃ βραχύς, καὶ ὅσ' αὐτοῖς δεδώκατε, ταῦτ'
ἀφαιρεῖσθαι.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΧΑΒΡΙΟΥ ΤΙΜΩΝ

87 Οὓς μὲν τοίνυν ἀδικήσετε, εἰ μὴ λύσετε τὸν νόμον, πρὸς πολλοῖς ἄλλοις, οὓς ἀκηκόατ', εἰσίν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί. σκοπεῖτε δὴ καὶ λογίσασθ' ἐν ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, εἴ τινες τούτων τῶν τετελευτηκότων λάβοιεν τρόπῳ τινὶ τοῦ νυνὶ γιγνομένου πράγματος αἴσθησιν, ὡς ἂν εἰκότως ἀγανακτήσειαν. εἰ γὰρ ὧν ἔργῳ πεποίηκεν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ὑμᾶς εὖ,

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[a] Iphicrates was honoured for the defeat of the Spartan *mora* in the Corinthian War (390), Timotheus for his successful expedition to Corcyra after the battle of Naxos (376). Strabax was presumably a foreign mercenary; Polystratus is mentioned in *Phil.* i. 24, as a commander of Athenian mercenaries at Corinth. These last two were rewarded for services under the command of Iphicrates. Clearchus cannot be identified with certainty.

warded Clearchus and some others with the citizenship [a]; but in the case of Chabrias your honours were for him alone. Now, if at the time when he was receiving his reward, he had claimed that as you had rewarded others for the sake of Iphicrates and Timotheus, so for his sake you should reward some of those men who have actually received the immunity, but to whom our opponents object so strongly that they want all alike to be deprived of it, would you not have granted him that boon? I cannot doubt it. For his sake you would have rewarded them then; yet now, on their account, will you take away the immunity from Chabrias himself? Why, that is absurd! For it is inconsistent to seem so generous, when the benefits are recent, that you honour not the benefactors only but their friends as well, but, when a short time has elapsed, to take away even the rewards that you have given to the benefactors.[b]

[*The decrees in honour of Chabrias are read*]

So these whose names you have heard, as well as many others, are the men whom you will injure if you do not repeal the law. Just reflect and ponder in your own minds, if any of these men now passed away could somehow come to know of the present proceedings, what just ground they would have for indignation! For if of the deeds that each wrought

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[b] The argument seems to be this. Some recipients of immunity obtained similar favours for their friends. Chabrias did not, but he *might* have done so, and his friends *might* have been the undeserving persons now enjoying immunity. In this rather hypothetical case, after rewarding the jackals from gratitude to the lion, you now penalize the lion out of contempt for the jackals.

τούτων ἐκ λόγου κρίσις γίγνεται, καὶ τὰ καλῶς
πραχθένθ᾽ ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνων, ἂν ὑφ᾽ ἡμῶν μὴ καλῶς
ῥηθῇ τῷ λόγῳ, μάτην τοῖς πονήσασιν εἴργασται,
πῶς οὐ δεινὰ πάσχουσιν;

88 Ἵνα τοίνυν εἰδῆτ᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὅτι ὡς
ἀληθῶς ἐπὶ πᾶσι δικαίοις ποιούμεθα τοὺς λόγους
πάντας, οὓς λέγομεν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔσθ᾽ ὅ
τι τοῦ παρακρούσασθαι καὶ φενακίσαι λέγεται παρ᾽
[484] ἡμῶν ἕνεκα, ἀναγνώσεται τὸν νόμον ὑμῖν ὃν
παρεισφέρομεν γράψαντες ἀντὶ τοῦδε, ὃν οὐκ
ἐπιτήδειον εἶναί φαμεν. γνώσεσθε γὰρ ἐκ τούτου
πρόνοιάν τιν᾽ ἔχοντας ἡμᾶς καὶ ὅπως ὑμεῖς μηδὲν
αἰσχρὸν ποιῆσαι δόξετε, καὶ ὅπως, εἴ τινά τις
καταμέμφεται τῶν εὑρημένων τὰς δωρειάς, ἂν
δίκαιον ᾖ, κρίνας παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ἀφαιρήσεται, καὶ ὅπως,
οὓς οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀντείποι μὴ οὐ δεῖν ἔχειν, ἕξουσι τὰ
89 δοθέντα. καὶ τούτων πάντων οὐδέν ἐστι καινὸν
οὐδ᾽ ἡμέτερον εὕρημα, ἀλλ᾽ ὁ παλαιός, ὃν οὗτος
παρέβη, νόμος οὕτω κελεύει νομοθετεῖν, γράφεσθαι
μέν, ἄν τίς τινα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων νόμων μὴ καλῶς
ἔχειν ἡγῆται, παρεισφέρειν δ᾽ αὐτὸν ἄλλον, ὃν ἂν
τιθῇ λύων ἐκεῖνον, ὑμᾶς δ᾽ ἀκούσαντας ἑλέσθαι τὸν
90 κρείττω. οὐ γὰρ ᾤετο δεῖν ὁ Σόλων, ὁ τοῦτον τὸν
τρόπον προστάξας νομοθετεῖν, τοὺς μὲν θεσμοθέτας
τοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς νόμους κληρουμένους δὶς δοκιμασθέντας
ἄρχειν, ἔν τε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ
δικαστηρίῳ, τοὺς δὲ νόμους αὐτούς, καθ᾽ οὓς καὶ
τούτοις ἄρχειν καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἄλλοις πολιτεύεσθαι
προσήκει, ἐπὶ καιροῦ τεθέντας, ὅπως ἔτυχον, μὴ

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[a] To ascertain whether they were duly qualified by birth, by character, and by wealth.

for your advantage there is to be a judgement based on words, if actions nobly performed by them, unless nobly avowed by us in speech, have been wrought in vain for all their toil, are they not suffering a terrible wrong?

Now, to satisfy you, Athenians, that every argument that we submit to you is based on perfectly just grounds, and that not a single argument is intended to mislead and deceive you, the clerk shall read the law drafted and proposed by us to take the place of the present one, which we contend is mischievous. For our law will show you that we take some care to ensure that you shall be saved from the appearance of a dishonourable act; that if anyone objects to one of the recipients, he can deprive him of his gift, if the objection is sound, after trial in your courts; and also that those whose claim to the gifts none could dispute shall keep them. And in all this there is nothing new, no innovation of our own; but the old law, transgressed by Leptines, lays down this procedure in legislation, that if a man disapproves of an existing law, he shall bring an indictment against it, but shall himself introduce an alternative, such as he proposes to enact after repeal of the other, and that you, after hearing arguments, shall choose the better law. For Solon, who imposed this method, did not think it right that while the junior archons, who are appointed by lot to administer the laws, undergo two scrutinies [a] before entering on office, one in the Council and a second in the law-courts before you, the laws themselves, which regulate their official acts and all other civic duties, should be passed at haphazard to meet some emergency, and should

91 δοκιμασθέντας κυρίους εἶναι. καὶ γάρ τοι τότε
μέν, τέως τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον ἐνομοθέτουν, τοῖς
μὲν ὑπάρχουσι νόμοις ἐχρῶντο, καινοὺς δ' οὐκ
ἐτίθεσαν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ τῶν πολιτευομένων τινὲς
δυνηθέντες, ὡς ἐγὼ πυνθάνομαι, κατεσκεύασαν
αὑτοῖς ἐξεῖναι νομοθετεῖν, ὅταν τις βούληται καὶ
ὃν ἂν τύχῃ τρόπον, τοσοῦτοι μὲν οἱ ἐναντίοι σφίσιν
αὐτοῖς εἰσὶ νόμοι, ὥστε χειροτονεῖθ' ὑμεῖς τοὺς
διαλέξοντας τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐπὶ πάμπολυν ἤδη
92 χρόνον, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμ' οὐδὲν μᾶλλον δύναται πέρας
[485] ἔχειν· ψηφισμάτων δ' οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν διαφέρουσιν οἱ
νόμοι, ἀλλὰ νεώτεροι οἱ νόμοι, καθ' οὓς τὰ ψηφίσματα
δεῖ γράφεσθαι, τῶν ψηφισμάτων αὐτῶν
ὑμῖν εἰσίν. ἵν' οὖν μὴ λόγον λέγω μόνον, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τὸν νόμον αὐτὸν ὅν φημι δείξω, λαβέ μοι τὸν
νόμον καθ' ὃν ἦσαν οἱ πρότερον νομοθέται. λέγε.

ΝΟΜΟΣ

93 Συνίεθ' ὃν τρόπον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ὁ Σόλων
τοὺς νόμους ὡς καλῶς κελεύει τιθέναι, πρῶτον μὲν
παρ' ὑμῖν, ἐν τοῖς ὀμωμοκόσι, παρ' οἷσπερ καὶ
τἄλλα κυροῦται, ἔπειτα λύοντα τοὺς ἐναντίους, ἵν'
εἷς ᾖ περὶ τῶν ὄντων ἑκάστου νόμος, καὶ μὴ τοὺς
ἰδιώτας αὐτὸ τοῦτο ταράττῃ καὶ ποιῇ τῶν ἅπαντας
εἰδότων τοὺς νόμους ἔλαττον ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσιν ᾖ
ταὔτ' ἀναγνῶναι καὶ μαθεῖν ἁπλᾶ καὶ σαφῆ τὰ
94 δίκαια. καὶ πρὸ τούτων γ' ἐπέταξεν ἐκθεῖναι

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[a] νεώτεροι has been misunderstood and variously emended. Laws ought to be general and permanent, decrees particular and occasional; but there has been such a glut of hasty legislation, since the restoration of democracy in 403, that many decrees still stand unrepealed after the

be at once valid without passing a scrutiny. For in those days, indeed, while they legislated in that way, they kept to the existing laws and were not always proposing new ones; but ever since certain statesmen rose to power and, as I am informed, contrived to get into their own hands the right to initiate legislation at any time and in any way they wished, there are so many contradictory statutes that for a long time you have had to appoint a commission to sort out the contradictory ones; yet in spite of this the business never comes to an end. Our laws are no better than so many decrees; nay, you will find that the laws which have to be observed in drafting the decrees are later [a] than the decrees themselves. Not to be content, then, with a bare assertion, but to show you the actual law to which I refer, please take and read the law constituting the original legislative commission.

[*The law is read*]

You understand, Athenians, the beauty of Solon's directions for legislating. The first stage is in your courts, before men under oath, where all other ratifications are made; the next is the repeal of the contradictory laws, so that there may be only one law dealing with each subject, and that the plain citizen may not be puzzled by such contradictions and be at a disadvantage compared with those who are acquainted with the whole body of law, but that all may have the same ordinances before them, simple and clear to read and understand. Moreover, before these proceedings, Solon ordered that the laws should

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laws on which they were based have been superseded. For the legislative commission see Introd. p. 488.

πρόσθε τῶν ἐπωνύμων καὶ τῷ γραμματεῖ παρα-
δοῦναι, τοῦτον δ' ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἀναγιγνώσκειν,
ἵν' ἕκαστος ὑμῶν ἀκούσας πολλάκις καὶ κατὰ
σχολὴν σκεψάμενος, ἂν ᾖ καὶ δίκαια καὶ συμ-
φέροντα, ταῦτα νομοθετῇ. τούτων τοίνυν τοσούτων
ὄντων δικαίων τὸ πλῆθος, οὑτοσὶ μὲν οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν
ἐποίησε Λεπτίνης· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς ποτ' ἐπείσθηθ',
ὡς ἐγὼ νομίζω, θέσθαι τὸν νόμον· ἡμεῖς δ', ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πάντα, καὶ παρεισφέρομεν πολλῷ
95 καὶ κρείττω καὶ δικαιότερον τοῦ τούτου νόμον.
[486] γνώσεσθε δ' ἀκούοντες. λαβὲ καὶ λέγε πρῶτον
μὲν ἃ τοῦ τούτου νόμου γεγράμμεθα, εἶθ' ἅ φαμεν
δεῖν ἀντὶ τούτων τεθῆναι. λέγε.

ΝΟΜΟΣ

Ταῦτα μέν ἐσθ' ἃ τοῦ τούτου νόμου διώκομεν ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια. τὰ δ' ἑξῆς λέγε, ἃ τούτων εἶναι βελτίω φαμέν. προσέχετ', ἄνδρες δικασταί, τούτοις ἀναγιγνωσκομένοις τὸν νοῦν. λέγε.

ΝΟΜΟΣ

96 Ἐπίσχες. τοῦτο μέν ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς οὖσι νόμοις κυρίοις ὑπάρχον καλόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ σαφές, "τὰς δωρειὰς ὅσας ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκε κυρίας εἶναι"· δίκαιον, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί. χρῆν τοίνυν Λεπτίνην μὴ πρότερον τιθέναι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ νόμον, πρὶν τοῦτον ἔλυσε γραψάμενος. νῦν δὲ μαρτυρίαν καθ' ἑαυτοῦ καταλείπων ὅτι παρανομεῖ τουτονὶ τὸν νόμον, ὅμως ἐνομοθέτει, καὶ ταῦθ' ἑτέρου

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[a] The statues of the heroes who gave their names to the ten tribes stood in the Agora near the council-chamber.

[b] By this, if correct, must be meant the preamble of the amended law, setting forth the objections to the existing law

be exposed before the statues of the eponymous heroes [a] and handed in to the town-clerk to recite them at the meetings of the Assembly, so that each of you may hear them more than once and digest them at leisure, and if they are just and expedient, may add them to the statute-book. Now, numerous as those enactments are, Leptines yonder has observed not one of them, for, if he had, I do not think that you would ever have consented to pass his law. We on the other hand, Athenians, have observed them all, and we are submitting a much better and more equitable law than his. You will realize that when you hear it. Take and read first of all the clauses of his law which we have indicted, and next the clauses we propose to substitute for them. Read.

[*The law* [b] *is read*]

These are the parts of the law of Leptines which we arraign as unsatisfactory. Next in order read our proposed amendments. Pray attend, gentlemen of the jury, to these as they are recited. Read.

[*The law is read*]

Stop there. The laws now in force contain this provision—a capital one, men of Athens, and unambiguous—that "all rewards granted by the people shall be valid." Equitable too, by all the powers! So Leptines should not have proposed his own law until he had indicted and repealed this. As it is, neglecting this proof of his own violation of the law, he nevertheless proceeded to legislate, in face of the

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of Leptines. The second "law" read would be the amendments proposed; and at the end of § 97 the whole law as amended is read.

κελεύοντος νόμου καὶ κατ᾿ αὐτὸ τοῦτ᾿ ἔνοχον εἶναι τῇ γραφῇ, ἐὰν ἐναντίος ᾖ τοῖς πρότερον κειμένοις νόμοις. λαβὲ δ᾿ αὐτὸν τὸν νόμον.

ΝΟΜΟΣ

97 Οὔκουν ἐναντίον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῷ "κυρίας εἶναι τὰς δωρειὰς ὅσας ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκε," τὸ "μηδέν᾿ εἶναι ἀτελῆ" τούτων οἷς ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκεν; σαφῶς γ᾿ οὑτωσί. ἀλλ᾿ οὐκ ἐν ᾧ νῦν ὅδ᾿ ἀντεισφέρει νόμῳ, ἀλλ᾿ ἅ τ᾿ ἐδώκατε, κύρια, καὶ πρόφασις δικαία κατὰ τῶν ἢ παρακρουσαμένων ἢ μετὰ ταῦτ᾿ ἀδικούντων ἢ ὅλως ἀναξίων, δι᾿ ἣν ὃν ἂν ὑμῖν δοκῇ κωλύσετ᾿ ἔχειν τὴν δωρειάν. λέγε τὸν νόμον.

[487] ΝΟΜΟΣ

98 Ἀκούετ᾿, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ καταμανθάνετε, ὅτι ἐνταῦθ᾿ ἔνι καὶ τοὺς ἀξίους ἔχειν τὰ δοθέντα καὶ τοὺς μὴ τοιούτους κριθέντας, ἐὰν ἀδίκως τι λάβωσιν, ἀφαιρεθῆναι, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐφ᾿ ὑμῖν εἶναι πάνθ᾿, ὥσπερ ἐστὶ δίκαιον, καὶ δοῦναι καὶ μή. ὡς μὲν τοίνυν οὐχὶ καλῶς οὗτος ἔχει καὶ δικαίως ὁ νόμος, οὔτ᾿ ἐρεῖν οἴομαι Λεπτίνην οὔτ᾿, ἐὰν λέγῃ, δεῖξαι δυνήσεσθαι· ἃ δὲ πρὸς τοῖς θεσμοθέταις ἔλεγε, ταῦτ᾿ ἴσως λέγων παράγειν ὑμᾶς ζητήσει. ἔφη γὰρ ἐξαπάτης εἵνεκα παραγεγράφθαι τοῦτον τὸν νόμον, ἐὰν δ᾿ ὃν αὐτὸς
99 ἔθηκε λυθῇ, τοῦτον οὐ τεθήσεσθαι. ἐγὼ δ᾿, ὅτι μὲν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ψήφῳ τοῦ τούτου[1] νόμου λυθέντος

[1] So Westermann; τούτου τοῦ Dindorf with MSS.

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[a] Apsephion.

fact that another law proclaims his law indictable for this very offence, namely, for contradicting previous legislation. Here is the very law in question.

[*The law is read*]

Men of Athens, is not the provision that "all rewards granted by the people shall be valid" contradicted by the clause that "no one shall be immune," no one, that is, of those to whom the people has granted immunity? That is plain enough, at any rate. But it is not so in the alternative law which my friend[a] here proposes, and which confirms what you have granted, and provides a fair ground of action against those who have imposed upon you, or have subsequently injured you, or are generally undeserving; so that you will thus prevent anyone you please from retaining his grant. Read the law.

[*The law is read*]

You hear the law, Athenians, and you understand that it enables the deserving to retain their rewards, and those who are judged otherwise to be deprived of any privilege they have unjustly secured; for the future everything is left in your hands, as is right, to grant or to withhold. Now I do not think that Leptines will deny that this law is sound and just, or, if he does, that he will be able to prove it. But perhaps he will try to lead you astray by repeating what he said before the junior archons.[b] For he alleged that the publication of this amended law was a mere trick, and that should his own law be repealed, this one would never be passed. Now, to avoid dispute, I will not press the point that the old law of

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[b] At the ἀνάκρισις or preliminary trial.

τὸν παρεισενεχθέντα κύριον εἶναι σαφῶς ὁ παλαιὸς
κελεύει νόμος, καθ᾽ ὃν οἱ θεσμοθέται τοῦτον ὑμῖν
παρέγραψαν, ἐάσω, ἵνα μὴ περὶ τούτου τις ἀντιλέγῃ
μοι, ἀλλ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἐκεῖνο εἶμι. ὅταν ταῦτα λέγῃ
δήπου, ὁμολογεῖ μὲν εἶναι βελτίω καὶ δικαιότερον
τόνδε τὸν νόμον οὗ τέθεικεν αὐτός, ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ
100 πῶς τεθήσεται ποιεῖται τὸν λόγον. πρῶτον μὲν
τοίνυν εἰσὶν αὐτῷ κατὰ τοῦ παρεισφέροντος πολλοὶ
τρόποι, δι᾽ ὧν, ἂν βούληται, θεῖναι τὸν νόμον
αὐτὸν ἀναγκάσει. ἔπειτ᾽ ἐγγυώμεθ᾽ ἡμεῖς, ἐγώ,
Φορμίων, ἄλλον εἴ τινα βούλεται, θήσειν τὸν
νόμον. ἔστι δὲ δήπου νόμος ὑμῖν, ἐάν τις ὑποσχόμενός
τι τὸν δῆμον ἢ βουλὴν ἢ δικαστήριον
ἐξαπατήσῃ, τὰ ἔσχατα πάσχειν. ἐγγυώμεθα, ὑπισχνούμεθα.
οἱ θεσμοθέται ταῦτα γραφόντων, ἐπὶ
101 τούτοις τὸ πρᾶγμα γιγνέσθω. μήθ᾽ ὑμεῖς ποιήσητε
μηδὲν ἀνάξιον ὑμῶν αὐτῶν, μήτ᾽, εἴ τις φαῦλός
[488] ἐστι τῶν εὑρημένων τὴν δωρειάν, ἐχέτω, ἀλλ᾽ ἰδίᾳ
κατὰ τόνδε κριθήτω τὸν νόμον. εἰ δὲ ταῦτα λόγους
καὶ φλυαρίας εἶναι φήσει, ἐκεῖνό γ᾽ οὐ λόγος· αὐτὸς
θέτω, καὶ μὴ λεγέτω τοῦθ᾽, ὡς οὐ θήσομεν ἡμεῖς.
κάλλιον δὲ δήπου τὸν ὑφ᾽ ὑμῶν κριθέντα καλῶς
ἔχειν νόμον εἰσφέρειν ἢ ὃν νῦν ἀφ᾽ αὑτοῦ τίθησιν.

102 Ἐμοὶ δ᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, δοκεῖ Λεπτίνης
(καί μοι μηδὲν ὀργισθῇς· οὐδὲν γὰρ φλαῦρον ἐρῶ
σε) ἢ οὐκ ἀνεγνωκέναι τοὺς Σόλωνος νόμους ἢ οὐ
συνιέναι. εἰ γὰρ ὁ μὲν Σόλων ἔθηκε νόμον ἐξεῖναι
δοῦναι τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ᾧ ἄν τις βούληται, ἐὰν μὴ

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[a] We may conjecture that the old law (that if the original statute was condemned, the amendment became law *ipso facto*) had in practice been superseded.

[b] Demosthenes is a trifle premature here.

Solon, in accordance with which the junior archons have notified these amendments to you, clearly enjoins that if the law of Leptines is repealed by your vote, the alternative law shall be valid.[a] I will pass to another point. Leptines, in saying this, obviously admits that our law is better and fairer than his own, but bases his argument on the way in which it is to be passed. Now, in the first place, there are many ways open to him, if he wishes, of compelling the amender to introduce his own law. In the next place, Phormio and myself and anyone else he likes to name are prepared to guarantee that we will introduce it. You know there is a law making death the penalty for anyone who breaks his promise to the Assembly or one of the Councils or law-courts. You have our guarantee, our promise. Let the archons record it, and let the matter rest in their hands. Neither do anything that is unworthy of this court, nor, if a worthless person is found among those who enjoy the grant, let him keep it; only let each case be judged on its merits. But if Leptines shall say that that is all talk and humbug, this at any rate is not mere talk; let him bring in the amended law himself and cease to say that we will not do so. It is surely a greater honour to propose the law, stamped with your approval,[b] than this of his own devising.

It seems to me, Athenians, that Leptines—and pray, be not angry,[c] for I am not going to say anything offensive about you—Leptines has either never read Solon's laws or else does not understand them. For if Solon made a law that every man could grant his property to whomsoever he pleased, in default

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[c] He address himself directly to Leptines.

παῖδες ὦσι γνήσιοι, οὐχ ἵν᾽ ἀποστερήσῃ τοὺς
ἐγγυτάτω γένει τῆς ἀγχιστείας, ἀλλ᾽ ἵν᾽ εἰς τὸ
μέσον καταθεὶς τὴν ὠφέλειαν ἐφάμιλλον ποιήσῃ τὸ
103 ποιεῖν ἀλλήλους εὖ, σὺ δὲ τοὐναντίον εἰσενήνοχας
μὴ ἐξεῖναι τῷ δήμῳ τῶν αὑτοῦ δοῦναι μηδενὶ
μηδέν, πῶς σέ τις φήσῃ τοὺς Σόλωνος ἀνεγνωκέναι
νόμους ἢ συνιέναι; ὃς ἔρημον ποιεῖς τὸν
δῆμον τῶν φιλοτιμησομένων, προλέγων καὶ δεικνὺς
ὅτι τοῖς ἀγαθόν τι ποιοῦσιν οὐδ᾽ ὁτιοῦν ἔσται
104 πλέον. καὶ μὴν κἀκεῖνος τῶν καλῶς δοκούντων
ἔχειν νόμων Σόλωνός ἐστι, μὴ λέγειν κακῶς τὸν
τεθνεῶτα, μηδ᾽ ἂν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐκείνου τις ἀκούῃ
παίδων αὐτός· σὺ δὲ ποιεῖς, οὐ λέγεις κακῶς τοὺς
τετελευτηκότας τῶν εὐεργετῶν, τῷ δεῖνι μεμφόμενος
καὶ τὸν δεῖν᾽ ἀνάξιον εἶναι φάσκων, ὧν
οὐδὲν ἐκείνοις προσῆκεν. ἆρ᾽ οὐ πολὺ τοῦ Σόλωνος
ἀποστατεῖς τῇ γνώμῃ;

105 Πάνυ τοίνυν σπουδῇ τις ἀπήγγελλέ μοι περὶ τοῦ
μηδενὶ δεῖν μηδὲν διδόναι, μηδ᾽ ἂν ὁτιοῦν πράξῃ,
τοιοῦτόν τι λέγειν αὐτοὺς παρεσκευάσθαι, ὡς ἄρ᾽
οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καλῶς πολιτευόμενοι καὶ Θηβαῖοι
[489] οὐδενὶ τῶν παρ᾽ ἑαυτοῖς διδόασι τοιαύτην οὐδεμίαν
τιμήν· καίτοι καὶ παρ᾽ ἐκείνοις τινές εἰσιν ἴσως
ἀγαθοί. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκοῦσιν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
πάντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι λόγοι παροξυντικοὶ μὲν εἶναι
πρὸς τὸ τὰς ἀτελείας ὑμᾶς ἀφελέσθαι πεῖσαι, οὐ
μέντοι δίκαιοί γ᾽ οὐδαμῇ. οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοῶ τοῦθ᾽,
ὅτι Θηβαῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἡμεῖς οὔτε

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[a] *i.e.* of their descendants, whose demerits are no justification for cancelling a reward once given. But the Greek is not clear.

[b] Or possibly, if ὧν is masculine, "though the men thus charged have no connexion with the dead."

of legitimate offspring, not with the object of depriving the next of kin of their rights of consanguinity, but that by making the prize open to all he might excite a rivalry in doing good one to another; and if you, on the contrary, have proposed a law that the people shall not be permitted to bestow on any man any part of what is their own, how can you be said to have read or understood the laws of Solon? You make the nation barren of would-be patriots by proclaiming unmistakably that those who benefit us shall gain nothing by it. Again, there is another excellent law of Solon, forbidding a man to speak ill of the dead, even if he is himself defamed by the dead man's children. You do not *speak* ill of our departed benefactors, Leptines; you *do* ill to them, when you blame one [a] and assert that another is unworthy, though these charges have nothing to do with the dead men.[b] Are you not very far from the intention of Solon?

Now I have been quite seriously informed that with regard to the absolute prohibition of all rewards,[c] whatever a man's services may be, our opponents are prepared to use some such argument as this. The Lacedaemonians, who are a well-organized state, and the Thebans grant no such reward to any of their citizens, and yet possibly there are some good men among them. In my opinion, men of Athens, all such arguments are provocative, and intended to persuade you to abolish the immunities, but just they are certainly not. For I am quite aware that the Thebans and the Lacedaemonians and ourselves

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[c] Demosthenes here misrepresents the law, which only touched the immunities. "Quite seriously" is taken by some with "prepared to use."

νόμοις οὔτ' ἔθεσι χρώμεθα τοῖς αὐτοῖς οὔτε
106 πολιτείᾳ. αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο πρῶτον, ὃ νῦν οὗτοι
ποιήσουσιν, ἐὰν ταῦτα λέγωσιν, οὐκ ἔξεστι ποιεῖν
παρὰ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις, τὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων
ἐπαινεῖν νόμιμα οὐδὲ τὰ τῶν δείνων, πολλοῦ γε
καὶ δεῖ, ἀλλ' ἃ τῇ παρ' ἐκείνοις πολιτείᾳ συμφέρει,
ταῦτ' ἐπαινεῖν ἀνάγκη καὶ ποιεῖν. εἶτα καὶ
Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῶν μὲν τοιούτων ἀφεστᾶσιν, ἄλλαι
δέ τινες παρ' ἐκείνοις εἰσὶ τιμαί, ἃς ἀπεύξαιτ' ἂν
107 ἅπας ὁ δῆμος ἐνταυθοῖ γενέσθαι. τίνες οὖν εἰσιν
αὗται; τὰς μὲν καθ' ἕκαστον ἐάσω, μίαν δ', ἣ
συλλαβοῦσα τὰς ἄλλας ἔχει, δίειμι. ἐπειδάν τις
εἰς τὴν καλουμένην γερουσίαν ἐγκριθῇ παρασχὼν
αὑτὸν οἷον χρή, δεσπότης ἐστὶ τῶν πολλῶν. ἐκεῖ
μὲν γάρ ἐστι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἆθλον τῆς πολιτείας
κυρίῳ γενέσθαι μετὰ τῶν ὁμοίων, παρὰ δ' ἡμῖν
ταύτης μὲν ὁ δῆμος κύριος, καὶ ἀραὶ καὶ νόμοι καὶ
φυλακαὶ ὅπως μηδεὶς ἄλλος κύριος γενήσεται,
στέφανοι δὲ καὶ ἀτέλειαι καὶ σιτήσεις καὶ τοιαῦτ'
108 ἐστίν, ὧν ἄν τις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς ὢν τύχοι. καὶ ταῦτ'
ἀμφότερ' ὀρθῶς ἔχει, καὶ τἀκεῖ καὶ τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν.
διὰ τί; ὅτι τὰς μὲν διὰ τῶν ὀλίγων πολιτείας τὸ
πάντας ἔχειν ἴσον ἀλλήλοις τοὺς τῶν κοινῶν
[490] κυρίους ὁμονοεῖν ποιεῖ, τὴν δὲ τῶν δήμων ἐλευθερίαν
ἡ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἅμιλλα, ἣν ἐπὶ ταῖς
παρὰ τοῦ δήμου δωρειαῖς πρὸς αὑτοὺς ποιοῦνται,
φυλάττει.

109 Καὶ μὴν περὶ τοῦ γε μηδὲ Θηβαίους μηδένα
τιμᾶν, ἐκεῖν' ἂν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν ἀληθὲς οἴομαι.
μεῖζον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, Θηβαῖοι φρονοῦσιν ἐπ'
ὠμότητι καὶ πονηρίᾳ ἢ ὑμεῖς ἐπὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ καὶ

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[a] At the opening of every meeting of the Assembly and of

do not observe the same laws and customs, nor the same form of government. For in the first place, if this is their argument, they are about to do exactly what a man cannot do at Sparta—praise the laws of Athens or of any other state; nay, so far from that, he is obliged to praise, as well as do, whatever accords with his native constitution. Then again, though the Lacedaemonians do not hold with these customs, yet there are other honours at Sparta, which our citizens to a man would shrink from introducing here. What, then, are those honours? Not to take each singly, I will describe one which comprises all the rest. Whenever a man for his good conduct is elected to the Senate, or Gerusia, as they call it, he is absolute master of the mass of citizens. For at Sparta the prize of merit is to share with one's peers the supremacy in the State; but with us the people is supreme, and any other form of supremacy is forbidden by imprecations [a] and laws and other safeguards, but we have crowns of honour and immunities and free maintenance and similar rewards, which anyone may win, if he is a good citizen. And both these customs are right enough, the one at Sparta and the other here. Why? Because in an oligarchy harmony is attained by the equality of those who control the State, but the freedom of a democracy is guarded by the rivalry with which good citizens compete for the rewards offered by the people.

Again, with regard to the absence of honours at Thebes, I think I can express the truth thus. The Thebans, men of Athens, plume themselves more on brutality and iniquity than you on humanity and love

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the Council a herald recited a curse on enemies of the State and on evil counsellors; see *De Fals. Leg.* 70.

τῷ τὰ δίκαια βούλεσθαι. μήτ' οὖν ἐκεῖνοί ποτε παύσαιντο, εἰ ἄρ' εὔξασθαι δεῖ, τοὺς μὲν αὑτοὺς ἀγαθόν τι ποιοῦντας μήτε τιμῶντες μήτε θαυμάζοντες, τοὺς δὲ συγγενεῖς (ἴστε γὰρ ὃν τρόπον Ὀρχομενὸν διέθηκαν) οὕτω μεταχειριζόμενοι, μήθ' ὑμεῖς τἀναντία τούτοις τοὺς μὲν εὐεργέτας τιμῶντες, παρὰ δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν λόγῳ μετὰ τῶν νόμων
110 τὰ δίκαια λαμβάνοντες. ὅλως δ' οἶμαι τότε δεῖν τοὺς ἑτέρων ἐπαινεῖν τρόπους καὶ ἔθη τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἐπιτιμῶντας, ὅταν ᾖ δεῖξαι βέλτιον ἐκείνους πράττοντας ὑμῶν. ὅτε δ' ὑμεῖς, καλῶς ποιοῦντες, καὶ κατὰ τὰς κοινὰς πράξεις καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ κατὰ τἄλλα πάντ' ἄμεινον ἐκείνων πράττετε, τοῦ χάριν ἂν τῶν ὑμετέρων αὐτῶν ἐθῶν ὀλιγωροῦντες ἐκεῖνα διώκοιτε; εἰ γὰρ καὶ κατὰ τὸν λογισμὸν ἐκεῖνα φανείη βελτίω, τῆς γε τύχης ἕνεκα, ᾗ παρὰ ταῦτ' ἀγαθῇ κέχρησθε, ἐπὶ τούτων
111 ἄξιον μεῖναι. εἰ δὲ δεῖ παρὰ πάντα ταῦτ' εἰπεῖν ὃ δίκαιον ἡγοῦμαι, ἐκεῖν' ἂν ἔγωγ' εἴποιμι. οὐκ ἔστι δίκαιον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων νόμους οὐδὲ τοὺς Θηβαίων λέγειν ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς ἐνθάδε λυμαίνεσθαι, οὐδὲ δι' ὧν μὲν ἐκεῖνοι μεγάλοι[1] εἰσί, κἂν ἀποκτεῖναι βούλεσθαι τὸν παρ' ἡμῖν τούτων τι κατασκευάσαντα, διὰ δ' ὧν ὁ παρ' ἡμῖν δῆμος εὐδαίμων, ταῦθ' ὡς ἀνελεῖν δεῖ λεγόντων τινῶν ἐθέλειν ἀκούειν.

112 Ἔστι τοίνυν τις πρόχειρος λόγος, ὡς ἄρα καὶ
[491] παρ' ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τῶν προγόνων πόλλ' ἀγάθ' εἰργασμένοι τινὲς οὐδενὸς ἠξιοῦντο τοιούτου, ἀλλ' ἀγαπητῶς ἐπιγράμματος ἐν τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς ἔτυχον·

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[1] MSS. add τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας καὶ δεσποτείας, which most edd., including Dindorf, omit.

of justice. If a prayer may be allowed, may they never cease to withhold honour and admiration from those who do them service, or to deal with kindred states in the same way! (For you remember how they treated Orchomenus.[a]) And never may you cease to do the opposite, honouring your benefactors and winning your rights from your fellow-citizens by debate and in harmony with the laws! And in general, I think that then only ought you to praise the habits and character of other nations and decry your own, when it is possible to prove that they are more prosperous than you. As long as you (thank Heaven!) are more prosperous than they, in public policy, in internal harmony, and in every other way, why should you belittle your national institutions and imitate theirs? Even if theirs could be proved superior in theory, yet the good fortune that you have enjoyed under your own institutions makes it worth your while to retain them. Besides all this, if I must say what I think is right, I would put it in this way. It is not right, Athenians, to cite the laws of the Lacedaemonians or of the Thebans in order to undermine the laws established here; it is not right that you should want to put a man to death for transplanting to Athens any of the institutions that have made those nations great, and yet lend a willing ear to those who propose to destroy the institutions under which our democracy has flourished.

Then they have another argument ready; that even at Athens in former generations men who had rendered great services met with no recognition of this sort, but were content with an inscription in the

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[a] Wiped out by the Thebans in 364. The men were massacred, and the women and children sold into slavery.

καὶ ἴσως τοῦθ' ὑμῖν ἀναγνώσεται τὸ ἐπίγραμμα.
ἐγὼ δ' ἡγοῦμαι τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, κατὰ πόλλ' ἀσύμφορον εἶναι τῇ πόλει
113 λέγεσθαι, πρὸς δὲ καὶ οὐδὲ δίκαιον. εἰ μὲν γὰρ
ἀναξίους εἶναί τις φήσει κἀκείνους τιμᾶσθαι, τίς
ἄξιος, εἰπάτω, εἰ μήτε τῶν προτέρων μηδεὶς μήτε
τῶν ὑστέρων· εἰ δὲ μηδένα φήσει, συναχθεσθείην
ἂν ἔγωγε τῇ πόλει, εἰ μηδεὶς ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ χρόνῳ
γέγονεν ἄξιος εὖ παθεῖν. καὶ μὴν εἴ γ' ὁμολογῶν
ἐκείνους εἶναι σπουδαίους μὴ τετυχηκότας δείξει
μηδενός, τῆς πόλεως ὡς ἀχαρίστου δήπου κατηγορεῖ.
ἔστι δ' οὐχ οὕτω ταῦτ' ἔχοντα, οὐδ'
ὀλίγου δεῖ· ἀλλ' ἐπειδάν τις οἶμαι κακουργῶν ἐπὶ
μὴ προσήκοντα πράγματα τοὺς λόγους μεταφέρῃ,
114 δυσχερεῖς ἀνάγκη φαίνεσθαι. ὡς δὲ τἀληθές τ'
ἔχει καὶ δίκαιόν ἐστι λέγειν, ἐγὼ πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐρῶ.
ἦσαν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πολλοὶ τῶν πρότερον
σπουδαῖοι, καὶ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν ἐτίμα καὶ τότε τοὺς
ἀγαθούς· αἱ μέντοι τιμαὶ καὶ τἄλλα πάντα τὰ μὲν
τότ' ἦν ἐπὶ τοῖς τότ' ἔθεσι, τὰ δὲ νῦν ἐπὶ τοῖς νῦν.
πρὸς οὖν τί τοῦτο λέγω; ὅτι φήσαιμ' ἂν ἔγωγ'
ἐκείνους οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅτου παρὰ τῆς πόλεως οὐ τυχεῖν
115 ὧν ἐβουλήθησαν. τίνι χρώμενος τεκμηρίῳ; ὅτι
Λυσιμάχῳ δωρειάν, ἑνὶ τῶν τότε χρησίμων,
ἑκατὸν μὲν ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ πλέθρα γῆς πεφυτευμένης
ἔδοσαν, ἑκατὸν δὲ ψιλῆς, ἔτι δ' ἀργυρίου μνᾶς
ἑκατόν, καὶ τέτταρας τῆς ἡμέρας δραχμάς. καὶ
[492] τούτων ψήφισμ' ἔστιν Ἀλκιβιάδου, ἐν ᾧ ταῦτα
γέγραπται. τότε μὲν γὰρ ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν καὶ γῆς

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[a] In the Agora. The inscription (quoted by Aeschines,

Hermes-Portico.[a] Perhaps indeed the inscription will be read to you. But in my opinion, Athenians, this argument is in many ways prejudicial to the State, besides being unjust. For if anyone says that even these men deserved no honour, let him say who does deserve it, if there is no one either before or after them. If he shall say "no one," I should be very sorry for our city, if no one in the course of its history has proved worthy of reward. Again, if while admitting their merit he points out that they got nothing by it, assuredly he accuses the city of ingratitude. But that is not the truth or anything like it; but whenever a man maliciously gives a wrong twist to his arguments, I think they must appear hateful. I, however, will explain the case to you, as truth and justice demand. There were, men of Athens, plenty of zealous citizens in former generations, and our city even then honoured its good men; only honours then, like everything else, reflected the temper of the times, just as they now reflect the temper of to-day. And why do I say this? Because for myself I should be inclined to assert that they did get from the State everything that they wished. What is my evidence? Lysimachus,[b] only one of the worthies of that day, received a hundred roods of orchard in Euboea and a hundred of arable land, besides a hundred minas of silver and a pension of four drachmas a day. And the decree in which these gifts are recorded stands in the name of Alcibiades. For then our city was rich in lands and

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In Ctes. 183) was in honour of Cimon's capture of Eion on the Strymon in 476.

[b] Son of Aristides the just, pensioned for his father's merits.

ηὐπόρει καὶ χρημάτων, νῦν δ' εὐπορήσει· δεῖ γὰρ οὕτω λέγειν καὶ μὴ βλασφημεῖν. καίτοι τίν' οὐκ ἂν οἴεσθε νῦν τὸ τρίτον μέρος τούτων ἀντὶ τῆς ἀτελείας ἑλέσθαι; ὅτι τοίνυν ἀληθῆ λέγω, λαβέ μοι τὸ ψήφισμα τουτί.

ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ

116 Ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τοῖς
προγόνοις ὑμῶν ἔθος ἦν τοὺς χρηστοὺς τιμᾶν,
δηλοῖ τὸ ψήφισμα τουτί· εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῖς αὐτοῖς
οἷσπερ ἡμεῖς νῦν, ἕτερόν τι τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη. εἰ
τοίνυν μήτε Λυσίμαχον μήτ' ἄλλον μηδένα μηδὲν
εὑρῆσθαι παρὰ τῶν προγόνων ἡμῶν συγχωρήσαιμεν,
τί μᾶλλον οἷς ἔδομεν νῦν ἡμεῖς διὰ τοῦτο
117 δικαίως ἂν ἀφαιρεθεῖεν; οὐ γὰρ οἱ μὴ δόντες ἃ
μὴ 'δόκει[1] δεινόν εἰσιν οὐδὲν εἰργασμένοι, ἀλλ' οἱ
δόντες μὲν, πάλιν δ' ὕστερον μηδὲν ἐγκαλοῦντες
ἀφαιρούμενοι. εἰ μὲν γάρ τις ἔχει δεῖξαι κἀκείνους
ὧν ἔδοσάν τῴ τι τοῦτ' ἀφῃρημένους, συγχωρῶ καὶ
ὑμᾶς ταὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, καίτοι τοῦτό γ'
αἰσχρὸν ὁμοίως· εἰ δὲ μηδ' ἂν εἷς ἐν ἅπαντι τῷ
χρόνῳ τοῦτ' ἔχοι δεῖξαι γεγονός, τίνος εἵνεκ' ἐφ'
ἡμῶν πρῶτον καταδειχθῇ τοιοῦτον ἔργον;

118 Χρὴ τοίνυν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, κἀκεῖνο ἐνθυμεῖσθαι
καὶ ὁρᾶν, ὅτι νῦν ὀμωμοκότες κατὰ τοὺς
νόμους δικάσειν ἥκετε, οὐχὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων
οὐδὲ Θηβαίων, οὐδ' οἷς ποτ' ἐχρήσανθ' οἱ πρῶτοι
τῶν προγόνων, ἀλλὰ καθ' οὓς ἔλαβον τὰς ἀτελείας
οὓς ἀφαιρεῖται νῦν οὗτος τῷ νόμῳ, καὶ περὶ ὧν
ἂν νόμοι μὴ ὦσι, γνώμῃ τῇ δικαιοτάτῃ κρινεῖν.

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[1] Weil's correction for δοκεῖ.

money, though now—she will be rich some day[a]; for I must put it in that way to avoid anything like obloquy. Yet to-day who, think you, would not prefer a third of that reward to mere immunity? To prove the truth of my words, please take the decree.

[*The decree is read*]

Now this decree, Athenians, proves that your ancestors, like yourselves, were accustomed to honour good men; if they used different methods from ours to-day, that is another matter. So even if we should admit that neither Lysimachus nor anyone else gained anything from our ancestors, does that make it any fairer in us to rob the men whom we have just rewarded? For there is nothing outrageous in withholding what one never dreamed of giving; but it is an outrage to give and afterwards take back one's gift, with no fault alleged. Prove to me that our ancestors ever took back the gifts they had bestowed, and you too have my leave to do the same, though the disgrace remains none the less; but if no one can cite an instance from the whole course of our history, why is such a precedent to be set in our generation?

Again, men of Athens, you must also consider well and carefully the fact that you have come into court to-day, sworn to give your verdict according to the laws, not of Sparta or Thebes, nor those of our earliest ancestors, but those under which immunities were granted to the men whom Leptines is now trying to rob by his law; and where there are no statutes to guide you, you are sworn to decide according to the best of your judgement. So far, so

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[a] A euphemism for "she is poor."

[493] καλῶς. τὸ τοίνυν τῆς γνώμης πρὸς ἅπαντ' ἀνενέγκατε
119 τὸν νόμον. ἆρ' οὖν δίκαιον, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, τοὺς εὐεργέτας τιμᾶν; δίκαιον. τί δ';
ὅσ' ἂν δῷ τις ἅπαξ, δίκαιον ἔχειν ἐᾶν; δίκαιον.
ταῦτα τοίνυν αὐτοί τε ποιεῖτε, ἵν' εὐορκῆτε, καὶ
τοὺς προγόνους ὀργίζεσθ' ἂν μή τις φῇ ποιεῖν, καὶ
τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγοντας παραδείγματα, ὡς ἄρ'
ἐκεῖνοι μεγάλ' εὖ παθόντες οὐδέν' ἐτίμησαν, καὶ
πονηροὺς καὶ ἀπαιδεύτους ἡγεῖσθ' εἶναι, πονηροὺς
μὲν διότι καταψεύδονται τῶν προγόνων ὑμῶν ὡς
ἀχαρίστων, ἀμαθεῖς δὲ διότι ἐκεῖνο ἀγνοοῦσιν,
ὅτι εἰ τὰ μάλιστα ταῦθ' οὕτως εἶχεν, ἀρνεῖσθαι
μᾶλλον ἢ λέγειν αὐτοῖς προσῆκεν.

120 Οἴομαι τοίνυν καὶ τοῦτον τὸν λόγον Λεπτίνην
ἐρεῖν, ὡς τὰς εἰκόνας καὶ τὴν σίτησιν οὐκ ἀφαιρεῖται
τῶν εἰληφότων ὁ νόμος, οὐδὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ
τιμᾶν τοὺς ὄντας ἀξίους, ἀλλ' ἔσται χαλκοῦς
ἱστάναι καὶ σίτησιν διδόναι καὶ ἄλλ' ὅ τι ἂν βούλησθε,
πλὴν τούτου. ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὲρ ὧν μὲν τῇ πόλει
καταλείπειν φήσει, τοσοῦτο λέγω· ὅταν ὧν ἐδώκατέ
τῳ πρότερόν τι, τοῦτ' ἀφέλησθε, καὶ τὰς ὑπολοίπους
ἀπίστους ποιήσετε πάσας δωρειάς. τί γὰρ
ἔσται πιστότερον τὸ τῆς εἰκόνος ἢ τῆς σιτήσεως
ἢ τὸ τῆς ἀτελείας, ἣν πρότερόν τισι δόντες ἀφῃρημένοι
121 φανεῖσθε; ἔτι δ' εἰ μηδὲν ἔμελλε τοῦτ'
ἔσεσθαι δυσχερές, οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο καλῶς ἔχειν ἡγοῦμαι,
εἰς τοιαύτην ἄγειν ἀνάγκην τὴν πόλιν δι' ἧς ἅπαντας
ἐξ ἴσου τῶν αὐτῶν ἀξιώσει τοῖς τὰ μέγιστ'
εὐεργετοῦσιν, ἢ μὴ τοῦτο ποιοῦσα χάριν τισὶν οὐκ
ἀποδώσει. μεγάλων μὲν οὖν εὐεργεσιῶν οὔθ' ὑμῖν

good. Then you must apply these principles to the law as a whole. Is it right, Athenians, to honour your benefactors? It is. Well then, is it right to allow a man to keep what has once been given him? It is. Then, to observe your oaths, act on that principle yourselves; resent the imputation that your ancestors acted otherwise; and as for those who cite such instances, alleging that your ancestors rewarded no man for great benefits received, look upon them as both knaves and dullards—knaves, because they falsely charge your ancestors with ingratitude; fools, because they do not see that were the charge proved to the hilt, it would better become them to deny than to repeat it.

Now I expect that another argument of Leptines will be that his law does not deprive the recipients of their inscriptions and their free maintenance, nor the State of the right to confer honour on those who deserve it, but that it will still be in your power to set up statues and grant maintenance and anything else you wish, except this one privilege. But with respect to the powers that he will pretend to leave to the State, I have just this to say. As soon as you take away one of the privileges you have already granted, you will shake the credit of all the rest. For how can the grant of a statue or of free maintenance be more indefeasible than that of an immunity, which you will seem to have first given and then taken away? Further, even if this difficulty were not likely to arise, I cannot think that it is well to bring the State into this dilemma, that it must either put all citizens on an equality with its greatest benefactors, or to avoid this must treat some with ingratitude. Now as for great benefactions, it is not

[494] συμφέρει συμβαίνειν πολλάκις καιρόν, οὔτ' ἴσως
122 ῥᾴδιον αἰτίῳ γενέσθαι· μετρίων δὲ καὶ ὧν ἐν
εἰρήνῃ τις καὶ πολιτείᾳ δύναιτ' ἂν ἐφικέσθαι,
εὐνοίας, δικαιοσύνης, ἐπιμελείας, τῶν τοιούτων,
καὶ συμφέρειν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ χρῆναι διδόναι τὰς
τιμάς. δεῖ τοίνυν μεμερίσθαι καὶ τὰ τῶν δωρειῶν,
ἵν' ἧς ἂν ἄξιος ὢν ἕκαστος φαίνηται, ταύτην παρὰ
123 τοῦ δήμου λαμβάνῃ τὴν δωρειάν. ἀλλὰ μὴν ὑπὲρ
ὧν γε τοῖς εὑρημένοις τὰς τιμὰς καταλείπειν φήσει,
οἱ μὲν ἁπλᾶ πάνυ καὶ δίκαι' ἂν εἴποιεν, πάνθ' ὅσα
τῶν αὐτῶν ἕνεκ' αὐτοῖς ἔδοτ' εὐεργεσιῶν ἀξιοῦντες
ἔχειν, οἱ δὲ φενακίζειν τὸν ὡς καταλείπεται
λέγοντά τι αὐτοῖς. ὁ γὰρ ἄξια τῆς ἀτελείας εὖ
πεποιηκέναι δόξας καὶ ταύτην παρ' ὑμῶν λαβὼν
τὴν τιμὴν μόνην, ἢ ξένος ἢ καί τις πολίτης, ἐπειδὰν
ἀφαιρεθῇ ταύτην, τίν' ἔχει λοιπὴν δωρειάν, Λεπτίνη;
οὐδεμίαν δήπου. μὴ τοίνυν διὰ μὲν τοῦ
τῶνδε κατηγορεῖν ὡς φαύλων ἐκείνους ἀφαιροῦ, δι'
ἃ δ' αὖ καταλείπειν ἐκείνοις φήσεις, τούσδ' ὃ μόνον
124 λαβόντες ἔχουσι, τοῦτ' ἀφέλῃ. ὡς δ' ἁπλῶς
εἰπεῖν, οὐκ εἰ τῶν πάντων ἀδικήσομέν τιν' ἢ
μείζον' ἢ ἐλάττονα, δεινόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' εἰ τὰς τιμάς,
αἷς ἂν ἀντ' εὖ ποιήσωμέν τινας, ἀπίστους καταστήσομεν·
οὐδ' ὁ πλεῖστος ἔμοιγε λόγος περὶ τῆς
ἀτελείας ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ πονηρὸν ἔθος τὸν
νόμον εἰσάγειν καὶ τοιοῦτον δι' οὗ πάντ' ἄπιστα
ὅσ' ὁ δῆμος δίδωσιν ἔσται.

125 Ὃν τοίνυν κακουργότατον οἴονται λόγον εὑρηκέναι
πρὸς τὸ τὰς ἀτελείας ὑμᾶς ἀφελέσθαι πεῖσαι,

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[a] "Some" have received other rewards together with immunity; "the others" immunity alone.

well that you should have many opportunities of receiving them, nor is it easy for an individual to confer them ; but the humbler duties to which one can rise in time of peace and in the civil sphere—loyalty, justice, zeal and the like—it is, in my opinion, both well and necessary that they should be rewarded. Grants ought, therefore, to be so apportioned that each man may receive from the people the exact reward that he deserves. And then again, with regard to what he will say about leaving their honours to those who have received them, some would have a perfectly plain and straightforward answer, when they claim their right to all their rewards, because they were granted for the same service, but the others will reply that the man who says that he leaves them anything is mocking them.[a] For if a man has been thought to deserve immunity and has received that from you as his sole reward, be he foreigner or citizen, what reward has he left, Leptines, if that is taken from him ? None whatever ! Then you have no right to rob some because you arraign the worthlessness of the others, or to rob one class of their sole reward because you say that you are going to leave the other class something. To put it plainly, the danger is not that of doing a greater or less injustice to one member of the whole body, but that of rendering precarious the honours with which we reward men's services, nor is immunity the main topic of my speech, but the evil precedent which this law will establish, so that there will be no security for the nation's gifts.

Again, the most unscrupulous argument that they have framed, as they think, to persuade you to withdraw the immunities, is one which I had better ex-

βέλτιόν ἐστι προειπεῖν, ἵνα μὴ λάθητ᾽ ἐξαπατηθέντες.
ἐροῦσι γὰρ ὅτι ταῦθ᾽ ἱερῶν ἐστιν ἅπαντα
τἀναλώματα [αἱ χορηγίαι καὶ αἱ γυμνασιαρχίαι]·
[495] δεινὸν οὖν, εἰ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀτελής τις ἀφεθήσεται.
ἐγὼ δὲ τὸ μέν τινας, οἷς ὁ δῆμος ἔδωκεν, ἀτελεῖς
εἶναι τούτων δίκαιον ἡγοῦμαι, ὃ δὲ νῦν οὗτοι ποιήσουσιν,
ἐὰν ἄρα ταῦτα λέγωσι, τοῦτ᾽ εἶναι δεινὸν
126 νομίζω. εἰ γὰρ ἃ [κατὰ][1] μηδέν᾽ ἄλλον ἔχουσι
τρόπον δεῖξαι δίκαιον ὑμᾶς ἀφελέσθαι, ταῦτ᾽ ἐπὶ
τῷ τῶν θεῶν ὀνόματι ποιεῖν ζητήσουσι, πῶς οὐκ
ἀσεβέστατον ἔργον καὶ δεινότατον πράξουσι; χρὴ
γάρ, ὥς γοῦν ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, ὅσα τις πράττει τοὺς
θεοὺς ἐπιφημίζων, τοιαῦτα φαίνεσθαι οἷα μηδ᾽ ἂν
ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπου πραχθέντα πονηρὰ φανείη. ὅτι δ᾽
οὐκ ἔστι ταὐτὸν ἱερῶν ἀτέλειαν ἔχειν καὶ λῃτουργιῶν,
ἀλλ᾽ οὗτοι τὸ τῶν λῃτουργιῶν ὄνομ᾽ ἐπὶ
τὸ τῶν ἱερῶν μεταφέροντες ἐξαπατᾶν ζητοῦσι,
Λεπτίνην ὑμῖν αὐτὸν ἐγὼ παρασχήσομαι μάρτυρα.
127 γράφων γὰρ ἀρχὴν τοῦ νόμου “Λεπτίνης εἶπε”
φησίν, “ὅπως ἂν οἱ πλουσιώτατοι λῃτουργῶσιν,
ἀτελῆ μηδέν᾽ εἶναι πλὴν τῶν ἀφ᾽ Ἁρμοδίου καὶ
Ἀριστογείτονος.” καίτοι εἰ ἦν ἱερῶν ἀτέλειαν
ἔχειν ταὐτὸ καὶ λῃτουργιῶν, τί τοῦτο μαθὼν προσέγραψεν;
οὐδὲ γὰρ τούτοις ἀτέλεια τῶν γ᾽ ἱερῶν
ἐστι δεδομένη. ἵνα δ᾽ εἰδῆθ᾽ ὅτι ταῦτα τοῦτον ἔχει
τὸν τρόπον, λαβέ μοι πρῶτον μὲν τῆς στήλης
τἀντίγραφα, εἶτα τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ νόμου τοῦ Λεπτίνου.
λέγε.

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[1] Bracketed by Weil: Dindorf retains.

plain for fear you should be their innocent dupes. They are going to claim that all such payments are religious dues, and that of course it is monstrous that anyone should be exempt from the dues of religion. For my part, I see no unfairness in such exemption, if the people have bestowed it ; the really monstrous thing is the course which they propose, if that is to be their argument. For if by appealing to the name of the gods they try to justify a robbery which they cannot justify otherwise, will not that be most impious and monstrous conduct ? In my opinion, whenever a man appeals solemnly to the gods, his conduct ought to be clearly such as would not appear base even if supported only by human authority. Now that there is a difference between exemption from religious duties and exemption from public services, and that the defendants are trying to deceive you by transferring the name of public services to religious acts, I shall adduce Leptines himself as my witness. For the first clause of the law says "Leptines proposed that, to the end that the wealthiest citizens may perform the public services, none shall be immune save and except the descendants of Harmodius and Aristogiton." But if immunity from religious duties were the same as immunity from public services, what was the object of that clause ? For immunity from religious duties has never been granted even to the persons here named. To prove that this is so, please take and read the copy of the inscription and then the beginning of the law of Leptines.

ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΑ ΣΤΗΛΗΣ

128 Ἀκούετε τῶν ἀντιγράφων τῆς στήλης, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἀτελεῖς αὐτοὺς εἶναι κελευόντων πλὴν ἱερῶν. λέγε δὴ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ νόμου τοῦ Λεπτίνου.

[496] ### ΝΟΜΟΣ

Καλῶς. κατάθες. γράψας “ὅπως ἂν οἱ πλου-
σιώτατοι λῃτουργῶσι,” “μηδέν᾽ εἶναι” προσέγραψ᾽
“ἀτελῆ πλὴν τῶν ἀφ᾽ Ἁρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογεί-
τονος.” τίνος ἕνεκα, εἴ γε τὸ τῶν ἱερῶν τέλος ἐστὶ
λῃτουργεῖν; αὐτὸς γὰρ οὑτωσὶ τἀναντία τῇ στήλῃ
129 γεγραφώς, ἂν τοῦτο λέγῃ, φανήσεται. ἡδέως δ᾽ ἂν
ἔγωγ᾽ ἐροίμην Λεπτίνην· τίνος αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀτέλειαν
ἢ σὺ νῦν καταλείπειν φήσεις ἢ κείνους τότε δοῦναι,
τὰς λῃτουργίας ὅταν εἶναι φῇς ἱερῶν; τῶν μὲν γὰρ
εἰς τὸν πόλεμον πασῶν εἰσφορῶν καὶ τριηραρχιῶν
ἐκ τῶν παλαιῶν νόμων οὐκ εἴσ᾽ ἀτελεῖς· τῶν δὲ
130 λῃτουργιῶν, εἴπερ εἴσ᾽ ἱερῶν, οὐδ᾽ ἔχουσιν. ἀλλὰ
μὴν γέγραπταί γ᾽ ἀτελεῖς αὐτοὺς εἶναι. τίνος; ἢ
τοῦ μετοικίου; τοῦτο γὰρ λοιπόν. οὐ δήπου, ἀλλὰ
τῶν ἐγκυκλίων λῃτουργιῶν, ὡς ἥ τε στήλη δηλοῖ,
καὶ σὺ προσδιώρισας ἐν τῷ νόμῳ καὶ μαρτυρεῖ πᾶς
ὁ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνος γεγονώς, ἐν ᾧ τοσούτῳ τὸ πλῆ-
θος ὄντι οὔτε φυλὴ πώποτ᾽ ἐνεγκεῖν ἐτόλμησεν
οὐδεμί᾽ οὐδένα τῶν ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνων χορηγόν, οὔτ᾽
ἐνεχθεὶς αὐτοῖς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς ἀντιδοῦναι. οἷς οὐκ
ἀκουστέον ἂν ἐναντία τολμᾷ λέγειν.

[*The copy of the inscription is read*]

You hear the copy of the inscription, men of Athens, ordering them to be immune, save from religious duties. Now read the beginning of the law of Leptines.

[*The law is read*]

Good ; stop there. After the words " to the end that the wealthiest citizens may perform the public services," he added " no one shall be immune save and except the descendants of Harmodius and Aristogiton." Why so, if to pay for a religious rite is to perform a public service ? For if that is his meaning, his own drafting will be found to contradict the inscription. Now I should like to put a question to Leptines. When you say that the public services come under the head of religious dues, in what, according to you, did the immunity consist, which our ancestors then granted and you now leave untouched ? For by the old laws they are not immune from all the special war-taxes or from the equipment of war-galleys ; and they enjoy no immunity from the state services, since they are included in the religious duties. And yet the inscription says that they shall be immune. From what ? From the tax on resident aliens, since nothing else is left ? Of course not. It is from the regularly recurring services, as the inscription shows, as your law further specifies, and as all history witnesses. During all that length of time no tribe has ever ventured to nominate one of these descendants as chorus-master, and no one nominated has ever ventured to challenge them to an exchange of property. If Leptines dares to deny it, you must pay no heed to him.

131 Ἔτι τοίνυν ἴσως ἐπισύροντες ἐροῦσιν ὡς Μεγα-
ρεῖς καὶ Μεσσήνιοί τινες εἶναι[1] φάσκοντες, ἔπειτ'
ἀτελεῖς εἰσιν ἀθρόοι, παμπληθεῖς ἄνθρωποι, καί
τινες ἄλλοι δοῦλοι καὶ μαστιγίαι, Λυκίδας καὶ
Διονύσιος, καὶ τοιούτους τινὰς ἐξειλεγμένοι. ὑπὲρ
δὴ τούτων ὡδὶ ποιήσαθ', ὅταν ταῦτα λέγωσι· κε-
[497] λεύετ', εἴπερ ἀληθῆ λέγουσι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, τὰ ψηφίσματ'
ἐν οἷς ἀτελεῖς εἰσιν οὗτοι δεῖξαι. οὐ γάρ ἐστ'
οὐδεὶς ἀτελὴς παρ' ὑμῖν, ὅτῳ μὴ ψήφισμ' ἢ νόμος
132 δέδωκε τὴν ἀτέλειαν. πρόξενοι μέντοι πολλοὶ διὰ
τῶν πολιτευομένων γεγόνασι παρ' ὑμῖν τοιοῦτοι,
ὧν εἷς ἐστιν ὁ Λυκίδας. ἀλλ' ἕτερον πρόξενόν ἐστ'
εἶναι καὶ ἀτέλειαν εὑρῆσθαι. μὴ δὴ παραγόντων
ὑμᾶς, μηδ', ὅτι δοῦλος ὢν ὁ Λυκίδας καὶ Διονύσιος
καί τις ἴσως ἄλλος διὰ τοὺς μισθοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα
γράφοντας ἑτοίμως πρόξενοι γεγόνασι, διὰ τοῦθ'
ἑτέρους ἀξίους καὶ ἐλευθέρους καὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν
αἰτίους, ἃς ἔλαβον δικαίως παρ' ὑμῶν δωρειὰς ἀφ-
133 ελέσθαι ζητούντων. πῶς γὰρ οὐχὶ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο
δεινότατ' ἂν πεπονθὼς ὁ Χαβρίας φανείη, εἰ μὴ
μόνον ἐξαρκέσει τοῖς τὰ τοιαῦτα πολιτευομένοις
τὸν ἐκείνου δοῦλον Λυκίδαν πρόξενον ὑμέτερον
πεποιηκέναι, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ διὰ τοῦτον πάλιν τῶν
ἐκείνῳ τι δοθέντων ἀφέλοιντο, καὶ ταῦτ' αἰτίαν
λέγοντες ψευδῆ; οὐ γάρ ἐστιν οὔθ' οὗτος οὔτ'
ἄλλος οὐδεὶς πρόξενος ὢν ἀτελής, ὅτῳ μὴ διαρ-
ρήδην ἀτέλειαν ἔδωκεν ὁ δῆμος. τούτοις δ' οὐ

[1] Weil conjectures <πρόξενοι> εἶναι.

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[a] They assert that many aliens have received immunity; he challenges them to produce the decrees conferring it. He admits that many undeserving aliens have been made

Again,[a] perhaps they will say in their haphazard[b] style that some citizens, by claiming to be Megarians and Messenians,[c] at once gain immunity, whole crowds at a time, to say nothing of slaves and gaolbirds like Lycidas and Dionysius; such are the examples they select. When they hold such language, deal with them thus. Tell them, if they are speaking the truth, to produce the decrees which contain these men's immunity; for no one in your city enjoys immunity unless granted by some decree or law. Many such men, however, have been proclaimed Friends of the State here at the instance of your politicians; Lycidas, for example. But it is one thing to be a Friend of the State and another to enjoy immunity. Be not misled by them. Because slaves, like Lycidas and Dionysius and perhaps one other, were made Friends of the State by men who are readily bribed to propose such decrees, they must not try to take away the gifts that you have justly bestowed on men of a different class—meritorious, free-born, munificent benefactors. On this principle, what a gross insult it would be to Chabrias, if politicians of that stamp, not content with making his slave, Lycidas, a Friend of your State, should make the slave an excuse for taking back rewards conferred on the master, and that on a false plea! For neither Lycidas nor anyone else enjoys immunity as a Friend of the State, unless such immunity has been expressly conferred by the people. The men in

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proxeni (in the honorary sense explained in note on § 60), but this distinction does not confer immunity.

[b] Literally, trailing the robe; hence slovenly, slipshod.

[c] There is no record of any general exemption granted to these two peoples. If Weil's conjecture is right, translate "certain M. and M., by claiming to be Friends of the State."

δέδωκεν, οὐδ' ἕξουσιν οὗτοι δεικνύναι, λόγῳ δ' ἂν
ἀναισχυντῶσιν, οὐχὶ καλῶς ποιήσουσιν.

134 Ὃ τοίνυν μάλιστα πάντων οἶμαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄν-
δρες Ἀθηναῖοι, φυλάξασθαι, τοῦτ' εἰπεῖν ἔτι βού-
λομαι. εἰ γάρ τις πάνθ', ὅσα Λεπτίνης ἐρεῖ περὶ
τοῦ νόμου διδάσκων ὑμᾶς ὡς καλῶς κεῖται, συγχω-
ρήσειεν ἀληθῆ λέγειν αὐτόν, ἕν γ' αἰσχρὸν οὐδ' ἂν
εἴ τι γένοιτ' ἀναιρεθείη, ὃ συμβήσεται διὰ τοῦ
νόμου κυρίου γενομένου τῇ πόλει. τί οὖν τοῦτ'
ἔστιν; τὸ δοκεῖν ἐξηπατηκέναι τοὺς ἀγαθόν τι
135 ποιήσαντας. ὅτι μὲν τοίνυν τοῦθ' ἕν τι τῶν αἰ-
[498] σχρῶν ἐστι πάντας ἂν ἡγοῦμαι φῆσαι, ὅσῳ δ' ὑμῖν
αἴσχιον τῶν ἄλλων ἀκούσατέ μου. ἔστιν ὑμῖν
νόμος ἀρχαῖος, τῶν καλῶς δοκούντων ἔχειν, ἄν τις
ὑποσχόμενός τι τὸν δῆμον ἐξαπατήσῃ, κρίνειν, κἂν
ἁλῷ, θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν. εἶτ' οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθ', ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, εἰ ἐφ' ᾧ τοῖς ἄλλοις θάνατον ζη-
μίαν ἐτάξατε, τοῦτ' αὐτοὶ ποιοῦντες φανήσεσθε;
καὶ μὴν πάντα μὲν εὐλαβεῖσθαι δεῖ ποιεῖν τὰ
δοκοῦντα καὶ ὄντ' αἰσχρά, μάλιστα δὲ ταῦτ' ἐφ' οἷς
τοῖς ἄλλοις χαλεπῶς τις ἔχων ὁρᾶται· οὐδὲ γὰρ
ἀμφισβήτησις καταλείπεται τὸ μὴ οὐ ταῦτα ποιεῖν
ἃ πονήρ' αὐτὸς ἔκρινεν εἶναι πρότερον.

136 Ἔτι τοίνυν ὑμᾶς κἀκεῖνο εὐλαβεῖσθαι δεῖ, ὅπως
μηδὲν ὧν ἰδίᾳ φυλάξαισθ' ἄν, τοῦτο δημοσίᾳ
ποιοῦντες φανήσεσθε. ὑμῶν τοίνυν οὐδ' ἂν εἷς
οὐδὲν ὧν ἰδίᾳ τινὶ δοίη, τοῦτ' ἀφέλοιτο πάλιν, ἀλλ'
οὐδ' ἐπιχειρήσειεν ἄν. μὴ τοίνυν μηδὲ δημοσίᾳ
τοῦτο ποιήσητε, ἀλλὰ κελεύετε τούτους τοὺς ἐροῦν-
137 τας ὑπὲρ τοῦ νόμου, εἴ τινα τῶν εὑρημένων τὴν
δωρειὰν ἀνάξιον εἶναί φασιν ἢ μὴ πεποιηκότ' ἐφ'

question have not received it ; I defy the defendants to prove it. If they have the effrontery to assert it, they will be acting dishonourably.

I now come to speak of a matter about which I feel bound, Athenians, to warn you most seriously. For even if one could admit the truth of all that Leptines will say in praise of his law, it would be impossible under any circumstances to wipe out one disgrace which his law, if ratified, will bring upon our city. To what do I refer ? To the reputation of having cheated our benefactors. Now I think you would all agree that this is a distinct disgrace ; how much worse in you than in others, hear me explain. You have an ancient law, one held in great respect, that if anyone deceives the people by false promises, he shall be brought to trial, and if convicted shall be punished with death. And are you not then ashamed, Athenians, to find yourselves doing the very thing for which you punish other men with death ? Nay, but in everything it is right to take heed against doing whatever seems or is dishonourable, but especially in cases where a man is seen to be indignant with others. For there is no room left even for hesitation in avoiding acts which a man's own judgement has already condemned.

Then there is another precaution that you must take—to do nothing as a community which you would shun as individuals. Not a man among you would take away from another his own personal gifts, nor even dream of doing so. Then do not so in your public capacity, but tell the official defenders [a] of this law that if they say that any of the recipients of these rewards is undeserving, or holds them under

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[a] The advocates named in § 146.

οἷς εὕρετ' ἔχειν, ἢ ἄλλ' ὁτιοῦν ἐγκαλοῦσί τινι,
γράφεσθαι κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὃν παρεισφέρομεν νῦν
ἡμεῖς, ἢ θέντων ἡμῶν, ὥσπερ ἐγγυώμεθα καὶ
φαμὲν θήσειν, ἢ θέντας αὐτούς, ὅταν πρῶτον γένωνται
νομοθέται. ἔστι δ' ἑκάστῳ τις αὐτῶν, ὡς
ἔοικεν, ἐχθρός, τῷ μὲν Διόφαντος, τῷ δ' Εὔβουλος,
138 τῷ δ' ἴσως ἄλλος τις. εἰ δὲ τοῦτο φεύξονται καὶ
μὴ ἐθελήσουσι ποιεῖν, σκοπεῖτ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
[499] εἰ καλῶς ὑμῖν ἔχει, ἃ τούτων ἕκαστος ὀκνεῖ
τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἀφαιρούμενος ὀφθῆναι, ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς
τοὺς εὐεργέτας ἀφῃρημένους φαίνεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς εὖ
τι πεποιηκότας ὑμᾶς, οἷς οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐγκαλέσαι,
νόμῳ τὰ δοθέντ' ἀπολωλεκέναι δι' ὑμῶν ἀθρόους,
παρόν, εἴ τις ἄρ' ἐστὶν ἀνάξιος, εἷς ἢ δύ' ἢ πλείους,
γραφῇ διὰ τούτων ταὐτὸ τοῦτο παθεῖν κατ' ἄνδρα
κριθέντας. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνω ταῦτα
καλῶς ἔχειν οὐδέ γ' ἀξίως ὑμῶν.

139 Καὶ μὴν οὐδ' ἐκείνου γ' ἀποστατέον τοῦ λόγου,
ὅτι τῆς μὲν ἀξίας, ὅτ' ἐδώκαμεν, ἦν δίκαιον τὴν
ἐξέτασιν λαμβάνειν, ὅτε τούτων οὐδεὶς ἀντεῖπε,
μετὰ ταῦτα δ' ἐάν, εἴ τι μὴ πεπόνθαθ' ὑπ' αὐτῶν
ὕστερον κακόν. εἰ δ' οὗτοι τοῦτο φήσουσι (δεῖξαι
μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἔχουσι), δεῖ κεκολασμένους αὐτοὺς
παρ' αὐτὰ τἀδικήματα φαίνεσθαι. εἰ δὲ μηδενὸς
ὄντος τοιούτου τὸν νόμον ποιήσετε κύριον, δόξετε
φθονήσαντες, οὐχὶ πονηροὺς λαβόντες ἀφῃρῆσθαι.

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[a] At the beginning of the next year (July).

[b] The official defenders have their personal enemies, who have received immunity and whom it would be natural for them to indict. This they do not venture to do, but try, by this sweeping law, to deprive all, good and bad alike, of their privileges.

false pretences, or is open to any other charge, they should indict him under the amended law which we are now proposing, either when we have carried it through, as we guarantee and assert that we will, or when they have themselves carried it, that is, as soon as the legislative commission has been appointed.[a] But each defender of this law, it seems, has a personal enemy, whether Diophantus or Eubulus or someone else.[b] If they hang back and refuse to take this step, then consider, men of Athens, whether it is to your credit that you should be known to have taken away from your benefactors what not one of these men ventures to take from his personal enemy, and that you should pass a law to rob collectively of their rewards men who have served you well and whom no one dreams of indicting, when the handful of unworthy recipients, if there are any, could be dealt with just as effectively, if these men would impeach them and bring them to trial one by one. For it passes my comprehension how the present arrangement can consort with your honour and your dignity.

Again, we must not deviate from this principle, that it was fair to investigate their merits at the time of conferring the reward, when none of these men opposed the vote, but after that to let the reward stand, unless you have received any subsequent wrong at their hands. If they allege that (for they cannot prove it), it must be shown that the men were punished at the time of the alleged wrongs. But if you ratify this law, though no such wrong was committed, it will seem that you have taken away their reward because you were envious, not because you

140 ἔστι δὲ πάντα μὲν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ὀνείδη φευκτέον,
τοῦτο δὲ πάντων μάλιστ᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι.
διὰ τί; ὅτι παντάπασι φύσεως κακίας σημεῖόν
ἐστιν ὁ φθόνος, καὶ οὐκ ἔχει πρόφασιν δι᾽ ἣν ἂν
τύχοι συγγνώμης ὁ τοῦτο πεπονθώς. εἶτα καὶ
οὐδ᾽ ἔστιν ὄνειδος ὅτου πορρώτερόν ἐσθ᾽ ἡμῶν ἡ
πόλις ἢ τοῦ φθονερὰ δοκεῖν εἶναι, ἁπάντων
141 ἀπέχουσα τῶν αἰσχρῶν. τεκμήρια δ᾽ ἡλίκα τούτου
θεωρήσατε. πρῶτον μὲν μόνοι τῶν πάντων
ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τοῖς τελευτήσασι δημοσίᾳ ποιεῖτε
λόγους ἐπιταφίους, ἐν οἷς κοσμεῖτε τὰ τῶν ἀγαθῶν
[500] ἀνδρῶν ἔργα. καίτοι τοῦτ᾽ ἔστι τοὐπιτήδευμα
ζηλούντων ἀρετήν, οὐ τοῖς ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τιμωμένοις
φθονούντων. εἶτα μεγίστας δίδοτ᾽ ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ
χρόνου δωρειὰς τοῖς τοὺς γυμνικοὺς νικῶσιν
ἀγῶνας τοὺς στεφανίτας, καὶ οὐχ, ὅτι τῇ φύσει
τούτων ὀλίγοις μέτεστιν, ἐφθονήσατε τοῖς ἔχουσιν,
οὐδ᾽ ἐλάττους ἐνείματε τὰς τιμὰς διὰ ταῦτα.
πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τοιούτοις οὖσιν οὐδεὶς πώποτε
τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν εὖ ποιῶν δοκεῖ νικῆσαι· τοσαύτας
ὑπερβολὰς τῶν δωρειῶν, αἷς ἀντ᾽ εὖ ποιεῖ,
142 παρέσχηται. ἔστι τοίνυν πάντα ταῦτ᾽, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, δικαιοσύνης, ἀρετῆς, μεγαλοψυχίας
ἐπιδείγματα. μὴ τοίνυν δι᾽ ἃ πάλαι παρὰ πάντα τὸν
χρόνον ἡ πόλις εὐδοξεῖ, ταῦτ᾽ ἀνέλητε νῦν· μηδ᾽
ἵνα Λεπτίνης ἰδίᾳ τισὶν οἷς ἀηδῶς ἔχει ἐπηρεάσῃ,
τῆς πόλεως ἀφέλησθε καὶ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν ἣν διὰ
παντὸς ἀεὶ τοῦ χρόνου δόξαν κέκτησθε καλήν·
μηδ᾽ ὑπολαμβάνετ᾽ εἶναι τὸν ἀγῶνα τόνδ᾽ ὑπὲρ
ἄλλου τινὸς ἢ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως ἀξιώματος, πότερον
αὐτὸ δεῖ σῶν εἶναι καὶ ὅμοιον τῷ προτέρῳ, ἢ
μεθεστάναι καὶ λελυμάνθαι.

found them rascals. Every reproach, I might almost say, should be avoided, but this above all, men of Athens. Why? Because in every way envy is the mark of a vicious nature, and the man who is subject to it has no claim whatever to consideration. Moreover there is no reproach more alien to our city than the appearance of envy, averse as she is from all that is disgraceful. See what strong evidence we have of this. In the first place, you alone of all mankind publicly pronounce over your dead funeral orations, in which you extol the deeds of the brave. Such, however, is the practice of men who admire bravery, not of men who envy the honours that bravery wins. Next, you have from time immemorial given the richest rewards to those who win crowns in the athletic games; nor, because such honours are necessarily confined to a few, have you grudged or stinted the honours of the victors on that account. Beside these notable instances, no one, I think, has ever surpassed our State in generosity; such a superabundance of rewards has she heaped on those who serve her well. All these, men of Athens, are proofs of justice, of virtue, of magnanimity. Then do not now destroy the very qualities on which throughout its history our city's reputation is founded; do not, in order that Leptines may vent his spite on men whom he dislikes, rob both yourselves and your city of the fair fame that has been yours in every age; do not suppose that anything else is at stake in this trial save the honour of Athens, whether it is to stand unimpaired as of old, or to pass into neglect and degradation.

143 Πολλὰ δὲ θαυμάζων Λεπτίνου κατὰ τὸν νόμον,
ἓν μάλιστα τεθαύμακα πάντων, εἰ ἐκεῖν' ἠγνόηκεν,
ὅτι ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις μεγάλας τιμωρίας τῶν ἀδικημάτων
τάττοι, οὐκ ἂν αὐτός γ' ἀδικεῖν παρεσκευάσθαι
δόξαι, οὕτως, ἄν τις ἀναιρῇ τὰς τιμὰς
τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, οὐδὲν αὐτὸς ποιεῖν ἀγαθὸν παρεσκευάσθαι
δόξει. εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ἠγνόησε ταῦτα
(γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν καὶ τοῦτο), αὐτίκα δηλώσει·
[501] συγχωρήσεται γὰρ ὑμῖν λῦσαι περὶ ὧν αὐτὸς
ἥμαρτεν. εἰ δὲ φανήσεται σπουδάζων καὶ διατεινόμενος
κύριον ποιεῖν τὸν νόμον, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐκ ἔχω
144 πῶς ἐπαινέσω, ψέγειν δ' οὐ βούλομαι. μηδὲν οὖν
φιλονίκει, Λεπτίνη, μηδὲ βιάζου τοιοῦτον δι' οὗ
μήτ' αὐτὸς δόξεις βελτίων εἶναι μήθ' οἱ πεισθέντες
σοι, ἄλλως τε καὶ γεγενημένου σοι τοῦ ἀγῶνος
ἀκινδύνου. διὰ γὰρ τὸ τελευτῆσαι Βάθιππον τὸν
τουτουὶ πατέρ' Ἀψεφίωνος, ὃς αὐτὸν ἔτ' ὄνθ'
ὑπεύθυνον ἐγράψατο, ἐξῆλθον οἱ χρόνοι, καὶ νυνὶ
περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ νόμου πᾶς ἐσθ' ὁ λόγος, τούτῳ δ'
οὐδείς ἐστι κίνδυνος.

145 Καίτοι καὶ τοῦτ' ἀκούω σε λέγειν, ὡς ἄρα τρεῖς
σέ τινες γραψάμενοι πρότεροι τοῦδ' οὐχ ἐπεξῆλθον.
εἰ μὲν τοίνυν ἐγκαλῶν αὐτοῖς λέγεις ὅτι σ' οὐ κατέστησαν
εἰς κίνδυνον, φιλοκινδυνότατος πάντων ἀνθρώπων
εἶ· εἰ δὲ τεκμήριον ποιῇ τοῦ τὰ δίκαι'
εἰρηκέναι, λίαν εὔηθες ποιεῖς. τί γὰρ εἵνεκα τούτου
βελτίων ἔσθ' ὁ νόμος, εἴ τις ἢ τετελεύτηκε
τῶν γραψαμένων πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν, ἢ πεισθεὶς ὑπὸ
σοῦ διεγράψατο, ἢ καὶ ὅλως ὑπὸ σοῦ παρεσκευάσθη;
ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν οὐδὲ λέγειν καλόν.

146 Ἥιρηνται δὲ τῷ νόμῳ σύνδικοι καὶ μάλισθ' οἱ

But of all the astonishing features of Leptines' law, what astonishes me most is his ignorance of the fact that just as a man who assigns heavy penalties for offences would be unlikely to have contemplated an offence himself, so one who abolishes the rewards for benefactions will not himself be likely to have contemplated a good deed. Now if, as is just possible, he did not know this, he will at once confess it by allowing you to repeal the law which embodies his own error, but if he shows himself obstinate and eager to ratify the law, I for one cannot praise him, though I refrain from censure. Then be not stubborn, Leptines; do not insist on a course which will not add to your own reputation or that of your supporters, especially as this trial no longer endangers you. For owing to the death of the father of Apsephion here, Bathippus, who indicted Leptines when he was still liable, the legal period has elapsed, and now our whole concern is with the law, and its proposer runs no risk.[a]

I am told, however, that you assert that three distinct persons indicted you before Apsephion, but dropped the action. Well, if your complaint against them is that they did not endanger you, you must be fonder of danger than other people, but if you bring it forward as a proof of the justice of your proposals, you are doing a very silly thing. For how is your law improved by the fact that one of those who indicted you died before he could come into court, or was induced by you to drop the charge, or even was simply suborned by you? But I am ashamed even to suggest such things.

There are advocates appointed to defend the law,

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[a] See Introd. p. 489.

δεινοὶ λέγειν ἄνδρες, Λεωδάμας Ἀχαρνεὺς καὶ
Ἀριστοφῶν Ἀζηνιεὺς καὶ Κηφισόδοτος ἐκ Κεραμέων
καὶ Δεινίας Ἑρχιεύς. ἃ δὴ πρὸς τούτους
ὑπολαμβάνοιτ’ ἂν εἰκότως, ἀκούσατε, καὶ σκοπεῖτ’
ἂν ὑμῖν δίκαια φαίνηται. πρῶτον μὲν πρὸς Λεωδάμαντα.
οὗτος ἐγράψατο τὴν Χαβρίου δωρεάν,
ἐν ᾗ τοῦτ’ ἔνεστι τὸ τῆς ἀτελείας τῶν ἐκείνῳ
147 τι δοθέντων, καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰσελθὼν ἡττήθη· οἱ
[502] νόμοι δ’ οὐκ ἐῶσι δὶς πρὸς τὸν αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν
αὐτῶν οὔτε δίκας οὔτ’ εὐθύνας οὔτε διαδικασίαν
οὔτ’ ἄλλο τοιοῦτ’ οὐδὲν εἶναι. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων
ἀτοπώτατον ἂν πάντων συμβαίη, εἰ τότε μὲν τὰ
Χαβρίου παρ’ ὑμῖν ἔργα μεῖζον ἴσχυε τῶν Λεωδάμαντος
λόγων, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτά θ’ ὑπάρχει καὶ
τὰ τῶν ἄλλων εὐεργετῶν προσγέγονε, τηνικαῦτα
σύμπαντα ταῦτ’ ἀσθενέστερα τῶν τούτου λόγων
148 γένοιτο. καὶ μὴν πρός γ’ Ἀριστοφῶντα πολλὰ
καὶ δίκαι’ ἂν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν οἶμαι. οὗτος εὕρετο τὴν
δωρειὰν παρ’ ὑμῖν, ἐν ᾗ τοῦτ’ ἐνῆν. καὶ οὐ τοῦτ’
ἐπιτιμῶ· δεῖ γὰρ ἐφ’ ὑμῖν εἶναι διδόναι τὰ ὑμέτερ’
αὐτῶν οἷς ἂν βούλησθε. ἀλλ’ ἐκεῖνό γ’ οὐχὶ
δίκαιον εἶναί φημι, τὸ ὅτε μὲν τούτῳ ταῦτ’ ἔμελλεν
ὑπάρχειν λαβόντι μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι δεινόν, ἐπειδὴ δ’
ἑτέροις δέδοται, τηνικαῦτ’ ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ πείθειν
149 ὑμᾶς ἀφελέσθαι. καὶ μὴν καὶ Γελάρχῳ[1] πέντε
τάλαντ’ ἀποδοῦναι γέγραφεν οὗτος ὡς παρασχόντι
τοῖς ἐν Πειραιεῖ τοῦ δήμου, καὶ καλῶς ἐποίει. μὴ

[1] So MSS.: Dindorf accepts Reiske’s suggestion Ἀγελάρχῳ.

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[a] These were the four advocates nominated by the people, with Leptines as a fifth, to defend the law. Aristophon, the best known, was the leading Athenian statesman before the rise of Eubulus. He was now nearly 80 years old, and

and very able speakers they are; Leodamas of Acharnae, Aristophon of Hazenia, Cephisodotus of Ceramicus, and Dinias of Herchia.[a] Let me tell you, then, how you may reasonably retort upon them, and do you consider whether the retort is fair.[b] Take Leodamas first. It was he who impeached the grant to Chabrias,[c] which included among other things the gift of immunity, and when his case came before you, he lost it. Now the laws forbid the same man to be tried twice on the same issue, be it a civil action, a scrutiny, a contested claim, or anything else of the sort. But quite apart from all this, it would be a most absurd result if on the first occasion the services of Chabrias outweighed the arguments of Leodamas, but when to his services were added those of all the other benefactors, then the combined effect should be weaker than the arguments. To Aristophon I think I could raise many sound objections. He obtained his grant, which included immunity, by your votes. I find no fault with that, for it is right that you should have it in your power to bestow what is yours on anyone you please. But I do suggest that it is unfair that he should raise no objection when he was going to receive it himself, but when it has been given to others, he should take offence and urge you to withdraw it. Moreover it was Aristophon who proposed to pay Gelarchus five talents for sums advanced to the democrats in the Piraeus[d];

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could boast that he had been 75 times defendant in a *γραφὴ παρανόμων* and had always been acquitted.

[b] Demosthenes suggests that the personal record of the advocates should lead the jury to reject their arguments.

[c] See § 77.

[d] See § 11. Gelarchus is not otherwise known. There were, apparently, no witnesses to his gift.

τοίνυν ἃ μὲν ἦν ἀμάρτυρα, ταῦτ᾿ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ δήμου προφάσει διὰ σοῦ δεδόσθω, ὧν δ᾿ αὐτὸς ὁ δῆμος μαρτυρίας ἔστησεν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἀναγράψας καὶ πάντες συνίσασι, ταῦτ᾿ ἀφελέσθαι παραίνει· μηδ᾿ αὐτὸς φαίνου τά τ᾿ ὀφειλόμεν᾿ ὡς ἀποδοῦναι δεῖ γράφων, καὶ ἅ τις παρὰ τοῦ δήμου κεκόμισται,
150 ταῦτ᾿ ἀφελέσθαι παραινῶν. καὶ μὴν πρός γε Κηφισόδοτον τοσοῦτ᾿ ἂν εἴποιμι. οὗτός ἐστιν οὐδενὸς ἧττον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τῶν λεγόντων δεινὸς εἰπεῖν. πολὺ τοίνυν κάλλιον τῇ δεινότητι
[503] ταύτῃ χρῆσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας ὑμᾶς κολάζειν ἢ τοὺς ἀγαθοῦ τινὸς αἰτίους ἀδικεῖν. εἰ γὰρ ἀπεχθάνεσθαί τισι δεῖ, τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι τὸν δῆμον, οὐ τοῖς ἀγαθόν τι ποιοῦσιν ἔγωγε νομίζω
151 δεῖν. πρὸς τοίνυν Δεινίαν· οὗτος ἴσως ἐρεῖ τριηραρχίας αὑτοῦ καὶ λῃτουργίας. ἐγὼ δ᾿, εἰ πολλοῦ τῇ πόλει Δεινίας ἄξιον αὑτὸν παρέσχηκεν, ὡς ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ νὴ τοὺς θεούς, μᾶλλον ἂν παραινέσαιμ᾿ αὐτῷ τινὰ τιμὴν ὑμᾶς ἀξιοῦν δοῦναι ἢ τὰς ἑτέροις πρότερον δοθείσας ἀφελέσθαι κελεύειν· πολὺ γὰρ βελτίονος ἀνδρός ἐστιν ἐφ᾿ οἷς αὐτὸς εὖ πεποίηκεν ἀξιοῦν τιμᾶσθαι ἢ ἐφ᾿ οἷς ἕτεροι ποιήσαντες ἐτι-
152 μήθησαν φθονεῖν. ὃ δὲ δὴ μέγιστον ἁπάντων καὶ κοινὸν ὑπάρχει κατὰ πάντων τῶν συνδίκων· τούτων πολλάκις εἷς ἕκαστος πρότερόν τισι πράγμασι σύνδικος γέγονεν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ μάλ᾿ ἔχων νόμος ὑμῖν καλῶς, οὐκ ἐπὶ τούτοις τεθείς, ἀλλ᾿ ἵνα μὴ τὸ πρᾶγμ᾿ ὥσπερ ἐργασία τισὶν ᾖ καὶ συκοφαντία, μὴ ἐξεῖναι ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου χειρο-

and he was right. Then, my friend, if you recommended the repayment of unattested sums on the ground of service done to the people, you must not advise the revocation of grants for services which the people themselves attested by inscriptions in the temples, and which are indeed known to all men. You must not exhibit yourself as at the same time proposing that debts ought to be paid, and urging that a man should be deprived of what he has won at the hands of the people. Next, I have this much to say to Cephisodotus. As an orator, men of Athens, he is inferior to none. Then it would be far more honourable to use his talents for the chastisement of evil-doers than for the injury of those who deserve well. If he must make enemies, I suggest that they should be those who injure the people, not those who benefit them. Then as to Dinias. Perhaps he will tell you of the war-galleys he has equipped and of his other public services. For my part, though Dinias has proved himself a valuable servant of the public, as I sincerely believe, I would urge him rather to claim from you some reward for himself than to tell you to take back rewards previously given to others; for a man gives a surer proof of excellence by claiming a reward for his own services than by grudging others the rewards they have received for theirs. But the most effective retort is one which applies to all the commissioners alike. Each one of them has often before served as commissioner for some business or other. Now you have a very sound law—not, of course, directed against these men, but framed to prevent any commissioner from using his opportunity for profit or blackmail—that no one, elected by the people, be permitted to serve as commissioner

153 τονηθέντα πλεῖν ἢ ἅπαξ συνδικῆσαι. τοὺς δὴ συνεροῦντας νόμῳ καὶ διδάξοντας ὑμᾶς ὡς ἐπιτήδειός ἐστιν, αὐτοὺς τοῖς ὑπάρχουσι νόμοις δεῖ πειθομένους φαίνεσθαι· εἰ δὲ μή, γελοῖον νόμῳ μὲν συνδικεῖν, νόμον δ' αὐτοὺς παραβαίνειν ἕτερον. ἀνάγνωθι λαβὼν τὸν νόμον αὐτοῖς, ὃν λέγω.

ΝΟΜΟΣ

Οὗτος, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ παλαιός ἐσθ' ὁ νόμος καὶ καλῶς ἔχων, ὃν ἐὰν σωφρονῶσι φυλάξονται παραβαίνειν οὗτοι.

154 Ἐγὼ δ' ἔτι μικρὰ πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰπὼν καταβήσομαι. ἔστι γάρ, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πάντας μὲν τοὺς [504] νόμους ὑμῖν, ὡς ἐγὼ νομίζω, σπουδαστέον ὡς κάλλιστ' ἔχειν, μάλιστα δὲ τούτους δι' ὧν ἢ μικρὰν ἢ μεγάλην ἔστ' εἶναι τὴν πόλιν. εἰσὶ δ' οὗτοι τίνες; οἵ τε τοῖς ἀγαθόν τι ποιοῦσι τὰς τιμὰς διδόντες καὶ οἱ τοῖς τἀναντία πράττουσι τὰς τιμωρίας. εἰ γὰρ ἅπαντες ὡς ἀληθῶς τὰς ἐν τοῖς νόμοις ζημίας φοβούμενοι τοῦ κακόν τι ποιεῖν ἀποσταῖεν, καὶ πάντες τὰς ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐεργεσίαις δωρειὰς ζηλώσαντες ἃ χρὴ πράττειν προέλοιντο, τί κωλύει μεγίστην εἶναι τὴν πόλιν καὶ πάντας χρηστοὺς καὶ μηδέν' εἶναι πονηρόν;

155 Ὁ τοίνυν νόμος οὗτος ὁ Λεπτίνου οὐ μόνον, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τοῦτ' ἀδικεῖ, ὅτι τὰς τιμὰς ἀναιρῶν τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν ἀχρεῖον τὴν ἐπιείκειαν τοῖς φιλοτιμεῖσθαι βουλομένοις καθίστησιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ παρανοίας δόξαν αἰσχίστην τῇ πόλει καταλείπει. ἴστε γὰρ δήπου τοῦθ', ὅτι τῶν τὰ δεινόταθ' ἡμᾶς ἀδικούντων ἐν ἑκάστῳ τίμημ' ὑπάρχει διὰ τὸν νόμον, ὃς διαρρήδην λέγει "μηδὲ τίμημ'

more than once. Surely those who are going to advocate a law and urge its necessity ought to show themselves ready to obey existing laws; otherwise it is absurd for them to defend one law as commissioners and violate another themselves. Take and read the law which I cite.

[*The law is read*]

That, Athenians, is both an old and a sound law,[a] which the commissioners will be careful not to violate, if they are wise.

I have still a few things to say to you before I sit down. For you ought, in my opinion, men of Athens, to be anxious for the utmost possible efficiency of our laws, but especially of those on which depends the strength or weakness of our State. And which are they? They are those which assign rewards to those who do good and punishments to those who do evil. For in truth, if from fear of legal penalties all men shunned wrongdoing, and if from ambition for the rewards of good service all chose the path of duty, what prevents our city from being great and all our citizens honest, with not a rogue among them?

Now the law of Leptines, Athenians, does harm not only by abolishing the rewards of good service and so rendering fruitless the good intentions of those who are ambitious for honour, but also by leaving our city under the serious reproach of imbecility. For you are of course aware that for each grave offence a single penalty is provided by the law, which says explicitly that "at any trial there shall be not

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[a] But it seems to have become obsolete, for sound reasons.

ὑπάρχειν ἐπὶ κρίσει πλέον ἢ ἕν, ὁπότερον ἂν τὸ
δικαστήριον τιμήσῃ, παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτεῖσαι· ἀμφότερα
156 δὲ μὴ ἐξέστω.” ἀλλ᾽ οὐχ οὗτος ἐχρήσατο τούτῳ
τῷ μέτρῳ, ἀλλ᾽ ἐάν τις ἀπαιτήσῃ χάριν ὑμᾶς,
“ἄτιμος ἔστω” φησὶ “καὶ ἡ οὐσία δημοσία
ἔστω.” δύο τιμήματα ταῦτα. “εἶναι δὲ καὶ
ἐνδείξεις καὶ ἀπαγωγάς· ἐὰν δ᾽ ἁλῷ, ἔνοχος ἔστω
τῷ νόμῳ ὃς κεῖται, ἐάν τις ὀφείλων ἄρχῃ τῷ
δημοσίῳ.” θάνατον λέγει· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστ᾽ ἐπ᾽
ἐκείνῳ τοὐπιτίμιον. οὐκοῦν τρία τιμήματα ταῦτα.
πῶς οὖν οὐ σχέτλιον καὶ δεινόν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι,
εἰ χαλεπώτερον εἶναι παρ᾽ ὑμῖν δόξει χάριν εὖ
[505] ποιήσαντ᾽ ἀπαιτεῖν ἢ τὰ δεινότατ᾽ ἐργαζόμενον
ληφθῆναι;

157 Αἰσχρός, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ κακῶς ἔχων ὁ
νόμος, καὶ ὅμοιος φθόνῳ τινὶ καὶ φιλονικίᾳ καὶ—
τὸ λοιπὸν ἐῶ· τοιούτοις δέ τισι προσέοιχ᾽ ὁ γράφων
χρῆσθαι. ὑμῖν δ᾽ οὐχὶ πρέπει τὰ τοιαῦτα μιμεῖσθαι,
οὐδ᾽ ἀνάξια φαίνεσθαι φρονοῦντας ὑμῶν αὐτῶν.
φέρε γὰρ πρὸς Διός, τί μάλιστ᾽ ἂν ἀπευξαίμεθα
πάντες, καὶ τί μάλιστ᾽ ἐν ἅπασι διεσπούδασται τοῖς
νόμοις; ὅπως μὴ γενήσονται οἱ περὶ ἀλλήλους
φόνοι, περὶ ὧν ἐξαίρετος ἡ βουλὴ φύλαξ ἡ ἐν Ἀρείῳ
158 πάγῳ τέτακται. ἐν τοίνυν τοῖς περὶ τούτων νόμοις
ὁ Δράκων φοβερὸν κατασκευάζων καὶ δεινὸν τό τιν᾽
αὐτόχειρ᾽ ἄλλον ἄλλου γίγνεσθαι, καὶ γράφων
χέρνιβος εἴργεσθαι τὸν ἀνδροφόνον, σπονδῶν, κρατήρων,
ἱερῶν, ἀγορᾶς, πάντα τἆλλα διελθὼν οἷς
μάλιστ᾽ ἄν τινας ᾤετ᾽ ἐπισχεῖν τοῦ τοιοῦτόν τι

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[a] All this is pure sophistry. ἀτιμία involving loss of property was not a double penalty, but merely one degree of ἀτιμία. Moreover, the law cited refers to penalties assessed

more than one assessment of penalty, whichever the court imposes, whether a personal punishment or a fine, but not both." But Leptines has used a different measure and says that if anyone claims a return from you, "he shall be disfranchised, and his property shall be confiscated." There you have two penalties. "The process shall be by laying information or by summary arrest; and if he be convicted, he shall be liable under the law which provides for the case of a man holding office while in debt to the treasury." Death is what he means, for such is the punishment in that case. Why, here are three penalties![a] Is it not monstrously hard, Athenians, if it proves more serious in your courts to ask for a return for good service than to be convicted of some heinous crime?

Men of Athens, this law, so dishonourable, so unsound, so suggestive of envy and spite and—I spare you the rest. Those are the sort of things that the framer of the law seems to favour, but you must not imitate them nor display sentiments unworthy of yourselves. I ask you in Heaven's name, what should we all most earnestly deprecate? What do all our laws most carefully guard against? What but those vengeful murders against which our specially appointed protector is the Council of the Areopagus? Now Draco, in this group of laws, marked the terrible wickedness of homicide by banning the offender from the lustral water, the libations, the loving-cup, the sacrifices and the market-place; he enumerated everything that he thought likely to deter the offender;

by the courts, not to those prescribed by statute. Lastly, the so-called third penalty was imposed for the additional offence of contempt, where one who had incurred ἀτιμία nevertheless claimed ἀτέλεια.

ποιεῖν, ὅμως οὐκ ἀφείλετο τὴν τοῦ δικαίου τάξιν,
ἀλλ' ἔθηκεν ἐφ' οἷς ἐξεῖναι ἀποκτιννύναι, κἂν οὕτω
τις δράσῃ, καθαρὸν διώρισεν εἶναι. εἶτ' ἀποκτεῖναι
μὲν δικαίως ἔν γε τοῖς παρ' ὑμῖν νόμοις ἐξέσται,
χάριν δ' ἀπαιτεῖν οὔτε δικαίως οὔθ' ὁπωσοῦν διὰ
τὸν τούτου νόμον; μηδαμῶς, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι·
159 μὴ βούλεσθε δοκεῖν πλείω πεποιῆσθαι σπουδὴν
ὅπως μηδενὶ τῶν εὖ τι ποιούντων ὑμᾶς χάριν ἐξέσται
κομίσασθαι ἢ ὅπως μηδεὶς φόνος ἐν τῇ πόλει
γενήσεται· ἀλλ' ἀναμνησθέντες τῶν καιρῶν, παρ'
οὓς εὖ πεπονθότες εὖ πεποιήκατε τοὺς εὑρομένους,
καὶ τῆς Δημοφάντου στήλης, περὶ ἧς εἶπε Φορμίων,
ἐν ᾗ γέγραπται καὶ ὀμώμοται, ἄν τις ἀμύνων τι
[506] πάθῃ τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ, τὰς αὐτὰς δώσειν δωρειὰς
ἅσπερ Ἁρμοδίῳ καὶ Ἀριστογείτονι, καταψηφίσασθε
τοῦ νόμου. οὐ γὰρ ἔνεστ' εὐορκεῖν, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο
ποιήσετε.

160 Παρὰ πάντα δὲ ταῦτ' ἐκεῖνο ἔτι ἀκούσατέ μου.
οὐκ ἔνι τοῦτον ἔχειν καλῶς τὸν νόμον, ὃς περὶ τῶν
παρεληλυθότων καὶ τῶν μελλόντων ταὐτὰ λέγει.
"μηδέν' εἶναί" φησιν "ἀτελῆ πλὴν τῶν ἀφ'
Ἁρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος." καλῶς. "μηδὲ
τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξεῖναι δοῦναι." μηδ' ἂν τοιοῦτοί τινες
γένωνται, Λεπτίνη; εἰ τὰ πρὸ τοῦ κατεμέμφου,
161 τί; μὴ καὶ τὰ μέλλοντ' ᾔδεις; ὅτι νὴ Δία πόρρω
τοῦ τι τοιοῦτον ἐλπίζειν νῦν ἐσμέν. καὶ εἴημέν
γ', ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι. ἀλλὰ χρή γ' ἀνθρώπους
ὄντας τοιαῦτα καὶ λέγειν καὶ νομοθετεῖν οἷς μηδεὶς
ἂν νεμεσήσαι, καὶ τἀγαθὰ μὲν προσδοκᾶν καὶ τοῖς
θεοῖς εὔχεσθαι διδόναι, πάντα δ' ἀνθρώπιν' ἡγεῖ-

but he never robbed him of his claim to justice; he defined the circumstances that make homicide justifiable and proclaimed the accused in such case free from taint. If, then, your laws can justify homicide, is this fellow's law to forbid any claim, even a just one, to recompense? Not so, men of Athens! Do not let it appear that you have been more diligent to prevent any of your benefactors from winning a recompense than to suppress murder in your city. Rather, recalling the occasions on which you have repaid the services rendered you, and remembering the inscription of Demophantus, already referred to by Phormio, on which it stands written and confirmed by oath that whoso shall suffer in defence of the democracy shall receive the same reward as Harmodius and Aristogiton, vote for the repeal of this law; for if you do not, it is impossible for you to observe your oaths.

And besides all this, observe a further point. That law cannot be a sound one which deals with the past and the future in the same way. "None," says this law, "shall be immune save and except the descendants of Harmodius and Aristogiton." Good! "Nor shall anyone in future be granted immunity." What! not even if other such benefactors arise, Leptines? If you found fault with the past, can it be that you also foresaw the future? Because, you will say, we are now past such expectation.[a] I pray that we may be, Athenians. But as we are mere mortals, neither our language nor our laws should provoke Nemesis; we may both expect blessings and pray for them, but we must reflect that all things are

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[a] The day of tyrants is past, and the services of tyrannicides are no longer needed.

σθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν Λακεδαιμόνιοί ποτ᾽ ἤλπισαν
εἰς τοιαῦτα πράγματ᾽ ἀφίξεσθαι, οὐδέ γ᾽ ἴσως Συρακόσιοι,
τὸ πάλαι δημοκρατούμενοι καὶ φόρους
Καρχηδονίους πραττόμενοι καὶ πάντων τῶν περὶ
αὑτοὺς ἄρχοντες καὶ ναυμαχίᾳ νενικηκότες ἡμᾶς,
ὑφ᾽ ἑνὸς γραμματέως, ὥς φασι, τυραννήσεσθαι.
162 οὐδέ γ᾽ ὁ νῦν ὢν Διονύσιος ἤλπισεν ἄν ποτ᾽ ἴσως
πλοίῳ στρογγύλῳ καὶ στρατιώταις ὀλίγοις Δίων᾽
ἐλθόντ᾽ ἐφ᾽ αὑτὸν ἐκβαλεῖν τὸν τριήρεις πολλὰς καὶ
ξένους καὶ πόλεις κεκτημένον. ἀλλ᾽, οἶμαι, τὸ
μέλλον ἄδηλον πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ μικροὶ καιροὶ
μεγάλων πραγμάτων αἴτιοι γίγνονται. διὸ δεῖ
μετριάζειν ἐν ταῖς εὐπραξίαις καὶ προορωμένους τὸ
163 μέλλον φαίνεσθαι.
[507] Πολλὰ δ᾽ ἄν τις ἔχοι λέγειν ἔτι καὶ διεξιέναι περὶ
τοῦ μηδαμῇ μηδὲ καθ᾽ ἓν τοῦτον ἔχειν καλῶς τὸν
νόμον μηδὲ συμφέρειν ὑμῖν· ἀλλ᾽ ἵν᾽ ἐν κεφαλαίῳ
τοῦτο μάθητε κἀγὼ παύσωμαι λέγων, τάδε ποιήσατε·
σκέψασθε παρ᾽ ἄλληλα καὶ λογίσασθε πρὸς
ὑμᾶς αὐτούς, τί συμβήσεται καταψηφισαμένοις
ὑμῖν τοῦ νόμου καὶ τί μή· εἶτα φυλάττετε καὶ
μέμνησθ᾽ ἃν ὑμῖν ἐξ ἑκατέρου φανῇ, ἵν᾽ ἕλησθε τὰ
164 κρείττω. ἂν μὲν τοίνυν καταψηφίσησθε, ὥσπερ
ἡμεῖς κελεύομεν, οἱ μὲν ἄξιοι παρ᾽ ὑμῶν τὰ δίκαι᾽
ἕξουσιν, εἰ δέ τις ἔστ᾽ ἀνάξιος, ὡς ἔστω, πρὸς τῷ
τὴν δωρειὰν ἀφαιρεθῆναι δίκην ἣν ἂν ὑμῖν δοκῇ
δώσει κατὰ τὸν παρεισενηνεγμένον νόμον· ἡ δὲ
πόλις πιστή, δικαία, πρὸς ἅπαντ᾽ ἀψευδὴς φανήσεται.
ἐὰν δ᾽ ἀποψηφίσησθε, ὃ μὴ ποιήσαιτε, οἱ
μὲν χρηστοὶ διὰ τοὺς φαύλους ἀδικήσονται, οἱ δ᾽

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[a] Dionysius I. of Syracuse started life as a clerk in the public service.

conditioned by mortality. For the Lacedaemonians never dreamed that they would be brought to their present straits, and perhaps even the Syracusans, once a democracy, who exacted tribute from the Carthaginians and ruled all their neighbours and beat us at sea, little thought they would fall under the tyranny of a single clerk,[a] if report be true. Nor again could the present Dionysius [b] ever have expected that Dion would come against him in a cargo-boat with a handful of soldiers and expel the master of so many warships and mercenaries and cities. But, methinks, the future is hidden from all men, and great events hang on small chances. Therefore we must be modest in the day of prosperity, and must show that we are not blind to the future.

There are still many arguments that one might develop at length, showing that this law is in every respect unsound and opposed to your interests ; but to sum up and bring my speech to a conclusion, I will ask you to do this. Calculate and compare in your own minds what will happen to you if you repeal this law, and what if you do not ; and then be careful to remember all the consequences of either step, so that you may make the better choice. Now if, on our advice, you reject it, deserving men will receive their due reward from you, and any undeserving man (assuming that there are such) will not only lose his reward, but will pay whatever penalty you approve, in accordance with our alternative law, while all men will acknowledge the honour, justice and veracity of our city. If, on the other hand, you allow it to pass, as I pray you may not, the good will suffer for the

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[b] Dionysius II., expelled by Dion in 357.

ἀνάξιοι συμφορᾶς ἑτέροις αἴτιοι γενήσονται, δίκην
δ᾽ οὐδ᾽ ἥντινοῦν αὐτοὶ δώσουσιν, ἡ δὲ πόλις
τἀναντί᾽ ὧν εἶπον ἀρτίως δόξει ἄπιστος, φθονερά,
165 φαύλη παρὰ πᾶσιν εἶναι. οὔκουν ἄξιον, ὦ ἄνδρες
Ἀθηναῖοι, τοσαύτην βλασφημίαν ἀντὶ καλῶν καὶ
προσηκόντων ὑμῖν ἀγαθῶν ἑλέσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ἕκαστος
ὑμῶν ἰδίᾳ μεθέξει τῆς δόξης τῶν κοινῇ γνωσθέντων.
οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖ τοῦτ᾽ οὐδεὶς οὔτε τῶν
περιεστηκότων οὔτε τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτι ἐν μὲν τῷ
δικαστηρίῳ Λεπτίνης πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀγωνίζεται, ἐν δὲ
τῇ τῶν καθημένων ὑμῶν ἑνὸς ἑκάστου γνώμῃ,
φιλανθρωπία πρὸς φθόνον καὶ δικαιοσύνη πρὸς
κακίαν καὶ πάντα τὰ χρηστὰ πρὸς τὰ πονηρότατ᾽
166 ἀντιτάττεται. ὧν τοῖς βελτίοσι πειθόμενοι καὶ
[508] κατὰ ταῦθ᾽ ἡμῖν θέμενοι τὴν ψῆφον, αὐτοί θ᾽ ἃ
προσήκει δόξετ᾽ ἐγνωκέναι, καὶ τῇ πόλει τὰ κράτιστ᾽
ἔσεσθ᾽ ἐψηφισμένοι, κἂν τις ἄρ᾽ ἔλθῃ ποτὲ
καιρός, οὐκ ἀπορήσετε τῶν ἐθελησόντων ὑπὲρ
ὑμῶν κινδυνεύειν. ὑπὲρ οὖν τούτων ἁπάντων
οἶμαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς σπουδάζειν καὶ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν
ὅπως μὴ βιασθῆθ᾽ ἁμαρτεῖν. πολλὰ γὰρ ὑμεῖς, ὦ
ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πολλάκις οὐκ ἐδιδάχθηθ᾽ ὡς ἔστι
δίκαια, ἀλλ᾽ ἀφῃρέθηθ᾽ ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν λεγόντων
κραυγῆς καὶ βίας καὶ ἀναισχυντίας. ὃ μὴ πάθητε
167 νῦν· οὐ γὰρ ἄξιον. ἀλλ᾽ ἃ δίκαι᾽ ἐγνώκατε, ταῦτα
φυλάξατε καὶ μνημονεύετε, ἕως ἂν ψηφίσησθε, ἵν᾽
εὔορκον θῆσθε τὴν ψῆφον κατὰ τῶν τὰ πονηρὰ
συμβουλευόντων. θαυμάζω δ᾽ ἔγωγε, εἰ τοῖς μὲν
τὸ νόμισμα διαφθείρουσι θάνατος παρ᾽ ὑμῖν ἐστιν

sake of the bad, the undeserving will bring calamity on the rest, but come off scot-free themselves, and the reputation of Athens will be the very reverse of what I have described ; all men will regard her as faithless, envious and mean. It is unworthy of you, Athenians, to prefer such a foul reproach to advantages so honourable and so appropriate to you. For each of you will share individually in the credit of your joint decision. For it is known to all standing round us,[a] as to everyone else, that in this court Leptines is contending with us, but within the conscience of each member of the jury humanity is arrayed against envy, justice against malice, and all that is good against all that is most base. If you yield to the nobler impulse and cast your votes with us, you will win for yourselves the credit, and for the State the benefit, of a righteous verdict, and if ever occasion arises, you will not lack friends willing to encounter risk in your behalf. I ask you, therefore, to take all these considerations seriously to heart and to beware that you are not forced into an error of judgement. For on many occasions, men of Athens, the justice of the case has not been brought home to you, but a verdict has been wrested from you by the clamour, the violence and the shamelessness of the pleaders. Let not that be your case to-day, for that would be unworthy of you ; but hold fast to what you are convinced is just, and bear it in mind until you vote, so that true to your oaths you may cast your votes against the counsels of the wicked. If you punish with death those who debase the

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[a] *i.e.* the general public ; the jury were seated.

ἡ ζημία, τοῖς δ᾽ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν κίβδηλον καὶ ἄπιστον ποιοῦσι λόγον δώσετε. οὐ δή πού γ᾽, ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοί.

Οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅ τι δεῖ πλείω λέγειν· οἶμαι γὰρ ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν ἀγνοεῖν τῶν εἰρημένων.

coinage, I shall be surprised if you lend an ear to men who render our whole State base and counterfeit. By all the gods, I will not believe it of you.

I think I need say no more, for I believe you understand all my arguments.

INDEX OF NAMES

[*Full references are not given for names of persons or places constantly recurring. The Numbers refer to pages.*]

Abdera, town in Thrace, noted for stupidity of its people, 479
Achaeans, 243, 471
Aegina, 543
Aetolians, 243
Agapaeus, agent of Philip at Oreus, 256
Agora, town in Thracian Chersonese, 171
Alexander I. of Macedonia, sent to tempt Athenians to medize, 129, 347
Alexander III., the Great, 467 f.
Alexander, brother-in-law of Philip, made king of the Molossians, 167
Ambracia, attacked by Philip, 167, 239 f., 275
Amphictyonic Council, 111, 321
Amphipolis, Athenian dependency in Thrace, captured by Philip, 7 f., 347 f.
Amyntas, king of Macedonia, father of Philip, 155
Antalcidas, Peace of (387 B.C.), 527
Anthemocritus, Athenian ambassador in time of Pericles, 337
Anthemus, town in Macedonia, 135
Antissa, town in Lesbos, 469
Antrones, town in Thessaly, 275
Apollonia, town in N. Chalcidice, 165, 239
Apollonides, of Cardia, 171
Apollonides, democratic leader of Olynthus, 255, 261
Apsephion, 587 (see 489)
Archebius, a Byzantine friendly to Athens, 531 f.
Argives, their goodwill to Athens at end of Peloponnesian War, 425
Ariobarzanes, satrap of Phrygia, in revolt, 417
Aristides, the "Just," 55 f., 371
Aristodemus, Athenian actor and diplomatist, 309
Aristogiton, the tyrannicide, 503 f.
Aristomedes, unknown Athenian attacked in *Phil.* iv., 309
Aristophon, Athenian ambassador and general, defends law of Leptines, 193, 589
Artabazus, Persian satrap in revolt, helped by Chares, 83
Artemisia, wife of Mausolus, 417 f.
Arthemus of Zelea, outlawed by Athenians, 247
Arybbas, king of the Molossians, 13
Athenians; their dilatoriness, 37, 45, 75; their care for festivals, 89; behaviour of their generals, 39, 191; their former spirit, 57, 129; politicians of the day, 61, 193; freedom of speech, 227
Automedon, Euboean tyrant, 255

Bathippus, 587 (see 489)
Bosporus (Cimmerian), the Crimea, 513 f.
Bucheta, Elean colony in Epirus, 167
Byzantium, threatened by Philip, 185 f., 235 f., 321, 418

Cabyle, town in Thrace, 199
Callias, Euboean serving as Athenian general, 337

INDEX OF NAMES

Callias, banished Athenian, 33
Callippus, Athenian prosecuted by Demosthenes, 171
Callisthenes, Athenian food-controller, 515
Cardia, town in Thracian Chersonese, 117, 171 f., 207 f., 233, 341
Caria, 119, 419
Carystus, town in S. Euboea, 169
Cassopia, district of Epirus, 167
Cephisodotus, Athenian statesman, defends law of Leptines, 589 f.
Cersobleptes, Thracian chief allied with Athens, 209, 275
Chabrias, Athenian general, 81, 367, 493, 541 f.
Chaeron, tyrant of Pellene, 471
Chalcedon, town on Asiatic shore of Bosporus, opposite to Byzantium, 427
Chalcis, town in Euboea, 187
Chares, Athenian general, 193
Charidemus, Euboean leader of mercenaries in service of Athens, 45
Chersonese (Thracian), Gallipoli, 141, 169, 233 f., 345 (see 176)
Chios, 119, 191, 413 f.; generosity of Chians to Chabrias, 545
Cimon, Athenian general, victor of Eurymedon (463 B.C.), 371
Clearchus, Spartan commander of Greek mercenaries with Cyrus the younger, 427
Clearchus, shares in honours of Timothens, 549
Clitarchus, head of Macedonian party at Eretria, 255 f.
Conon, Athenian general, victor of Cnidus (394 B.C.), 537 f.
Corcyra, taken by Timotheus, 367
Corinthians, rescue Athenians after battle of Corinth (394 B.C.), 527
Coronea, town in Boeotia, 115, 131
Cos, island off coast of Caria, 119, 429
Crobyle, unknown place, 335
Cyprothemis, commander of Persian garrison at Samos, 417
Cyprus, Chabrias's successes at, 543
Cyrus the younger, killed at Cunaxa (401 B.C.), 427
Cythnus, one of the Cyclades, 375
Delphi, meeting-place of Amphictyons, 117 f., 347
Demophantus, proposed reward of Athenian democrats (411 B.C.), 597
Demosthenes, Athenian general in the Peloponnesian War, 55
Dinias, defends law of Leptines, 589 f.
Dion, expels Dionysius II. (B.C. 357), 599
Dionysius I., tyrant of Syracuse, 599
Dionysius II., 341, 599
Dionysius, unknown recipient of honour at Athens, 579
Diophantus, Athenian statesman, 583
Diopithes, Athenian general in the Thracian Chersonese, 177 f., 233, 335
Doriscus, town in Thrace, near mouth of Hebrus, 209, 233, 275
Draco, defines justifiable homicide, 595 f.
Drongilus, town in Thrace, 199

Ecbatana, summer residence of Persian kings, 289
Echinus, Theban colony in S. Thessaly, 243
Ecphantus, democrat of Thasos, 531 f.
Egypt, Persian province, in revolt, 339, 401, 415, 543
Eïon, at mouth of Strymon, port of Amphipolis, 369
Elatea, town in Phocis, 133
Elatea, Elean colony in Epirus, 167
Elis, seized by Philip, 241; massacres at, 275; proposed restoration of territory, 449
Epicerdes, of Cyrene, benefactor of Athens in Peloponnesian War, 519 *f.*
Eresus, town in Lesbos, 469
Eretria, town in Euboea, 243, 255
Ergisce, town in Thrace, 169
Erythrae, town on coast of Ionia, opposite Chios, 191
Etesian winds, 87, 185
Euboea, taken from Thebans by Athenians, 9, 77, 107, 197 f., 235 f., 275, 449

Eubulus, leading statesman of peace party at Athens, 583
Euphraeus, of Oreus, pupil of Plato, friend and afterwards opponent of Macedonians, 256 f.
Eurylochus, Macedonian officer, 255
Euthycrates, Olynthian traitor, 197
Evagoras, a prince of Cyprus, 341

Gelarchus, helps exiled Athenian democrats, 589
Geraestus, S. promontory of Euboea, 89
Gorgopas, Spartan harmost in Aegina, 543

Haliartus, town in Boeotia, 77
Halonnesus, small island off coast of Thessaly, 148, 343
Halus, town in S. Thessaly, 319
Harmodius, the tyrannicide, 503 f.
Hegesippus, Athenian of the anti-Macedonian party, possibly author of speech *On Halonnesus*, 263
Hellespont, 179 f., 235 f., 345
Heraclides, a Byzantine friendly to Athens, 531
Heraeum, fortress in Thrace, 45
Hierax, Amphipolitan envoy, 9
Hierum, at N. entrance to Bosporus, 517
Hipparchus, traitor of Eretria, 255
Hipponax, officer of Philip, 255

Illyrians, tribe W. of Macedonia, attacked by Philip, 13 f.
Imbros, island of N. E. Aegean, 89, 153
Iphicrates, Athenian general, 81, 367; honoured by Athens, 547

Lacedaemonians, defied by Argives, 425; weakness beneficial to Athens, 443; method of rewarding citizens, 561 f.
Lampsacus, town on Asiatic side of Hellespont, 39
Lasthenes, Olynthian traitor, 197, 259
Lemnos, island in N. Aegean, 83 f., 153
Leodamas, defends law of Leptines, 589
Leptines, 493 f.
Lesbos, Alexander sets up tyrannies in, 469
Leucas, island off Acarnania, invaded by Philip, 243
Leuce Acte, in Thracian Chersonese, 171
Leucon, prince of Cimmerian Bosporus and friend of Athens, 513 f.
Leuctra, battle of (371 B.C.), 237
Lycidas, slave of Chabrias, made *proxenus*, 579
Lysimachus, son of Aristides, rewarded, 567

Magnesia, district on E. coast of Thessaly, 11 f., 137
Mantinea, battle of (362 B.C.), 443
Marathon, battle of (490 B.C.), 367, 401; Philip's raid on, 89
Maronea, town on Aegean coast of Thrace, 345, 479
Mastira, in Thrace, 199
Mausolus, king of Caria, 427
Megalopolis, capital of Arcadia, 115, 441 f.
Megara, 187, 235 f., 275, 373
Menestheus, Athenian general, son of Iphicrates, 477
Menelaus, a Macedonian, 83
Menippus, agent of Philip at Oreus, 255
Meno, a Pharsalian, helps Athens with money in Peloponnesian War, 369
Messenians, 115, 467; patronized by Philip, 129 f.; addressed by Demosthenes, 135; in danger from Sparta, 445 f.
Methone, Athenian dependency in S. Macedonia, 9 f., 71 f., 239
Miltiades, victor of Marathon, 57, 367
Mytilene, chief town of Lesbos, its democracy overthrown, 359, 423

Naupactus, town in Aetolia, 243
Neoptolemus, of Scyros, actor and diplomatist, 107
Nicaea, Locrian town on Malian Gulf, 137, 321

Nicias, Athenian general in Peloponnesian War, 55
Nicias, Philip's herald, 335

Olynthus, head of Confederacy in Chalcidice, taken by Philip, 7 f., 165, 207 f., 231 f.; betrayed, 255
Orchomenus, town in Boeotia, 115 f., 131; destroyed by Thebans, 565; restoration proposed by Sparta, 443
Oreus, town in N. Euboea, betrayed to Philip, 187, 207, 231, 243, 275; its fate, 257
Orontes, satrap of Mysia, in revolt, 401
Oropus, town on borders of Attica and Boeotia, 109 f., 141; its restoration to Athens proposed by Sparta, 447

Pagasae, seaport in S. Thessaly, 9 f., 29, 89, 337
Paeonians, tribe W. of Macedonia, attacked by Philip, 13 f.
Pallene, town in Chalcidice, 165
Pandosia, Elean colony in Epirus, 167
Parmenio, Macedonian general, 255
Pella, capital of Macedonia, 153
Pellene, town in W. Achaea, 471
Peparethus, island off S. E. Thessaly, 341 f.
Perdiccas I., king of Macedonia in the 5th cent. B.C., 369
Pericles, 55
Perinthus, Thracian town on the Propontis, 319 f.
Persia, king of, 165, 233, 261, 287, 299, 321; his help asked by Athenians, 337; proposed war against, 383 f.
Pherae, town in S. Thessaly, 11, 167, 207, 231, 275
Philiades, tyrant of Messene, 467
Philistides, tyrant of Oreus, 243, 255 f.
Philocrates, peace of, 102, 163
Phlius, small Dorian state in N.E. Peloponnese, 373, 449
Phocis, 109, 127, 209, 231 f.; Phocian (or Sacred) War, 27
Phoenicia, Persian province, in revolt, 339
Phormio, 525, 559 (see 489)
Phrygia, 401
Piraeus, 181, 231; entered by Macedonian warship, 479; stronghold of democrats in 403 B.C., 499
Pisistratidae, 465
Plataea, town in Boeotia, near Attic frontier, 109, 141; restoration proposed by Sparta, 443; battle of, 369
Plutarchus, tyrant of Eretria, 107, 255
Polycrates, unknown Athenian, 345
Polyeuctus, Athenian of anti-Macedonian party, 263
Polystratus, captain of mercenaries under Iphicrates, 547
Porthmus, port of Eretria in Euboea, 243, 275
Potidaea, Athenian dependency in Chalcidice, 9 f., 135, 155 f., 209 f., 533
Pteleum, in Thracian Chersonese, 171
Pydna, Athenian dependency in S. Macedonia, 7 f., 71, 533
Pythian games, Philip's presidency of, 243
Pytho, Macedonian ambassador, 161

Rhodes, 119; its democracy destroyed, 359; exiled democrats appeal to Athens, 413 f.

Sacred Mount, in Thrace, 169, 233
Samos, 417
Sciathos, island off S.E. Thessaly, 87, 197
Scyros, island E. of Euboea, 153
Selymbria, Thracian town on Propontis, 427
Serreum, fortress in Thrace, 169 233
Serrium, headland of Thrace, 209, 275
Sicily, Athenian prisoners in, 521
Sicyon, small state in N.E. Peloponnese, 475
Sigeum, in Asia at entrance to Hellespont, 39
Siphnos, one of the Cyclades, 375
Sitalces, king of the Odrysae, Thracian tribe, 339

INDEX OF NAMES

Socrates, agent of Philip at Oreus, 255
Solon, rules for amendment of laws, 551 f..
Sostratus, pirate, 343
Strabax, foreign mercenary in Athenian service, 547
Stratocles, envoy of Amphipolis, 9
Stryme, town on Aegean coast of Thrace, 345
Susa, winter residence of Persian kings, 289
Symmories, 38 n. 391 f.

Tenedos, island near entrance to Hellespont, 477
Teres, Thracian prince, 339
Thasos, island in N. Aegean, 87, 157, 335, 345, 531 f.
Thebans, their stolidity, 113; brutality, 563 f.; deceived by Philip, 209, 243; Athenian dislike of, 401; their weakness advantageous to Athens, 443
Themistocles, victor of Salamis, 367, 371; saves Long Walls, 539 f.
Theoric Fund, 17 n., 49, 291
Thermopylae, 77, 115, 127, 141 f., 209, 231 n.
Thessalians, their character, 17; Philip's treatment of, 137 n., 239
Thirty Tyrants, 499
Thoas, agent of Philip at Oreus, 256
Thrasybulus, leader of exiled Athenian democrats, 531
Tigranes, Persian satrap, 417
Timotheus, successful Athenian general, 31, 215 n., 367, 417, 547
Tiristasis, town in Thracian Chersonese, 335
Tricaranum, fortified hill near Phlius, 449
Triphylia, district of W. Peloponnese, S. of river Alpheus, 449

Zelea, town in Mysia, 247

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